

SHARED HISTORIES FOR A EUROPE WITHOUT DIVIDING LINES



▶ The impact
of the Industrial
Revolution

▶ The development
of education

▶ Human rights
as reflected
in the history of art

▶ Europe
and the
world

<http://shared-histories.coe.int>

COUNCIL OF EUROPE



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The Council of Europe intergovernmental project *Shared histories for a Europe without dividing lines*, launched by the Steering Committee for Education Policy and Practice (CDPPE) in 2010, was completed in 2014. The e-book you are about to read is one its important results.

2014 is a year of commemoration and anniversaries. The most conspicuous date is the 100th anniversary of the outbreak of the First World War, which led to the loss of millions of human lives and changed the political landscape of our continent for ever.

In 2014 we are also celebrating the 60th anniversary of the [European Cultural Convention](#) – a treaty based on the lessons learnt from the catastrophes

of the first half of the 20th century. The Convention, aimed at building a common peaceful future, underscores the fact that the road to peace passes through education and culture. It accords a special role to the teaching of history and languages.

The Council of Europe has always considered history teaching as a subject with unique value, a subject which cannot be replaced by any other discipline. Just what makes history teaching so essential in the 21st century? Firstly, it gives the young generation an opportunity to travel in historical space. Learning about the past allows us to better understand and evaluate present-day political and social processes. Historical knowledge and understanding help us to develop important skills

and attitudes, such as critical thinking, open-mindedness, an ability to reach independent conclusions and tolerance – competences that in education policy are often referred to as "transversal" or "generic".

As a result, young people are better prepared to find their place in present-day multicultural societies, to appreciate the value of cultural diversity, to communicate with those who have different cultural and religious affiliations and who speak another language. Historical knowledge can help young people feel that they are not only citizens of their own country, but also Europeans and citizens of the world. These are important elements of the culture of democracy. At the same time the Council of Europe has always been keenly aware that history can be misused. The understanding of history is an important civic skill, without which the individual is more vulnerable to political and other manipulation. If young people are to become active citizens and find their place in contemporary multicultural society, they have to be supported to develop an in-depth understanding of political, social, economic and cultural processes.

The Council of Europe's vision of history teaching is expressed in a number of key documents. In 2001 the Committee of Ministers adopted a Recommendation on *History teaching in twenty-first-century Europe*, followed ten years later by a Recommendation on Intercultural dialogue and the image of the other in history teaching.

In 1996 and 2009, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe adopted its Recommendations on *History and the learning of history in Europe* and *History teaching in conflict and post-conflict areas*.

These documents reflect the changes which have taken place in the "greater" Europe since the late 1990s, beginning with the fall of the Berlin Wall. They also reflect the effects of the on-going process of globalisation, which in all member States made it increasingly important to understand the role of education in managing diversity democratically.

These documents emphasise that history teaching in the new millennium should:

- ▶ unite people rather than divide them;
- ▶ be a tool to support peace, reconciliation, tolerance and understanding when dealing with migration and immigration;
- ▶ reflect the historical picture in its full complexity, without creating images of an enemy;
- ▶ use multiperspectivity and present different points of view;
- ▶ eliminate prejudice and stereotypes;
- ▶ use innovative methods based on dialogue;
- ▶ play a vital role in the training of responsible and active citizens and in developing respect for all types of differences within a democratic society;

PREFACE

- ▶ help the young generation to develop their intellectual ability and their resistance to manipulation, to analyse and interpret information critically and responsibly especially when dealing with controversial and sensitive issues;
- ▶ encourage people of different cultural backgrounds to co-operate and thereby build mutual understanding, confidence and trust.

The fundamental documents of the Council of Europe underline that education should bring people together and motivate them to overcome existing dividing lines without creating new ones, one of the essential conditions for stable peace and security. The importance of history teaching was clearly affirmed at the highest political level at the Council of Europe Summits of Heads of State and Government: in Vienna in 1993, in Strasbourg in 1997 and in Warsaw in 2005, history teaching featured on the list of Council of Europe priorities for future years, identifying intercultural dialogue as one of the key missions of the Organisation as an integral part of the work for democracy, human rights and the rule of law.

Teaching and learning history today is a challenging but important task. Ignorance leaves people vulnerable to manipulation, whereas the understanding of history helps us to keep an open mind, to form our own opinions and to exercise our rights and responsibilities as citizens. We need to

understand how others view the world and to respect the cultural diversity that marks contemporary societies. To meet these challenges requires the development of new teaching methods and approaches, capable of responding to the demands of multicultural societies. We need programmes in initial and in-service teacher training designed to enable educators to acquire intercultural communication skills.

We also need partnerships involving a variety of stakeholders — schools, families, civil society organisations, museums, etc. Although the Council of Europe is an intergovernmental organisation, it has always attached particular importance to working with civil society. The input of all citizens is essential for social cohesion and co-operation across cultural and political dividing lines.

The Council of Europe pays special attention to post-conflict areas. Here individuals and entire communities need help to overcome stereotypes and to build a shared narrative. Our focus is to help them find a shared understanding of history, develop the ability to see things not only from their own perspective (“multiperspectivity”) and recognise that disagreement is a necessary part of understanding the past. For the Council of Europe, reconciliation through education – including history education – is the basis of a vision for a common future.

The intergovernmental project on *Shared histories for a Europe without dividing lines* has addressed the challenge of finding a

basis for consolidation and joint action in a situation of growing diversity. The project highlights the unique combination of common and distinctive features which mark every country, every region and every social group in Europe. We are convinced that education plays a crucial role in preventing violence and conflict in contemporary Europe and for the promotion of democratic culture.

The education we need should be defined by the society we want for our children in the 21st century.

Snežana **Samardžić-Marković**
Director General of Democracy
Council of Europe

The project *Shared histories for a Europe without dividing lines* addresses three main concerns. Firstly, it is necessary to raise awareness of the common historical heritage of the member states. In its texts and more specifically in Article 1, the European Cultural Convention of 1954 affirms that the signatory states are to promote a shared knowledge of their national history and also to be committed to raising awareness of their common historical heritage. Secondly, there is a need to contribute, through a better understanding of historical interactions and convergences of all kinds, to conflict prevention and support for processes of reconciliation. Thirdly, history teaching also contributes to the dissemination and implementation of the recommendations of the White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue *Living together as equals in dignity* adopted by the Council of Europe Committee of Ministers in 2008.

Taking this into consideration the following objectives were set for the project:

- ▶ to reveal the chief interactions and convergences which have characterised the development of Europe as a spatial entity and created the conditions for European construction;
- ▶ to produce definite proposals for strategies and methods towards awareness and knowledge of these dimensions of European history particularly in the context of history courses;

- ▶ to define the content and also the skills essential to a sound understanding of common trends in European history within a global context.

The construction and implementation of the project were based on the lessons learnt from previous Council of Europe intergovernmental activities. *Learning and teaching about the history of Europe in the 20th Century (1999-2002)* resulted in the preparation of a guide for teachers entitled *Multiperspectivity in history teaching*. The main message of this publication was that history is a multifaceted mirror of the past. There is no one truth which could reflect the complexity of historical processes which are based on views that are seldom common, frequently different, sometimes conflicting and possibly confrontational. Only a multiperspective approach offers the possibility of being able to teach history in its full complexity. At the same time the publication stressed the real danger that is linked to the simplification of history, particularly when teaching about conflicts and sensitive issues, of not only strengthening existing confrontations but also of creating grounds for new ones. While it is important to understand different views of the same historical events, some views are unacceptable in democratic societies. For the Council of Europe, this is in particular true of opinions contrary to the European Convention on Human Rights.

The next intergovernmental project on *European dimension in history teaching (2002-2006)* was focused on providing

teacher trainers, teachers and pupils with a set of resources on a number of historical events, together with methodological suggestions and examples of multiperspectivity. Multiple understanding of history was combined with a common platform of certain key dates which had left significant traces in the lives of people on the European continent and beyond (1848, 1912-1913, 1919, 1945, 1989-1990). The combination of both multiple and common created a basis for the format of the presentation of the results of the project: a CD-ROM containing some 2500 historical sources and a book entitled *Crossroads of European histories*. *Crossroads* – a key word which determined the common space, a kind of a meeting point of multiple views which found themselves at the same moment in the same place. We are all different, we all have our points of view but at the same time we meet each other at world crossroads which comprise both past and future: to be able to cross them safely we have to know the rules and learn how to respect others if we want ourselves to be respected by others.

The third of the intergovernmental projects was entitled *The image of the other in teaching and learning history (2007-2010)*. This was aimed at helping history educators take into account and reflect in their work the following issues: how to teach and learn history in multicultural societies; images of others and ourselves in the context of globalisation; and the image of the other in conflict situations, learning different histories as a means of rebuilding trust. The project

made its visible input in the preparation of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly Recommendation 1880(2009) on *History teaching in conflict and post-conflict areas* and of Recommendation CM Rec (2011)6 on *Intercultural dialogue and the image of the other in history teaching*.

Other important forerunners were some Council of Europe regional and bilateral co-operation projects. *The Black Sea Initiative* brought together all seven countries of the region and resulted in the publication of the first teaching pack on the history of interactions in the Black Sea region. Another example was the Council of Europe project in Cyprus developed in co-operation with the Association for Historical Dialogue and Research which resulted in the publication of the first supplementary teaching materials on Cypriot history prepared by educators across the divide and entitled *A look at our past*.

Underpinning this present project on *Shared histories for a Europe without dividing lines* is an acknowledgement of the importance of presenting multiple views; creating a space for dialogue; developing a culture of co-operation, understood as peaceful communication in multicultural societies; helping young people to view the past through a prism of wider dimensions than one that merely reflects national or group interests; and equipping young people with the skills and attitudes they need now and in the future, specifically, helping them contribute to processes of reconciliation, peace building and conflict prevention. ▶▶▶

The project marks a new step in responding to the challenges for education in the 21st century, particularly: increasing diversity and mobility; the expansion of the information space; and the rate of acceleration in the development of all processes. Such factors call for the development of specific competences which will enable the young generation to find their proper place in the world. They need to possess open-mindedness; flexibility in thinking; the ability to adapt quickly to change; competence in intercultural communication; willingness to achieve consensus and compromise by creating a ground for common action through co-operation and strengthening the process of conflict transformation and violence prevention; readiness to make independent choices and be responsible for the consequences; and empathy. The project also points out a new role for a teacher who is now seen more as a partner and a diversity manager rather than a supervisor. Our work in different countries clearly shows that teachers play an ever more crucial role in society. Thanks to their efforts and professional competences, the younger generation can acquire the skills and attitudes needed for their life in a diverse world.

The project has been implemented by bringing together historians, curriculum designers, authors of teaching materials, history teacher trainers, practising teachers, museum specialists and representatives of NGOs. It did not aim to tackle the subject exhaustively. Rather it was limited to a number of well-defined specific themes. Each theme has

the potential of concerning a maximum number of member states, is already well documented, and, clearly, presents opportunities for demonstrating interaction, convergences and common transformations – or shared histories.

The chosen themes are:

- ▶ The impact of the Industrial Revolution
- ▶ The development of education
- ▶ Human rights as reflected in the history of art
- ▶ Europe and the world

During the period of 2011-2013 four seminars were organised each based on one of these themes. In order to maintain the overall consistency of the project and above all to ensure optimum impact for the results, each of the themes was viewed from three angles: interactions (exchanges, mutual influences in the strict sense); convergences (parallel developments, not necessarily with systematic contact); and tension and conflicts that may have arisen (origins, management and reconciliation processes).

The project highlights the importance of reaching through history education a shared understanding of history as a multi-storeyed building which offers the possibility of sharing knowledge, understanding, memories, emotions, attitudes and values. The project draws the attention of educators to the fact that sharing could become an efficient mechanism for integration giving people the possibility of balancing the value of their own cultures with that of others in a wider context. Sharing could become

a basis for an inclusive style of teaching and learning history in multicultural societies which could help pupils with different backgrounds to feel their links to their country of residence, stressing at the same time the special value of social responsibilities. History seen as a shared space could create a basis for solidarity and joint actions in diverse situations, while not underestimating the importance of national identities and knowledge of individual cultural roots.

We are all different but at the same time we are all interdependent as we share many things, albeit sometimes unconsciously: a geographical space and climate; traditions and customs; habits and style of life. Sharing could become a new way of thinking based on: a balance between interdependence and independence; common values and diversity of points of view; consensus and a space for debates; common action and individual development; self-respect and respect for others. Such a way of thinking could result in strengthening mutual respect and understanding, social cohesion, social responsibility and solidarity achieving a stable peace within a multicultural world.

The main outcome of the project is this interactive e-book aimed at teacher trainers, teachers in training, practising teachers and their pupils. The e-book contains examples of teaching materials relating to significant historical examples of interactions and convergences within Europe along with strategies, methods and teaching techniques directed towards gaining a fuller awareness of these interactions

and convergences. These materials have been developed within the framework of an active methodology and teaching approach, multiperspectivity and a focus on the acquisition of identified key skills.

The e-book is structured around the four main themes. Each theme is explored via a number of topics and, within each topic, a variety of exemplar teaching units aimed at the various levels of readership that it is envisaged the project will serve. The teaching units were based on the various contributions to the four seminars. The e-book is an open model which could be easily adapted to existing curricula, different types of lessons and creatively developed by history educators.

The Council of Europe hopes that this pedagogical tool will play the role of a navigator guiding history educators towards the goal of building a more peaceful future based on respect for dignity, human rights and fundamental freedoms; motivating them to act creatively; and helping them to find their way of teaching history in the diverse world of the 21st century.

I would like to thank Pierre Weiss and his team at the Council of Europe Documents and Publications Production Department and my colleagues Ms Christiane Yiannakis and Ms Claudine Martin-Oswald in the History Education Unit for their valuable input in the preparation of this pedagogical electronic tool.

Tatiana **Minkina-Milko**
Head of History Education Unit
Council of Europe

ONLINE PUBLICATIONS IN THE FIELD OF HISTORY TEACHING

- ▢ [A Look at our Past, Council of Europe \(2011\)](#)
- ▢ [History teaching today – Approaches and methods, Luisa Black, Kosovo* \(2011\)](#)
- ▢ [“Manual for History Teachers in Bosnia and Herzegovina” \(2008\)](#)
- ▢ [White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue
“Living Together As Equals in Dignity” \(2008\)](#)
- ▢ [The use of sources in teaching and learning history – Volume 2 \(2006\)](#)
- ▢ [The use of sources in teaching and learning history – Volume 1 \(2005\)](#)
- ▢ [The Black Sea – A History of Interactions \(2004\)](#)
- ▢ [“Multiperspectivity in History Teaching:
a Guide for Teachers” \(2003\)](#)
- ▢ [Education Newsletter](#)
- ▢ [Recommendation CM/Rec\(2011\)6 on Intercultural Dialogue
and the Image of the Other in History Teaching](#)
- ▢ [Recommendation 1880 \(2009\) on History Teaching
in Conflict and Post-conflict Areas](#)
- ▢ [Recommendation Rec\(2001\)15 on History Teaching
in Twenty-first-century Europe](#)
- ▢ [Recommendation 1283 \(1996\) on History and
the Learning of History in Europe](#)
- ▢ [European Cultural Convention \(1954\)](#)

*All reference to Kosovo, whether to the territory, institutions or population, in this text shall be understood in full compliance with United Nations Security Council Resolution 1244 and without prejudice to the status of Kosovo.

PUBLICATIONS EN LIGNE DANS LE DOMAINE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT DE L'HISTOIRE

- ▢ [A Look at our Past , Council of Europe \(2011\)](#)
- ▢ [History teaching today – Approaches and methods, Luisa Black, Kosovo* \(2011\)](#)
- ▢ [“Manual for History Teachers in Bosnia and Herzegovina” \(2008\)](#)
- ▢ [Livre blanc sur le dialogue interculturel
« Vivre ensemble dans l'égalité » \(2008\)](#)
- ▢ [The use of sources in teaching and learning history – Volume 2 \(2006\)](#)
- ▢ [The use of sources in teaching and learning history – Volume 1 \(2005\)](#)
- ▢ [The Black Sea – A History of Interactions \(2004\)](#)
- ▢ [«La multiperspectivité dans l'enseignement de l'histoire:
manuel pour les enseignants»](#)
- ▢ [Bulletin Education](#)
- ▢ [Recommandation CM/Rec\(2011\)6 relative au dialogue interculturel
et à l'image de l'autre dans l'enseignement de l'histoire](#)
- ▢ [Recommandation 1880 \(2009\) relative à l'enseignement
de l'histoire dans les zones de conflit et de postconflit](#)
- ▢ [Recommandation Rec\(2001\)15 relative à l'enseignement
de l'histoire en Europe au XXIe siècle](#)
- ▢ [Recommandation 1283 \(1996\) relative à l'histoire et
à l'apprentissage de l'histoire en Europe](#)
- ▢ [Convention culturelle européenne \(1954\)](#)

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Northampton Museum and Art Gallery: picture of shoe production.

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Bnr.fr: photograph of textile factor, Raimes; photograph of cotton mill.

Rarehollywoodauction: two engravings Metropolitan Railway.

http://www.erih.net/ : Photographs of Gasometers Oberhausen.

http://www.museecompagnonnage.fr/compagnonnage-histoire-xix.html : Various photographs.

http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1864/10/27.htm: Picture of Marx.

http://www.henrilambert.eu/pages/his-reform-for-a-responsible-capitalism/historicalcontext/: Picture of Riots at Liege.

www.fotosearch.com/photos-images : Photograph of Hour Glass; Photograph of Astronomical Clock; Photograph of Sundial.

http://media.beta.photobucket.com: Photograph of bucket clock.

Ford Motor Company: Photograph of Henry Ford.

National Portrait Gallery: Photograph of George Stephenson.

AP Photo: Assembly Line at Ford Motors.

http://www.bbc.co.uk/learningzone: children working in coal mines.

Amazon: book cover.

M Dick: Photograph of Arkwright Mill.

www.eurarchives: picture of Marconi wireless.

www.rootsweb: Lousberg's textile mill.

Bildarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz: four pictures of early motor industry.

auto.howstuffworks.com: picture of factory line.

M Manea: pictures of Romanian industry.

www.aliai.lu: photograph of industry in Luxembourg.

THEME2: MAIN TEXT

NTNU Library and Erik Olsen, Trondheim: picture of Kalvskindet skole.

Regents of the University of Minnesota: reproduction of medieval woodcut/teacher in the classroom.

Spartacus schoolnet: reproduction of woodcut of elementary song school.

Tempuraworkshop.com: picture of medieval apprentice grinding pigments.

BBC History of the world: photograph of Welsh Not boards.

Taylor and Francis: Table 'An example of the different standards against which children were assessed' from Maclure 1965:80.

Wikipedia: reproduction of cover of 'Ratio Studiorum'; reproduction of pages from Comenius *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*; Photograph of Queen Victoria, Gainsborough, The painters daughters chasing a butterfly, Delacroix *La Liberté*.

Educational Museum, Belgrade: various pictures of education in Serbia and of Serbians in exile.

THEME 2: SEMINAR PAPERS

Editions du Seuil: Diagram from Rouleau B. Paris. Histoire d'un espace. Paris © Seuil 1997.

Editions Ouest France: Image from GANCEL Hippolyte, *Il y a un siècle... L'école*, Rennes © Editions Ouest France 2003, p. 15.

Presses Universitaires de France (PUF): Images from Mialaret G. *Histoire mondiale de l'éducation*. © PUF 1981:225-227.

Landsarchiv, Berlin: Photograph of Schlossbrücke (1870).

Bildarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin: Photograph of interior of house in Berlin before the second world war.

Editions Parigramme: Chadych D., Leborgne D., *Atlas de Paris. Évolution d'un paysage urbain*, Paris © Éditions Parigramme 1999, p. 181.

Hachette: *Atlas des parisiens*, Paris Masson 1984, in: Beaujeu-Garnier Jacqueline, *Nouvelle histoire de Paris*. Paris © Hachette 1993, p. 50. 2 Rouleau Bernard, « Les établissements d'enseignement en 1889 », carte in: PITTE Jean-Robert (dir.), *Paris. Histoire d'une ville*.



THEME 3: MAIN TEXT

Wikipedia: Bartolome de las Casas; Gines de Sepulveda; image of 9/11; Iraq torture; Guantanamo inmates; "Europe's history on human rights" - Mutilated Africans; De Bry engravings; artworks form Terezin; Images of Jews; Winston Churchill visiting Coventry Cathedral; Cologne Cathedral, 2007; Cologne Cathedral interior, 2004; Cologne Cathedral 2011; Panoramic view of Cologne, 2009; Altarpiece Der Neue Mensch; Hitler visiting the 'Degenerate Art' exhibition; Examples of degenerate art; Death of Socrates; Death of Marat; Guernica; Mostar Bridge; Photograph of Mary Seacole; Cover of the exhibition program: Degenerate Art 1937; Death of Chatterton by Henry Wallis; Images of the French Revolution; Images of the Polish Constitution; images of fighting Temeraire, Batalla, Varusschlacht, Blick auf das brennende Troja, Bhimbetka Cave Paintings, München, Goebbels im Haus der Deutschen Kunst, Looting of the Churches of Lyon by the Calvinists, Sitzender weiblicher Akt mit aufgestützten Ellbogen, Lorenzo di Medici, Portrait of the Journalist Sylvia von Harden, Destruction of Buddhas, Frauenkirche Dresden.

The Times: Emmeline Pankhurst.

BBC: Photograph of Mulala Yuosufai.

Hirschhorn museum Washington:

The Hero (Abramovic).

Mutual Art: Dittborn mail image.

Youtube: Unfinished.

Library of Congress: various engravings of slaves.

Amazon: Book cover Saracens, Demons and Jews.

digitalassets.ushmm.org/photoarchives/detail.aspx?id=1148895&search=PROPA-GANDA&index=2: nazi propaganda picture.

Oliver Berg: Cologne Central Mosque.

Barbara Welzel: Dortmund, St. Mary's Church, altarpiece of the Berswordt family c 1390; pictures of school project in Dortmund.

Shutterstock: Buddhist temple; Wheelchair in front of building.

Trip advisor: Synagogue in Prague.

Dailytonic: Photograph of Finnish ecumenical church.

Brockham Parish Council: Picture of Christchurch.

Village of Joy.com: Crooked House, Poland.

Historyfollower.com: Reich Chancellery.

National Portrait gallery, London:

Portrait of Mary Seacole.

EuNaMus: photographs of Bosnia-Herzegovina History Museum, the Norske Folkemuseums's Pakistani apartment, Socialist Realist Art in the National Gallery of Art in Tirana.

Birmingham Museums Trust: paintings from exhibition on Art and Disability.

<http://www.deineka.info/painting1930-1939>.

php: reproductions of three paintings.

<http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/chap12i.html>:

four images of the French Revolution.

Royal Geographic Society (with IBG):

Images and text of Liverpool guided walk.

Barbara Delaney: Light Gathers, Several Pleasures, Pastorale, Fields: Distant Sounds.

National Gallery-Alexandros Soutzos

Museum (Athens): Various art works.

National Historical Museum

(Athens): Various art works.

Benaki Museum (Athens) Various art works.

Spyros Katrakis (son of Vasso Katraki): art work.

Igor Muhkin: Photograph of Pussy Riot.

Tnt magazine: Photograph of Verity sculpture.

Historiana: image of Pohorelice memorial.

Birgitt Birkopp: Silk-fabric with an Arabic inscription, Central-Asia, 14th century, used for a liturgical vestment in St. Mary's in Gdansk (Poland), today in St Annen-Museum, Lübeck (Germany).

Victoria and Albert Museum: images of: The Treaty of London; The Alms of Saint Antoninus, Lorenzo Lotto; pulpit at Aix-la-Chapelle Cathedral.

THEME 3: SEMINAR PAPERS

Wikipaintings: Nikolay Ge, What is truth? Pontius Pilate and Christ, 1890 (Tretyakovskaya Gallery, Moscow).

Wikipedia: Ivan Kramskoy, Christ in the desert, 1871 (Tretyakovskaya Gallery, Moscow); Vasily Perov, Portrait of F. Dostoyevsky, 1878 (Tretyakovskaya Gallery, Moscow); Vasily Surikov, Boyarynya Morozova, 1887. (Tretyakovskaya Gallery, Moscow).

<http://www.pinterest.com/MINDFISH/boris-kobe-dachau-concentration-camp-tarot-cards/>: image of tarot card.

THEME 4: MAIN TEXT

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1

THEME



THE IMPACT OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

The character of industrial revolution was peculiar in Europe: the Industrial Revolution lasted in Europe far longer than in other regions of the world. It started in the late 18th century in some regions of Europe: in the British Midlands, in Switzerland, in Belgium, in Saxony, in Northern Italy.

It ended only during the 1960s and 1970s when Europe became almost fully industrialised with the exception of the Balkans.

Hartmut Kaelble

TOPICS



Demographic and social change

...we deal with two major areas of social transformations emerging in the wake of industrialisation – which are actually four: the population change as well as urbanisation, and the changes in the social inequalities including proletarianisation as well as the emergence of new social movements.

Béla Tomka

Expanding populations

LOWER SECONDARY

- ▶ Why did the population of European countries increase during the 18th and 19th centuries?
- ▶ Did all countries experience similar rates of growth?
- ▶ Variations in birth and mortality rates between different social groups.

People on the move

UPPER SECONDARY

- ▶ Why did people move? Understanding 'push and pull' factors affecting internal migration and urbanisation.
- ▶ What were the new industrial cities like?

Women, children and families

LOWER SECONDARY

- ▶ What were some of the short and long-term effects of involvement in the industrial workforce for women and children in particular?
- ▶ How did domestic life differ between different classes?

Workers' organisations

UPPER SECONDARY

- ▶ The growth of workers' organisations nationally and internationally in the 19th century.
- ▶ Relationships between workers' organisations, employers and governments.

TEACHING AND LEARNING UNITS



Time and space

The idea of organising time into standardised units of hours, minutes and seconds would have seemed strange, even macabre to a peasant serf of medieval times.

By its essential nature the clock dissociated time from human events. No longer was it biotic and physical phenomena like the rising and the setting of the sun and changing seasons but time became a function of pure mechanism.

Ron Noon

Faster than a galloping horse

LOWER SECONDARY

- ▶ The development and rates of growth of new forms of transport in the 19th century.
- ▶ Their economic and social impact on the countries of Europe.

Clock watching

PRIMARY

- ▶ How did people keep track of time before the development of clocks and watches?
- ▶ Why did being able to tell the time accurately become increasingly important?

Telecommunications

LOWER SECONDARY

- ▶ How and why telecommunications advanced in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Our industrial heritage

...landscapes in which culture seemed to have been absent for a long time, were suddenly seen to provide outstanding elements of a special kind of material 'culture' – the objects of industrial heritage – factories, mills, coalmines and the infrastructure that supported them – housing, railways, canals.

John Hamer

Salvation or obliteration

TEACHER TRAINEES

- ▶ What should be done with old industrial sites and buildings?

Exploring the European Industrial heritage Route

TEACHER TRAINEES

- ▶ Enabling young people to explore, understand and care for their industrial heritage.

2

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION

Developments in education, from traditional practices to modern education systems, have been marked by a great many interactions affecting the entire European area.

A study of the field of the history of education in Europe shows a unity in which the specific developments in education of different nations are strongly linked. Unity and cohesion are present in the dialogue, alongside each nation's struggle to distinguish itself from the others.

The enterprise of education has helped Europe in its development of a culture of dialogue.

THEME



TOPICS

TEACHING
AND
LEARNING
UNITS

Access to education

The development of education systems has responded step by step to the necessity of covering the whole territory of the state and to the need to ensure equal access for all to education. On the one hand it is possible to compare the structure of systems, whilst on the other hand it is possible to look at steps in democratisation, in particular concerning equality between men and women, aspects of social segregation, and ideas about the length of compulsory schooling. A now outdated concept of education as necessary and sufficient preparation for later life can be considered alongside the notion of lifelong learning.

Gender equality

TEACHER TRAINEES

- ▶ What barriers have existed that prevented full and equitable access to education for boys and girls?
- ▶ Do barriers still exist?
- ▶ What does the promotion of 'gender equality' mean?
- ▶ Can education eliminate gender inequality?

Social segregation

TEACHER TRAINEES

- ▶ To what degree is social segregation in schooling an inevitable result of socially segregated societies?
- ▶ What role can schools play in leading towards a more democratic society?

Length of compulsory schooling and lifelong learning

UPPER SECONDARY

- ▶ What is the best age to leave formal education and start work?
- ▶ What arrangements should society make for people to be able to learn throughout their working life?

The reform of pedagogy

Pedagogy and methodology have undergone huge transformations through history. Debate has enriched the history of education in the classroom with fruitful exchanges and interactions across Europe and at an international level.

Influence of religion

TEACHER TRAINEES

- ▶ In what ways has religion influenced schooling and pedagogy across Europe?
- ▶ What are the continuing effects of different religious traditions on pedagogy across Europe today?

Expansion of popular education

TEACHER TRAINEES

- ▶ In what ways has the state influenced schooling and pedagogy throughout Europe in the past?
- ▶ In what ways does the state continue to influence schooling and pedagogy?
- ▶ In what ways does the classroom of the 19th century differ from classrooms today?

Changing views on learning and learners

TEACHER TRAINEES

- ▶ What attempts were made and are being made to resolve tensions between child centred and more traditional notions of pedagogy?
- ▶ In what ways did views of children's future roles in society influence pedagogy in the past and continue to influence its practice in the present?

The exchange of knowledge, ideas and actors

If the great education systems are essentially linked in their form and content with the nation state, the history of education in Europe is also marked by different levels of intensity depending on the period, by an intensive exchange of knowledge, ideas and actors. Such exchanges led to change.

The birth of universal centres of learning, universities, was a process of particularly European origin and a common heritage was developed at universities, the original academic institutions.

Currently, European higher education is engaged in a period of reform which started with the Massification of higher education in the 1960s and is continuing today with the Bologna Process of reform.

Early universities

TEACHER TRAINEES

- ▶ How international were the early universities?

Globalisation and education

TEACHER TRAINEES

- ▶ What has been the effect of globalisation on education?

3

HUMAN RIGHTS AS REFLECTED IN THE HISTORY OF ART

THEME



The intersection between art and the social and political sphere is rich in history. At its core art is about true freedom. Art is the unbridled ability for expression and free speech. Art affords the artist the unique ability to register the horror of an event, in a way that statistics cannot. Its function is to remain forever as a reminder that this inhumanity or injustice occurred. Contemporary artists gain inspiration from the world around them, from the everyday or from society as a whole. The artistic process involves the artist engaging with the world around them and thereby a natural relationship emerges as human rights concerns and abuses occur in that space.

Voice Our Concern, Amnesty International Ireland

TOPICS



Valuing individual human life

Human life and the many manifestations of violence it has suffered have found an exceptional medium for representation and questioning in the arts and literature...I will confine myself...to describing a few cases reflecting the power of the arts to be constantly in conflict with this violence which denies a freer and more egalitarian existence...

Fernando Golvano

Only if you are human

UPPER SECONDARY

- ▶ In his paper on Human rights in a historical perspective, **Nils Naastad** referred to the 1550 debate over the treatment of Indians in the new 'Spanish' territories in Central America. The central issue in the debate was not whether human beings had rights – all agreed that they had – but about whether the Indians could properly be regarded as human. Rights protect you – but only if you are human.

Do we not bleed?

UPPER SECONDARY

- ▶ Developing an historical overview by tracking the theme of the Judeo-Christian relationship over a broad span of time.
- ▶ Offering explanations which require the bringing together of a range of political, economic, social and cultural factors.

'Butterflies do not live here'

LOWER SECONDARY

- ▶ Strengthening empathetic understanding in order to make fuller use of the historical record.
- ▶ Responding to images in terms of the emotions and attitudes the artist is seeking to convey.

TEACHING
AND
LEARNING
UNITSLiving together in dignity
in culturally diverse societies

The task of living together amid growing cultural diversity while respecting human rights and fundamental freedoms is one of the major demands of our times.

Barbara Welzel

How can architecture contribute to a strategy
of opposing exclusion and discrimination?

PRIMARY

- ▶ The religious buildings shown are all in Europe. Below the pictures are words which say something about the various buildings.
- ▶ Children are asked to match the words to the buildings.
- ▶ How does one church shown differ from the previous one shown? Why do you think there are these differences?

Whose stories do museums tell?

TEACHER TRAINEES

- ▶ Museums and galleries are not neutral spaces. The objects they choose to display, the way they display them and what they say about them inevitably reflect – deliberately or unwittingly, openly or covertly – a particular standpoint.

Public representations of national diversity

LOWER SECONDARY

Multicultural melting pot: a free self-guided walk in Liverpool.

- ▶ This walk explores the imprint of immigrants on the city in the form of religious buildings, community associations and shops. The work for students is to develop a similar experience within their own locality or a locality with which they are familiar.

Individual autonomy
and freedom of expression

Autonomy and freedom of expression are not exactly the same thing. The very concept of autonomy accepts the existence of limits; autonomy is something less than outright independence. Freedom of expression is rather more ambitious implying the absence of any constraints (especially in the idealised, romantic view of the 'unchained' artist that took hold of European culture from the late 18th century). In fact, works of art are invariably subject to many actual or potential constraints.

Chris Rowe

Freedom of artistic expression – not always

UPPER SECONDARY

- ▶ Understanding the reasons why, and the basis on which, totalitarian and authoritarian regimes have sought to limit freedom of expression in the visual arts.

The Age of Enlightenment

TEACHER TRAINEES

- ▶ Exploring the use of imagery to express and support political and social ideals in the context of 18th century Europe.

A picture paints a thousand words

PRIMARY

- ▶ Developing the ability to use a range of questions in order to understand the historical significance of pictorial images.

4

EUROPE AND THE WORLD

THEME



The idea of European civilisational supremacy is no longer acceptable for the vast majority of today's historians in Europe. What over the past 150 years has remained remarkably stable, however, are the geographical horizons of history education: just like in the 19th century the rest of the world is still being largely ignored in our current cultures of historiography. One can find evidence for this remarkable continuity not only in the rather Eurocentric focus of history curricula but also in the regional expertise represented in most history departments.

...

The European area has never been closed. It has influenced the rest of the world as much as it itself has been deeply marked by outside influences.

Dominic Sachsenmaier

TOPICS



Encounters between Europe and the world

Much of what has become an integral part of European life, like coffee, tea, cocoa (in Europe all often taken with sugar), tobacco, potatoes, tomatoes, maize or paprika, that reached Hungary from the New World via Turkey, originally is not European. Many things associated with non-European countries e.g. pampas with their gauchos and cattle in case of Argentina or wine in that of Chile actually are European.

Peer Vries

The Uluburun shipwreck

LOWER SECONDARY

- ▶ The Mediterranean as the core centre of trade with links far beyond its limits.
- ▶ What does the cargo tell us about the period?
- ▶ What might have been the trade route of the ship?
- ▶ What might have been the importance of the site where the ship sank?

The founding of a colony

TEACHER TRAINEES

- ▶ History and intellectual honesty: learning about accuracy, limitations of historical research and the danger of generalisations.
- ▶ The importance of the geographical location of a colony.
- ▶ The authorities of the colony: political, administrative and religious.
- ▶ The outside factors that influence the development of a colony.
- ▶ The establishment of laws and regulations in a colony.
- ▶ In what ways did European colonisation shape the world as it is today?

How geographical contexts shaped colonial spaces

UPPER SECONDARY

- ▶ Space has played a critical role in societal organisations; geography is a key to understand:
 - the impact of humans on nature, the impact of nature on humans, and people's perception of the environment;
 - why people function as they do in the areas they live;
 - the impact of globalisation: it allows specific aspects of cultural geography (language, religion, different economic and government structures, art, music) to easily travel around the globe.

TEACHING
AND
LEARNING
UNITS

The sharing of values

Europe needs to find how to succeed in reconciling universal values, called for by globalisation, and individual values tied to roots from which it seems neither possible nor desirable to detach them. While this has long been Europe's concern, it is increasingly the case that all the countries propelled into globalisation want to preserve what has individualised them hitherto.

Jean-Michel Leclercq

Generations and values

UPPER SECONDARY

- ▶ What are values? Why do values matter? What makes values change? What are the sources of values?
- ▶ Are values related to generations? Are there dividing lines within generations? Are generations 'formatted'?
- ▶ Values and the dual forces of cause and effect. Looking at tensions between singular and universal values. Looking at the value of human rights.

What survives from the 1960s?

UPPER SECONDARY

- ▶ Why were the 60s so tumultuous?
- ▶ What is the legacy of the 60s in the world today?
- ▶ How globalised were the 60s? What influenced the 60s?
- ▶ The different ways messages can be conveyed.

A look at the values
in historical political speeches

TEACHER TRAINEES

- ▶ In what way are attitudes and behaviours shaped by shared cultural values?
- ▶ How to recognise economic / power structures that underpin social behaviours and political institutions.
- ▶ Raising awareness: our activities are likely to have important effects we may not previously have acknowledged.
- ▶ Analysing political discourse in its historical context to: understand the values they wanted to convey; identify political propaganda through the values transmitted.

The shaping of perceptions about Europe

A traveller across the European continent will find many differences in almost all aspects of day to day living which make direct connection between the present and the more or less distant past. Those differences are not necessarily atavistic, but rather they are the outcome of different responses to different challenges of the economic, social or cultural environments. Europe in the last two centuries is thus the outcome of a pattern of development with many similarities, as well as the outcome of many different institutional and cultural responses. These two axes probably represent tensions that are not to be solved but only managed indefinitely.

Pedro Lains

Avoiding stereotypes: an African perspective

TEACHER TRAINEES

- ▶ Stories as a key to raise awareness on stereotypes and prejudices.
- ▶ Stories as a means of deconstructing colonial misrepresentations, misconceptions and misinterpretations (of colonisers and colonised).
- ▶ Stories as a means of understanding the many pieces that form a national identity.
- ▶ Understanding the dangers of a single story/perspective.
- ▶ The role of history education in fostering a mental framework in which critical thinking is predominant.

Dividing lines and borders

UPPER SECONDARY

- ▶ Passports as evidence of dividing lines; as instruments of freedom of movement; as symbols of sovereignty.
- ▶ The role of visas in reinforcement of sovereignty; Who needs visas to enter the EU; Fortress Europe: the issues of immigration and human trafficking.

Learning from others
and teaching others through travelling

LOWER SECONDARY

- ▶ Explore the European views of the world.
- ▶ Identify European perceptions and misperceptions of the non-Western world.
- ▶ Understand how belief systems work.

1

THÈME



L'IMPACT DE LA RÉVOLUTION INDUSTRIELLE

La révolution industrielle présente une caractéristique particulière en Europe : en effet, elle y a duré beaucoup plus longtemps que dans d'autres régions du monde. Amorcée à la fin du XVIII^e siècle dans certaines régions d'Europe (les Midlands britanniques, la Suisse, la Belgique, la Saxe et le nord de l'Italie), elle n'a pris fin que dans les années 1960 et 1970, une fois l'Europe devenue presque entièrement industrialisée, à l'exception des Balkans.

Hartmut Kaelble

SOUS-THÈMES



Les changements démographiques et sociaux

... dans le sillage de l'industrialisation, se dégagent deux domaines de transformations sociales majeures – qui sont en fait au nombre de quatre : d'une part, l'évolution démographique et l'urbanisation, et, d'autre part, l'évolution des inégalités sociales, notamment la prolétarianisation, et l'émergence de nouveaux mouvements sociaux.

Béla Tomka

Des populations en expansion

PREMIER CYCLE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SECONDAIRE

- Pourquoi la population des pays européens a augmenté au cours des XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles ?
- Tous les pays ont-ils enregistré des taux de croissance similaires ?
- Les variations des taux de natalité et de mortalité entre les différentes catégories sociales.

Des populations en mouvement

DEUXIÈME CYCLE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SECONDAIRE

- Pourquoi les populations se sont déplacées ? Comprendre les facteurs d'attraction et de répulsion qui influent sur les flux migratoires internes et sur l'urbanisation.
- A quoi ressemblaient les nouvelles villes industrielles ?

Les femmes, les enfants et les familles

PREMIER CYCLE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SECONDAIRE

- Quelles ont été les incidences à court et à long terme de l'intégration des femmes, et surtout des enfants, dans la main d'œuvre industrielle ?
- En quoi la vie de famille différait selon les classes sociales ?

Les organisations de travailleurs

DEUXIÈME CYCLE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SECONDAIRE

- Le développement des organisations de travailleurs aux niveaux national et international au XIX^e siècle.
- Les relations entre les organisations de travailleurs, les employeurs et les gouvernements

UNITÉS
D'ENSEIGNEMENT/
APPRENTISSAGE
QUESTIONS CLÉS

Le temps et l'espace

L'idée d'organiser le temps en unités standardisées telles que les heures, les minutes et les secondes, aurait semblé étrange, voire macabre, aux yeux d'un serf du Moyen-Âge.

La montre a, par essence, dissocié le temps des événements humains. Désormais, le temps n'était plus un phénomène biotique et physique, comme le lever et le coucher du soleil et le changement de saisons, mais le produit d'un simple mécanisme.

Ron Noon

Plus rapide qu'un cheval au galop

PREMIER CYCLE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SECONDAIRE

- Le développement et les taux de croissance des nouvelles formes de transport au XIX^e siècle.
- Leur impact économique et social sur les pays d'Europe.

La surveillance de l'heure

PRIMAIRE

- Comment mesurait-on le temps avant le développement des horloges et des montres ?
- Pourquoi être capable de dire précisément l'heure qu'il est est-t-il devenu de plus important ?

Les télécommunications

PREMIER CYCLE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SECONDAIRE

- Comment et pourquoi les télécommunications ont progressé au XIX^e siècle et au début du XX^e siècle.

Notre patrimoine industriel

... des paysages d'où la culture semblait avoir été absente depuis longtemps sont soudainement devenus des éléments remarquables d'une « culture » matérielle d'un type particulier. Il s'agit des objets du patrimoine industriel : usines, moulins, mines de charbon, et de leurs infrastructures (habitations, voies ferrées, canaux).

John Hamer

Les sauver ou les détruire ?

ENSEIGNANTS EN FORMATION

- Que faire des anciens sites et bâtiments industriels ?

Explorer la Route européenne
du patrimoine industriel

ENSEIGNANTS EN FORMATION

- Permettre aux jeunes d'étudier, de comprendre et de prendre soin de leur patrimoine industriel.

2

L'ÉVOLUTION DE L'ÉDUCATION

THÈME



L'évolution de l'éducation, des pratiques traditionnelles aux systèmes éducatifs contemporains, a été marquée par un très grand nombre d'interactions sur l'ensemble de l'espace européen. L'Histoire de l'éducation en Europe montre qu'il existe une unité dans l'évolution de l'éducation, les évolutions propres aux différentes nations étant fortement liées entre elles. Si les nations se sont efforcées de se distinguer les unes des autres, il existe cependant une unité et une cohésion dans le dialogue. L'entreprise de l'éducation a aidé l'Europe à développer une culture du dialogue.

SOUS-THÈMES



L'accès à l'éducation

Le développement des systèmes éducatifs visait à répondre, progressivement, à la nécessité de couvrir l'ensemble du territoire des Etats et de garantir une égalité d'accès de tous à l'éducation. Il s'agira, d'une part, de comparer la structure des systèmes, et d'autre part, d'examiner les étapes de la démocratisation, notamment en ce qui concerne l'égalité entre les hommes et les femmes, les différents aspects de la ségrégation sociale et les idées sur la durée de la scolarité obligatoire. Le concept aujourd'hui dépassé d'une éducation comme préparation nécessaire et suffisante pour la vie future peut être examiné parallèlement à la notion d'apprentissage tout au long de la vie.

L'égalité hommes-femmes

ENSEIGNANTS EN FORMATION

- ▶ Quels obstacles ont empêché les garçons et les filles d'avoir pleinement et équitablement accès à l'éducation ?
- ▶ Subsiste-t-il des obstacles ?
- ▶ Que signifie la promotion de l'égalité hommes-femmes ?
- ▶ L'éducation peut-elle éliminer les inégalités entre les hommes et les femmes ?

La ségrégation sociale

ENSEIGNANTS EN FORMATION

Dans quelle mesure la ségrégation sociale dans l'éducation est-elle le résultat inévitable de la ségrégation sociale qui existe dans nos sociétés ? Quel rôle peuvent jouer les écoles dans le développement de sociétés plus démocratiques ?

Durée de la scolarité obligatoire et apprentissage tout au long de la vie

DEUXIÈME CYCLE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SECONDAIRE

- ▶ Quel est le meilleur âge pour quitter l'enseignement formel et commencer à travailler ?
- ▶ Quelles dispositions devrait prendre la société pour permettre aux individus d'apprendre tout au long de leur vie professionnelle ?

UNITÉS
D'ENSEIGNEMENT/
APPRENTISSAGE
QUESTIONS CLÉS

La réforme de la pédagogie

La pédagogie et la méthodologie ont connu des transformations considérables tout au long de l'histoire. Les débats ont enrichi l'histoire de l'éducation scolaire grâce à des relations et des échanges fructueux dans toute l'Europe et au niveau international.

L'influence de la religion

ENSEIGNANTS EN FORMATION

- ▶ En quoi la religion a influencé l'enseignement et la pédagogie en Europe ?
- ▶ En quoi les différentes traditions religieuses continuent d'influencer la pédagogie en Europe aujourd'hui ?

Le développement de l'éducation populaire

ENSEIGNANTS EN FORMATION

- ▶ De quelle manière l'État a influencé l'enseignement scolaire et la pédagogie en Europe par le passé ?
- ▶ De quelle manière l'Etat continue d'influencer l'enseignement scolaire et la pédagogie ?
- ▶ En quoi la salle de classe du XIX^e siècle était différente des salles de classe d'aujourd'hui ?

Des visions de l'apprentissage et des apprenants en évolution

ENSEIGNANTS EN FORMATION

- ▶ Quelles tentatives ont été faites et sont faites pour résoudre les tensions entre la pédagogie axée sur l'enfant et les notions de pédagogie plus traditionnelles ?
- ▶ En quoi les visions traditionnelles des futurs rôles des enfants dans la société ont influencé la pédagogie par le passé et continuent d'influencer sa pratique aujourd'hui ?

Les échanges de connaissances, d'idées et d'acteurs

Si les grands systèmes éducatifs sont essentiellement liés, en ce qui concerne leur forme et leur contenu, aux Etats-nations, l'histoire de l'éducation en Europe est également marquée, à des degrés variables selon les époques, par des échanges intensifs de connaissances, d'idées et d'acteurs. Ces échanges ont entraîné des changements.

La création de centres d'apprentissage universels, les universités, est, à l'origine, un processus essentiellement européen, et un patrimoine commun a été développé dans les universités, qui sont les premiers établissements d'enseignement supérieur.

Actuellement, l'enseignement supérieur européen est engagé dans une réforme, qui a débuté avec sa massification dans les années 1960 et se poursuit aujourd'hui avec le processus de réforme de Bologne.

Les premières universités

ENSEIGNANTS EN FORMATION

- ▶ Dans quelle mesure les premières universités étaient internationales ?

Mondialisation et éducation

ENSEIGNANTS EN FORMATION

- ▶ Quels ont été les effets de la mondialisation sur l'éducation ?

3

LES DROITS DE L'HOMME TELS QU'ILS SONT REPRÉSENTÉS DANS L'HISTOIRE DE L'ART

Le point de rencontre entre l'art et la sphère sociale et politique offre une grande richesse sur le plan historique. Au cœur de l'art réside la véritable liberté. L'art est la capacité non entravée de s'exprimer librement. L'art donne à l'artiste la capacité exceptionnelle d'enregistrer l'horreur d'un événement, comme les statistiques ne pourront jamais le faire. Il a pour fonction de nous rappeler à jamais que cet acte d'inhumanité ou d'injustice s'est produit. Les artistes contemporains s'inspirent du monde qui les entoure, du quotidien ou de la société dans son ensemble. Le processus artistique suppose l'engagement de l'artiste dans le monde qui l'entoure ; il en émerge une relation naturelle lorsque des atteintes aux droits de l'homme sont commises dans cet espace.

Voice Our Concern, Amnesty International Ireland

Attacher de la valeur à chaque vie humaine

La vie humaine et les nombreuses manifestations de violence auxquelles elle est confrontée ont trouvé un moyen de représentation et de questionnement exceptionnel dans l'art et la littérature... Je me bornerai... à décrire quelques exemples illustrant la capacité de l'art à s'opposer constamment à cette violence, qui empêche d'accéder à une existence plus libre et plus égalitaire...

Fernando Golvano

Seulement si vous êtes humains

DEUXIÈME CYCLE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SECONDAIRE

► Dans son article sur Les droits de l'homme dans une perspective historique, **Nils Naastad** faisait référence au débat mené en 1550 concernant le traitement des indiens sur les nouveaux territoires « espagnols » d'Amérique centrale. Dans ce débat, la question centrale n'était pas de savoir si les êtres humains avaient des droits – tous convenaient qu'ils en avaient – mais si les indiens pouvaient être considérés comme des êtres humains. Les droits vous protègent – mais seulement si vous êtes humains..

Ne saignons-nous pas ?

DEUXIÈME CYCLE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SECONDAIRE

- Dresser un panorama historique en suivant le thème de la relation judéo-chrétienne sur une large période de temps.
- Proposer des explications nécessitant de faire une synthèse entre divers facteurs politiques, économiques, sociaux et culturels.

« Les papillons ne vivent pas ici »

PREMIER CYCLE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SECONDAIRE

- Renforcer la compréhension empathique afin d'utiliser pleinement le document historique.
- Réagir aux images en s'intéressant aux émotions et aux attitudes que l'artiste cherche à faire naître.

Vivre ensemble dans la dignité dans des sociétés multiculturelles

Apprendre à vivre ensemble, dans un contexte de diversité culturelle croissante tout en respectant les droits de l'homme et les libertés fondamentales, est l'un des impératifs majeurs de notre temps.

Barbara Welzel

Comment l'architecture peut contribuer à une stratégie de lutte contre l'exclusion et la discrimination ?

PRIMAIRE

- Les édifices religieux présentés se situent tous en Europe. Sous les images, des mots disent quelque chose des différents bâtiments.
- Les enfants sont invités à associer les mots aux bâtiments.
- En quoi l'église présentée diffère de la précédente ? Comment expliques-tu ces différences ?

De qui les musées racontent-ils l'histoire ?

ENSEIGNANTS EN FORMATION

- Les musées et les galeries ne sont pas des espaces neutres. Les objets qu'ils choisissent d'exposer, la manière dont ils les présentent et ce qu'ils en disent reflètent inévitablement – délibérément ou involontairement, ouvertement ou discrètement – un point de vue particulier.

Les représentations publiques de la diversité nationale

PREMIER CYCLE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SECONDAIRE

- *Un melting-pot multiculturel : promenade libre et autoguidée à Liverpool.* Cette promenade explore l'empreinte laissée par les immigrés dans la ville, sous la forme d'édifices religieux, d'associations locales et de magasins. Il s'agit, pour les élèves, de développer une expérience similaire dans leur propre localité ou dans une localité qu'ils connaissent bien.

Autonomie individuelle et liberté d'expression

Autonomie et liberté d'expression ne sont pas tout à fait la même chose. Le concept d'autonomie accepte l'existence de limites ; l'autonomie se situe un peu en-deçà de l'indépendance absolue. La liberté d'expression est un peu plus ambitieuse, en ce qu'elle suppose l'absence de toute contrainte (surtout dans la vision idéalisée et romantique de l'artiste « affranchi » qui s'est imposée dans la culture européenne à partir de la fin du XVIII^e siècle. En fait, les œuvres d'art sont invariablement soumises à de nombreuses contraintes réelles ou potentielles.

Chris Rowe

La liberté de l'expression artistique – pas toujours

DEUXIÈME CYCLE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SECONDAIRE

- Comprendre les raisons pour lesquelles, et sur quelles bases, les régimes totalitaires et autoritaires ont cherché à limiter la liberté d'expression dans les arts visuels.

Le Siècle des Lumières

ENSEIGNANTS EN FORMATION

- Etudier l'emploi de l'imagerie pour exprimer et soutenir des idéaux politiques et sociaux dans le contexte de l'Europe du XVIII^e siècle.

Une image dépeint mille mots

PRIMAIRE

- Développer la capacité à utiliser une série de questions pour comprendre la signification historique d'images picturales.

THÈME



SOUS-THÈMES

UNITÉS
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4

L'EUROPE ET LE MONDE

L'idée de la suprématie civilisationnelle de l'Europe n'est aujourd'hui plus acceptable pour la grande majorité des historiens d'Europe. En revanche, ce qui, au cours des 150 dernières années, est resté remarquablement stable, ce sont les horizons géographiques de l'enseignement de l'histoire : comme au XIXe siècle, le reste du monde est toujours largement ignoré dans nos cultures historiographiques actuelles. Cette remarquable continuité est attestée non seulement par l'approche relativement eurocentrique des programmes d'enseignement de l'histoire, mais aussi par la spécialisation régionale de la plupart des départements d'histoire. ...

L'espace européen n'a jamais été clos. Il a influencé le reste du monde, tout autant qu'il a été profondément marqué par les influences extérieures.

Dominic Sachsenmaier

Les rencontres entre l'Europe et le monde

Beaucoup de ce qui est devenu partie intégrante de la vie européenne, comme le café, le thé, le cacao (tous souvent consommés en Europe avec du sucre), le tabac, les pommes de terre, les tomates, le maïs ou le paprika (qui est arrivé en Hongrie depuis le Nouveau monde via la Turquie), n'est pas européen à l'origine. De nombreuses choses que l'on associe à des pays non européens, comme la pampa avec ses gauchos et son bétail en Argentine, ou les vins du Chili, sont, en fait, européennes.

Peer Vries

L'épave d'Uluburun

PREMIER CYCLE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SECONDAIRE

- ▶ La Méditerranée en tant que centre du commerce avec des liens allant bien au-delà de ses limites.
- ▶ Que nous dit le cargo de cette période ?
- ▶ Quel pouvait être l'itinéraire commercial du navire ?
- ▶ Quelle pouvait être l'importance du site où le navire a sombré ?

La constitution d'une colonie

ENSEIGNANTS EN FORMATION

- ▶ Histoire et honnêteté intellectuelle : apprentissage portant sur la précision, les limites de la recherche historique et le danger des généralisations.
- ▶ L'importance de la situation géographique d'une colonie.
- ▶ Les instances politiques, administratives et religieuses de la colonie.
- ▶ Les facteurs extérieurs qui influencent le développement d'une colonie.
- ▶ L'établissement de lois et de règlements dans une colonie.
- ▶ En quoi la colonisation européenne a façonné le monde tel qu'il est aujourd'hui ?

Comment les contextes géographiques ont façonné les espaces coloniaux

DEUXIÈME CYCLE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SECONDAIRE

- ▶ L'espace a joué un rôle fondamental dans les organisations sociétales. La géographie est une clé pour comprendre :
 - l'impact des humains sur la nature, l'impact de la nature sur les humains et la perception qu'ont les individus de l'environnement ;
 - pourquoi les individus fonctionnent de telle ou telle façon sur les territoires où ils vivent ;
 - l'impact de la mondialisation ;
 - elle permet à des aspects spécifiques de la géographie culturelle (langue, religion, structures économiques et gouvernementales, art, musique) de voyager aisément autour du globe.

Le partage des valeurs

L'Europe a besoin de trouver comment parvenir à concilier les valeurs universelles, exigées par la mondialisation, et les valeurs individuelles liées aux racines, dont il ne semble ni possible, ni souhaitable de les détacher. Or, si c'est depuis longtemps une préoccupation de l'Europe, tous les pays propulsés dans la mondialisation sont de plus en plus soucieux de préserver ce qui, jusqu'à présent, a fait leur particularité.

Jean-Michel Leclercq

Génération et valeurs

DEUXIÈME CYCLE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SECONDAIRE

- ▶ Qu'est-ce que les valeurs ? Pourquoi les valeurs sont importantes ? Qu'est-ce qui modifie les valeurs ? Quelles sont les sources des valeurs ?
- ▶ Les valeurs sont-elles liées aux générations ? Y-a-t-il des clivages entre générations ? Les générations sont-elles « formatées » ?
- ▶ Les valeurs et la force duale de la cause et de l'effet. Réfléchir aux tensions entre valeurs individuelles et universelles. Réfléchir à la valeur « droits de l'homme ».

Que reste-t-il des années 1960 ?

DEUXIÈME CYCLE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SECONDAIRE

- ▶ Pourquoi les années 1960 ont été si tumultueuses ?
- ▶ Quel est l'héritage des années 1960 dans le monde d'aujourd'hui ?
- ▶ Dans quelle mesure les années 1960 étaient-elles mondialisées ? Par quoi ont-elles été influencées ?
- ▶ Les différentes manières dont les messages peuvent être transmis.

Réflexion sur les valeurs dans les discours politiques historiques

ENSEIGNANTS EN FORMATION

- ▶ En quoi les attitudes et les comportements sont façonnés par les valeurs culturelles partagées ?
- ▶ Comment reconnaître les structures économiques/du pouvoir qui sous-tendent les comportements sociaux et les institutions politiques.
- ▶ Sensibiliser : nos activités peuvent avoir des conséquences importantes, dont nous n'avons peut-être pas conscience.
- ▶ Analyser le discours politique dans son contexte historique pour : comprendre quelles valeurs il cherche à transmettre ; identifier la propagande politique par les valeurs transmises.

Le façonnement des perceptions de l'Europe

Le voyageur qui traverse l'Europe rencontrera de nombreuses différences dans presque tous les aspects de la vie quotidienne, qui sont directement en rapport avec le présent et un passé plus ou moins éloigné. Ces différences ne sont pas forcément ataviques ; elles résultent plutôt de différentes réponses à différents enjeux liés à l'environnement économique, social ou culturel. L'Europe des deux derniers siècles est donc le fruit d'un modèle de développement présentant de nombreuses similarités, et de nombreuses réponses institutionnelles et culturelles différentes. Ces deux axes expliquent probablement pourquoi il existe des tensions, qui ne sont pas à résoudre, mais à gérer indéfiniment.

Pedro Lains

Eviter les stéréotypes : une perspective africaine

ENSEIGNANTS EN FORMATION

- ▶ Les histoires sont un bon moyen de sensibiliser aux stéréotypes et aux préjugés.
- ▶ Les histoires sont un moyen de déconstruire les représentations, les conceptions et les interprétations coloniales erronées (des colonisateurs et des colonisés).
- ▶ Les histoires sont un moyen de comprendre les nombreux éléments qui constituent une identité nationale.
- ▶ Comprendre les dangers d'une histoire/perspective unique.
- ▶ Le rôle de l'éducation à l'histoire pour favoriser un cadre mental dans lequel la réflexion critique est prédominante.

Lignes de démarcation et frontières

DEUXIÈME CYCLE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SECONDAIRE

- ▶ Le passeport en tant que manifestation de la frontière ; en tant qu'instrument de la liberté de circulation ; en tant que symbole de souveraineté.
- ▶ Le rôle des visas dans le renforcement de la souveraineté. Qui a besoin d'un visa pour entrer dans l'UE ? La forteresse Europe : les problèmes de l'immigration et de la traite des êtres humains.

Apprendre des autres et enseigner aux autres en voyageant

PREMIER CYCLE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SECONDAIRE

- ▶ Etudier les visions européennes du monde.
- ▶ Identifier les perceptions européennes – et les perceptions erronées – du monde non occidental.
- ▶ Comprendre comment fonctionne un système de croyances.

THÈME



SOUS-THÈMES

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THE CONCEPT OF SHARED HISTORIES

December 2014 marks the 60th birthday of the European Cultural Convention. Its publication was and remains a significant event. In the preamble to the Convention, the original 14 Council of Europe signatories resolved that its purpose was ‘to foster among the nationals of all members... the study of the languages, history and civilisation of the others and of the civilisation which is common to them all’. To this end Articles 1 and 2 urged each contracting party to promote three initiatives: the development of its national contribution to the common cultural heritage of Europe; the study by its own nationals of the languages, history and civilisation of other parties and the support of such studies in its own territory; and the study of its language(s), history and civilisation in the territory of other signatories.

Embedded in the Convention was the notion that Europeans share a history to which all countries have contributed. They possess a political, economic, religious and cultural heritage that in part at least transcends national boundaries. It is a heritage to be found in the streets of Ephesus or St Petersburg; in the palaces of Alhambra or Versailles; and in the music of Mozart, the plays of Shakespeare or the paintings of Picasso. It is there in the legacy of overseas exploration and exploitation, of the Industrial Revolution and of countless conflicts. It exists in the less tangible areas of customs, traditions, ideas and mythologies. Signed less than ten years after the

events of 1939-45 had shown the futility of any hope that the First World War might be ‘the war to end wars’, the Convention recognised both the power and the potential dangers that could lurk in feeding people a diet of exclusively national history. Nearly a century previously, for example, John Stuart Mill had argued that whilst there may be many ways in which a feeling of nationality could be generated:

*“the strongest of all is identity of political antecedents; the possession of a national history, and consequent community of recollections; collective pride and humiliation, pleasure and regret, connected with the same incidents in the past”.*¹¹

The Convention envisaged, therefore, ‘sharing’ in another sense, that of exchanging knowledge and understanding. In this sense, ‘shared history’ is not a phrase identifying those parts of the past that might be considered to be jointly owned, but a pointer to the willingness of countries to teach and learn about each other’s national histories. People in all countries it was hoped would be encouraged and enabled to venture beyond a past confined by national borders and national interests.

Implicit in this sense of sharing the past is that, although they may differ and some may be more vulnerable to interrogation than others, all histories

have value. No one historical account may claim the status of being the sole repository of truth and the moral superior of all others. In particular, national histories need to guard against their narratives depicting those considered to be outside the nation not only as the ‘other’, but more insidiously as the ‘enemy’.

Examples of nations relying heavily for their own self-identification on their perceived enemies, both external and internal, are easy to find. From such a standpoint, others’ versions of the past – if considered at all – are dismissed as both intentionally false and irretrievably immoral. During periods of conflict or immediate post-conflict in particular, people – and young people especially – will be presented with only the one historical narrative, a narrative explicitly designed to dehumanise the perceived enemy².

Signatories to the European Cultural Convention agreed, therefore, to resist the temptation to see history as merely an instrument for creating a sense of collective national identity. As was noted at the time of its 50th anniversary, an early educational task set by the Convention was ‘to undo the nationalist appropriation and distortion of history’³. And, looking to the future, in the Wroclaw Declaration on fifty years of European Cultural Cooperation the ministers for culture, education, youth and sport jointly expressed the hope that we might ‘deepen a sense of

¹ Mill J.S., Considerations on Representative Government, 1862, Chapter 16.

² For attempts to address this issue in the context of Israeli-Palestinian relations see, for example, the work of Dan Bar-On and Sami Adwan in the Prime (Peace Research in the Middle East) Shared History Project.

³ 50 Years of the European Cultural Convention, Council of Europe, p 10.

our shared history... among the peoples of our 47 states, within their diversity, so as to avoid the emergence of a sense of division within greater Europe¹.

Ten years later the number of countries which are now party to the Convention has grown to 50. But the goal of Europeans acquiring a greater sense of a shared history and the benefits that might bring, has continued to prove elusive. Efforts to develop and champion a history, particularly in schools, that has a truly European focus, have generally foundered. Reviewing what she describes as 'the only real Pan-European production' - *The History of Europe* by Delouche published over twenty years ago² - Joke van der Leeuw Roord (EUROCLIO) identified a number of problems. The most serious of these was that the different language editions of the book diverged considerably from the French language master text. Even the French language edition was different from the French master text. Basically, she concluded, the traditional national mirror of pride and pain where national suffering and achievements are bloated and poor behaviour is disregarded, returned.³

In reality the European element in the historical perspective and history education common to most countries consists of what Susanne Popp has described as a 'Europe of nations'⁴. To varying degrees, she suggests, all history curricula and textbooks venture beyond the presentation of national history in the narrowest sense to touch upon Europe and world related topics. History frames of reference, narratives of 'how we became who we are', for example, are routinely embedded in a quasi-genetic connection of ancestry which goes back to the Greek and Roman ancient world. Further, most curricula adopt more or less the same broad content outline. Beginning with Greek democracy and the Roman Empire the line goes via the migration period, Charlemagne and the rise of the European cities and states through the Reformation, European expansion and Absolutism to the modern era. The modern era encompasses, inter alia, the French Revolution, the declaration of human rights, industrialisation, 'nation building', imperialism, the world wars and the crimes against humanity of the twentieth century.

Not unlike Popp's 'Europe of nations' is what Anthony Smith has termed a 'European family of cultures'⁵. Given certain caveats around issues of definition, identification and commonality, the case for there being some traditions and heritages – Roman law, Judeo-Christian ethics, parliamentary

institutions, Renaissance humanism or rationalism - which are at least partially shared, seems self-evidently true. These are the members of Smith's 'family of cultures'. As with all families, however, the chief characteristic is that although there are identifying resemblances not all of the family share them to the same extent. For example, he suggests, Renaissance humanism found its way into many, but not all, parts of Europe. So too with the spirit and methods of the Enlightenment.

*'Europe here represents a field favourable to diffusion and cross-fertilisation of cultural traditions, but one of uneven receptivity. Specific European states or communities may reveal only certain of the ... traditions or heritages, or only to a limited extent. But the sum total ... has historically revealed a gamut of overlapping and boundary-transcending political traditions and cultural heritages, which together make up what we may call the European experience and the European family of cultures.'*⁶

What is identified by both Popp and Smith is not a homogeneous European whole but rather a patchwork Europe. A Europe which has necessarily to be seen through the prism of a series of national perspectives. One of the implications of this is that if we have the ambition of constructing a more collective European identity through the teaching of history

we will have to continue trying to do so by working within national frames of reference. And, an added consideration, is that decisions about what is taught or not taught in schools – and not uncommonly how it is taught – are made on the basis of national, not European, priorities and considerations. This is especially the case with subjects such as history, civics and literature.

The use of the plural 'histories' in this publication, therefore, is not an editorial oversight. Partly it expresses the limitations to 'sharing' pointed out by Popp and Smith. Partly it recognises that to attempt to produce a definitive version of the past, whether as national history or as a grand 'Euro-narrative', is to go in pursuit of a chimera. History is indeed, as the Dutch historian Pieter Geyl expressed it, an argument without end. And partly it acknowledges that histories are constructed. Although for all the peoples of Europe the past has been a litany of wars lost and won; of periods of often uncertain peace; of political, religious and social struggles; and of shifting balances of power, not all have experienced them in the same way, at the same time or with the same force. The impact of industrialisation or of the continent's contact with the wider world was not uniformly felt across Europe. Hence these events and movements were differently perceived, left different traces in the historical record and have been variously interpreted by historians in ways that are reflected in the school curriculum and in history textbooks.

1 Wroclaw Declaration on fifty years of European Cultural Cooperation, Council of Europe, December 2004

2 Delouche Frédéric (Ed.), *Histoire de l'Europe*, Paris, 1992.

3 van der Leeuw Roord J., A common textbook for Europe? Utopia or a Crucial Challenge? 2008, in Bauer Jan Patrick; Meyer-Hamme Johannes; Körber Andreas, hrsg. *Geschichtslernen, Innovation und Reflexion. Geschichts-didaktik im Spannungsfeld von theoretischen Zuspitzungen, empirischen Erkundungen, normativen Überlegungen und pragmatischen Wendungen. Festschrift für Bodo von Borries zum 65. Geburtstag.* Geschichts-didaktik. Herbolzheim: Centaurus.

4 Popp S., Trans-European convergences in national textbooks for history education? An approach to the comparison of image sources in schoolbooks, *Yesterday & Today*, No.5, October 2010.

5 Smith A.D., National identity and the idea of European unity, *International Affairs* 68 1, 1992, pp 70-71.

6 Ibid p 72.

SHARED PROCEDURES

To the two aspects of shared histories identified in the European Cultural Convention – firstly in the sense of jointly held and secondly in the sense of exchanging - we might then add a third, one which reflects the constructivist nature of the discipline. In this third sense, ‘shared’ focuses on the procedures that are integral to the teaching, learning and writing of history. It points to the obligation to ensure that historical narratives and judgements are supported by evidence that is appropriately comprehensive and robustly tested. It points also to the need for there to be an element of shared values. There is one way, the English philosopher Atkinson reasoned, in which commitment to values is absolutely central to history.

‘Historians must recognise such intellectual values as concern for truth, validity in argument and respect for evidence ... There is no reason in logic why a bad man should not be a good historian ... (but) A man who, in his writing about the past, showed little or no regard for the intellectual values would not be an historian at all.’¹

History has agreed procedures. It seeks to provide an objective account and explanation of past actions and events. It recognises complexity and ambiguity.

¹ Atkinson, R. F., *Knowledge and Explanation in History*, Macmillan, London, 1978, p 194.

Wilfully failing to consider all available evidence or to take account of conflicting versions of the past are lapses that historians commit at their peril.

In terms of procedures, shared histories also picks out the multi-faceted nature of the perspectives with which historians must engage – multiperspectivity. Anna Herlin, for instance, offers the example of considering the phenomenon of European imperialism². Limiting any account solely to European participants would risk being non-historical in the Atkinson sense. Any discussion about the effects and consequences of imperialism that was so restricted could be little more than a contemplation of Europe’s relationship to the ‘other’, and a one-sided consideration of the effects that the experience of imperialism had on the European continent. Only once the voices of those previously subjected to imperial rule could be heard, when dialogue could start to take place, could imperialism be considered in a meaningful, and mutually empowering, way.

² Herlin A., *A Shared European History? Perceptions of Imperialism and Islam in Matriculation Examination Essays and History Textbooks*, Master’s thesis, University of Helsinki, May 2011, p 27.

‘DIVIDING LINES’
– DIVERSITY
WITHOUT DIVISIVENESS?

In 1954, the background to the European Cultural Convention was a Europe of apparently stable and distinct national identities, and of political division largely along a left-right axis. Writing 50 years later, the authors of the Council’s publication commemorating the anniversary noted that the political background had altered radically as a result of the emergence of new ethnic and religious communities, the fall of communism and globalisation. Within this changed background:

‘Cultural identity has emerged as the main divisive force in politics. It has lain at the heart of serious intercommunity tensions, hooliganism, and racism in many countries. Worse, it has fed at least nine conflicts in Europe over the last decade that have spilled over into armed violence, terrorism, war, and even ... genocide.’³

The concept of ‘difference’ in relation to cultures, however, is important. It takes on a special importance, for example, in the UNESCO convention in which cultural diversity is affirmed as a defining characteristic of humanity and a universal human right that forms

³ *50 Years of the European Cultural Convention*, Council of Europe, p 16.

the basis for cultural identity⁴. In this context, therefore, the idea of ‘dividing lines’ presents something of a paradox. On the one hand they are necessary to delineate an inalienable part of what it means to be human; and on the other they maintain cultural boundaries that have too often spilled over into conflict and worse. Of the special challenges humankind is now faced with, the handling of cultural diversity is one. It is a challenge that history education in the 21st century must also confront.

How to do so successfully? Christophe Wulf, an anthropologist and philosopher of education, is one who has provided some pointers⁵. Amongst the requirements that must be met, he has argued, is the need for mutual respect and tolerance - which in turn depends upon knowledge of differences; possession of high order common values; a way of thinking from the point of view of the other; resistance to actions aimed at reducing difference to sameness; and acknowledgement of normative rules such as those outlined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

A similar paradox underlying the nature of ‘dividing lines’ is suggested in a collection of articles published by the Council of Europe in 2004. The articles explored the interaction between cultural heritage and frontiers – natural frontiers, political frontiers

⁴ *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions*, UNESCO, Paris, 2005.

⁵ Wulf C., *Teaching of History in Europe: A Transcultural Task*, paper presented at Council of Europe conference, Oslo, 2010.

and frontiers of the mind. Frontiers, the authors argued, are not just places of confrontation or boundaries marking off identities and groups. They are dividing lines which are also meeting places; hence the title of the publication: *Dividing lines, connecting lines*. Frontiers then “invite us to strike out in new directions, forge new contacts, and transcend the old and familiar... [they] are undoubtedly the place where Europe’s identities can best converge ... European identity may emerge most clearly on these critical dividing lines”.¹

NATIONAL BUT NOT NATIONALISTIC

As dividing lines may escape being divisive, so history may be national in choice of content but avoid being nationalistic in terms of presentation. For the majority of people most of the history they encounter in school or elsewhere will be concerned with those aspects of the past that are judged by, for example, policy makers, curriculum designers or the media, to be of national significance. But, the avoidance of dividing lines or of a national focus sliding into something less desirable raises ‘how’ issues about the way the past is presented as well as ‘what’ questions about the selection of content. Fault lines along national or other divides are more likely to develop and be perpetuated when history education is viewed as a process of transmission on the one hand and assimilation on the other; when historical

¹ Dividing lines, connecting lines: Europe’s cross-border heritage, Council of Europe, 2004, p 9.

narratives are presented as revealed rather than constructed; when there is no attempt at analysis and enquiry; and when complexities are ignored.

Recommendation Rec(2001)15 of the Council of Europe’s Committee of Ministers on *History teaching in twenty-first-century Europe* stresses that history teaching must not be an instrument of ideological manipulation, of propaganda, or used for the promotion of intolerant and ultra-nationalistic, xenophobic, racist or anti-Semitic ideas. The history taught in schools should not promote or allow an excessively nationalistic version of the past which may create an ‘us’ and ‘them’ dichotomy. Amongst other roles, history teaching should play a vital part in developing respect for all kinds of differences; in furthering reconciliation, recognition, understanding and mutual trust between peoples; and in promoting fundamental values, such as tolerance, mutual understanding, human rights and democracy. Furthermore, it should develop pupils’ intellectual ability to analyse and interpret information critically and responsibly, through dialogue, through the search for historical evidence and through open debate based on a multiperspective approach, especially on controversial and sensitive issues.

This view of the purposes and nature of history teaching is echoed in the Council’s later publications - the 2008 White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue *Living together as equals in dignity*; Recommendation 1880 (2009) on his-

tory teaching in conflict and post-conflict areas; and Recommendation CM/Rec(2011)6 on intercultural dialogue and the image of the other in history teaching. As these documents recognise, distorted history teaching that promotes ultra-nationalism is not restricted to relationships between countries, nor to post-conflict societies. It emerges too in the way in which the history of inter-communal relationships within a country is often portrayed. In many societies, history teaching either ignores marginalised groups, especially minorities and indigenous peoples, or helps to strengthen stereotypical perceptions of them. The histories of migrant populations are also commonly omitted. The resulting dominant homogenising narrative washes out diversity. This has the twin effect of both ignoring the cultural heritage of everyone outside the group in power and depriving the majority of the opportunity to understand the complexity of their country.²

Amongst the recommendations for helping to avoid such confined and confining approaches is to ensure that the history that is taught is not limited to political history; that it is balanced with, for example, social, cultural, economic and scientific history³. Teaching that focuses exclusively on political narratives inevitably transmits to young people the message that only political events and issues are of significance

² Report of the Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights, United Nations General Assembly, August 2013, para 31.

³ Recommendation Rec(2001)15 on history teaching in twenty-first-century Europe, Committee of Ministers, Council of Europe, October 2001, para 4.

in human society. It masks the complexity of societies and the interplay of factors behind events and decision making. Worse, political history itself is often reduced to the history of wars, conflicts, conquests and revolutions. This suggests that periods of peace and stability are unimportant.⁴

DISCOVERING THE BIGGER PICTURE

Where societies are fragmented by often long-standing tensions and conflict, history teaching can play an important role in processes of reconciliation, building confidence and learning or relearning how to live together. One way it can seek to do this is by helping young people to discover and identify what the different communities may have developed in terms of shared histories - particularly by demonstrating the relationships, interactions, convergences and similarities in terms of culture, in everyday life.⁵

⁴ Report of the Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights, United Nations General Assembly, August 2013, para 62.

⁵ Recommendation CM/Rec(2011)6 on intercultural dialogue and the image of the other in history teaching, Committee of Ministers, Council of Europe, July 2011. ▶▶▶

In Northern Ireland, for example, work is being done around aspects of shared culture.¹ This is allowing young people to discover that the two main communities, Unionist and Nationalist, so often in violent opposition, do in reality have things in common. They share, for instance, aspects of cultural heritage. Schools may explore how music which is claimed by the one is in fact shared by the other. The origin is the same, the tune is common to both traditions – but, over the generations, different lyrics have emerged. Other cultural symbols and icons which have been shared in the past but are today claimed by one side or the other, and aspects of language, literature and art are also being explored so that young people can appreciate the complexity of their and others' identities.

More widely, in exploring shared history, schools in Northern Ireland have also begun to look more clearly at how experiences with others are shared at a global level. This is helping them to look outwards rather than solely inwards. The experience of Irish emigration in the 19th century, for example, is linked to the contemporary movement of peoples across Europe. The partition of Ireland in 1921 is looked at as part of the decline of the British Empire and as an experience that has aspects in common with the people of other former colonies.

¹ Thompson C., *Shared histories: what implications for practice, teaching materials and teacher training?*, paper presented at Council of Europe conference, Oslo 2010.

TEACHING SHARED HISTORIES

Reconciliation, rebuilding trust and confidence in societies where the memory of conflict is never far away and permanent peace by no means certain, poses many challenges – not least for teachers, and for teachers of history in particular. Often a major challenge is to encourage and support a move away from what are seen as safe pedagogical practices. In certain settings, teachers may be unwilling to challenge highly contentious or unswervingly believed versions of history which pupils encounter at home, in their community or in a place of worship. History teaching based on processes of critical enquiry may well clash with the narrow and highly partisan version of family or communal history in which some students are immersed². Where different sides of the communal divide each believe they hold the one historical truth, approaches which involve looking at shared experiences, finding commonality as well as difference, requires teachers to be courageous.

In considering what is needed for the teaching of shared histories, however, there is a body of evidence to suggest that focusing solely on the rational procedures integral to the discipline of history is not sufficient. Research in Northern Ireland, for example, indicated that teaching history through purely empirical methods did not shift the deep-seated prejudices

² *Teaching Emotive and Controversial History 3-19*, London, Historical Association, 2007.

and highly partisan communal versions of history that teenagers from the opposite sides of the religious and cultural divide brought to the classroom³. Crucial are approaches which emotionally engage young people. Students have to want to care enough about the issues to arouse both their curiosity and their willingness to engage fully with questions that demand hard thinking. This is true of teaching more generally. But it is especially true when considering controversial and divisive issues that are often deeply embedded in the past. If they are engaged inside the classroom exclusively with rational, evidence based approaches to the study of history, young people's sole encounter with history as an emotional experience may well be a one-sided communal narrative. Beyond emotional engagement, teachers need also to be concerned with students' emotional growth. A feature of effective teaching of a multi-faceted history is that students have to be helped to reflect on their own loyalties; to see themselves as having multiple identities; and to recognise that, in varying contexts, everyone shifts from being an insider to an outsider – and back again. "Such can be seen as a growing emotional intelligence in relating to oneself and others"⁴.

³ See for example, McCully A., Pilgrim N., Sutherland A. and McMinn T., *'Don't worry Mr Trimble we can handle it': Balancing the rational and the emotional in the teaching of contentious topics*, *Teaching History*, 106, March 2002; and, McCully A. and Pilgrim N. (2004) *'They took Ireland away from us and we've got to fight to get it back: Using fictional characters to explore the relationship between historical interpretation and contemporary attitudes'* in *Teaching History* 114. London, Historical Association.

⁴ *Teaching Emotive and Controversial History 3-19*, p 8, London, Historical Association, 2007

One of the further implications of the reality that young people acquire narratives of the past from sources far removed from the history classroom is that teachers have to develop partnership working. They need to be able to work alongside others who support young people in different ways - families, community figures, youth leaders, or visitors to the classroom who, for example, have experienced conflict and have stories to tell. Additionally, partnerships such as those forged between schools and museums, present unique opportunities to explore cultural and other forms of diversity, and the ways in which these have been expressed and interpreted over time. ▶▶▶

SHARED HISTORIES – SHARED FUTURES?

“while it cannot be denied that the history of Europe is a history of conflicts, it would be wrong to reify ‘conflict’ into the essence of that history, let alone into a representation of what it means to be European. Instead, as Europeans, we have the choice of subverting those historical conflicts by seeing in them the ‘traces of a common future’ (E. Bloch)¹ – precisely the common European future that our divided and divisive European past firmly denies. The choice involved therefore concerns a normative commitment to another Europe: not the Europe of the past, but the Europe of a possible future: more democratic, more peaceful, and, in this sense, also more prosperous.”²

¹ Bloch E.

² Wagner P., *From Monuments to Human Rights: Redefining ‘Heritage’ in the Work of the Council of Europe*, in ‘Forward planning: The function of cultural heritage in a changing Europe’, Cultural Heritage Division, Council of Europe, Strasbourg, 2000, p 22.

How to approach the teaching and learning of history in ways which might help young people contribute to processes of reconciliation, peace building and conflict prevention was an important aim of this project. Some of the possible answers have been explored by considering and providing exemplar materials on the concepts - and the limitations - of ‘shared histories’ and a Europe free of dividing lines. Bloch’s challenge to us of seeing in past European conflicts and divisions ‘the traces of a common future’ draws the two concepts together in a way which is helpful by indicating the potential advantages that might accrue from choosing to share rather than to challenge differences. Coming to acknowledge that there can be entirely legitimate and genuine – yet varying – interpretations of the past and to recognise that difference is not per se threatening may help young people to identify a range of shared values - amongst them acceptance of diversity, a desire to settle conflicts peacefully, respect for human rights and a preference for democracy.

John Hamer
Education Consultant

THE IMPACT OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

” Beginning in the United Kingdom at the end of the 18th century, the Industrial Revolution spread rapidly, albeit at differing rates and in different forms, to the entire European area and the rest of the world. This was more than just a technical revolution; it was a sweeping transformation of civilisation. The period was particularly rich in terms not only of interactions and convergences but also in tension and conflicts.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN EUROPE: A GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Professor Hartmut Kaelble
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The character of industrial revolution was peculiar in Europe: the Industrial Revolution lasted in Europe far longer than in other regions of the world. It started in the late 18th century in some regions of Europe: in the British Midlands, in Switzerland, in Belgium, in Saxony, in Northern Italy. It ended only during the 1960s and 1970s when Europe became almost fully industrialised with the exception of the Balkans. In all other regions of the world, in the USA, in Japan and more recently in China, India, Brazil, the Industrial Revolution was and is far more rapid. The fact, that industrial revolution was so slow and at the time the first one in the world had major consequences for the conception of the process by Europeans. ▶▶▶



Workers at a textile factory in England in the 19th century.

■ The Industrial Revolution led to a deep and far reaching spatial division in Europe between the industrialised rich countries and regions, with higher standards of living, better education, better social security systems, with stable democracies (with the disastrous exception of Germany and Austria), with high immigration and high export of capital and industrial goods, and the periphery, predominantly agrarian, with a low standard of living, high mortality and low life expectancy, low standard of education and high **analphabetism**, poor public social security, high out-migration, and rising dependency on the rich parts of Europe and strong tendency towards authoritarian regimes and dictatorship. This split reinforced during the 19th century, was most distinct during the inter-war period and was reduced only from the 1950s on. It still, however, plays a role in the actual crisis of the Euro.

■ The duality of industrialisation in Europe applies also to the three central topics: to cities, to education and to the social question. The period of industrialisation (not the early industrialisation) was also the period of extremely rapid urban growth. Old capitals such as Paris or London or Berlin as well as port cities or totally new industrial cities participated in this process of rapid urban growth. After a long predominance of East Asian and American cities as the largest cities of the world, in this period the largest cities of the world were mostly European cities. Cities changed also dramatically with new urban transport, with new cultural centres, museums, theatres, zoos, with railway stations, with new business districts, with new city planning, with the spatial separation of social milieus, with urban conflicts. The actual European cities were created in this period since the middle of the 19th century until the interwar period. At the same time the split between urban societies in the industrialised part of Europe and the rural societies in Southern, Eastern, and South-Eastern Europe, also in the high North (Norway, Finland) and the far West (Ireland) became very distinct. Industrial societies in Europe were internally divided often in a similar way. Only after the Second World War urbanisation in Europe converged.



Steam hammer.

■ As a consequence of industrialisation secondary and higher education also expanded since the late 19th century, due to the demand for more qualified labour from industries, but also due to the demand from expanding municipal and government administrations. Analphabetism declined factually, even though general schooling was introduced much earlier in some countries. The importance of technical science and natural sciences increased. Technical schools and disciplines expanded. At the same time Europe was divided also in education. Higher education was far more advanced in the rich industrial countries and attracted students from the poorer agrarian part of Europe. Analphabetism was still high even around 1950 in Southern and Eastern Europe. Only since the 1950s has education converged. Educational institutions remained different, but educational chances and educational levels became more similar.

■ The social question, as it was called in the late 19th century, was also a major change, induced primarily by the industrialisation, but at the same time a momentum of division. Labour movements gradually became a major political force in European politics during the 19th and early 20th century. The social question, often centred on the industrial workers, became a prominent topic of public debates. The welfare state gradually replaced the local and private poverty and charity policies. A major peculiarity of European society gradually emerged. At the same time Europe was deeply divided. The labour movements, their strength, goals and organisation, their non-violent access to power, were fundamentally different in industrial and non-industrial societies. The welfare state emerged only in the rich industrial societies, whereas in the agrarian countries families, churches, charity institutions were the backbone of the welfare regimes. Only after the Second World War the deep division was gradually mitigated, for a time replaced by another split between Eastern and Western Europe during the Cold War. ▶▶▶

At the same time, the interconnections and transfers increased within Europe as well as with other regions of the world. Three periods can be distinguished in the rise of international transfers in Europe: in the first period, the times of enlightenment, the political and cultural search for international cultural and economic transfers was strong, accompanied by gradual improvements of transport and communication. An international network of intellectuals and scholars, 'la republique des lettres', emerged. However, at the same time the vast majority of Europeans spent their whole life in restricted local spaces with vague and indirect communication with the outside world. In the second period from the early 19th to the early 20th centuries a major contradiction developed. On the one hand, international transport and communication was improved by spectacular innovations such as railways, steamships, the telegraph, and later the telephone, the radio, finally also the beginnings of the car and the plane. On the other hand the rise of the nation state led to potentially closed national spaces with separate national cultures and separate national economies. The strong expansion of spatial mobility and communication was largely limited to national spaces, less international than in the enlightenment era, except of the outmigration to the Americas and to European colonies. This contradiction became even more distinct during the interwar period when dictatorships much more efficiently executed a policy of economic and cultural autarky especially in Spain, Germany, and in Eastern Europe. A third period started after 1945, when transport and communication again advanced with spectacular innovations in mass consumption of the car, the plane, the TV, the telephone, fax and since the 1980s the rise of the internet. In contrast to the former period, out-migration within Europe, international travelling and communication was encouraged rather than impeded by the new European administration as well as by internally more open national governments, even though until 1989/90 in Eastern Europe this was a limited and controlled opening with many continuities of harsh national autarky by central planning authorities.

The slow and divided industrialisation in Europe contributed to a further European particularity: the scepticism against the modernity of industrial society among a substantial part of Europeans. Scepticism was encouraged by the remaining strong sections of European societies seemingly untouched by industrial revolution, such as substantial parts of the rural societies, churches, aristocracies, academic professions, universities, small towns, handicrafts and the arts during the 19th and early 20th centuries. Invented symbols of modernity such as the big city, the banks, new diseases, the English, the Jews or America were attacked. This anti-industrial scepticism had a strong impact in politics. It was basically transformed only after the Second World War, but is still visible compared to America and to East Asia in the peculiar European mix of enthusiasm and scepticism.

One important instrument of reflection of the process of industrialisation is museums. On the one hand since the 1970s, by the end of industrialisation, a large number of museums treating the Industrial Revolution, specific industries, the technology, the transport or the communication were established. Travelling in the Europe of industrial museums is a fascinating adventure. On the other hand, a European museum which presents the history of industrialisation in the whole of Europe does not yet exist. Projects for European museums which would have presented industrialisation among other topics, failed or have not yet been established. Hence so far the industrialisation in Europe as a whole, the particularities of industrialisation in Europe and its role for world history cannot be seen in museums.

In sum, spatial diversity and convergence are two essential parts of the narrative of the Industrial Revolution in Europe. During the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries, for almost two centuries, the Industrial Revolution was a major momentum of diversity, of a division of Europe, which was not only economic but which divided also politics, the societies and culture in Europe. The dividing force of economy, which is so manifest in the actual crisis, was also powerful in the history of industrial revolution. However, since the 1960s and 1970s, the full industrialisation of Europe and later on the rise of the service society mitigated the old divide and led to a much more homogenous Europe than before. The old divide between industrial and agrarian, urban and rural, analphabetism and higher education, welfare states and non-state social security mitigated gradually, also because international policies changed, European integration advanced, nation states became more open, and international exchange was reinforced.

DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL CHANGE

” The Industrial Revolution radically altered the social, cultural and political structure of European societies. The proletarianisation of large numbers of people working on the land was one of the driving forces for social change which, though occurring in highly varied contexts, led to very similar social and cultural structures and political movements in all European countries.

All the regions which were particularly affected by the Industrial Revolution underwent major changes in urban infrastructure and relations between town and countryside. Despite major local, regional and national differences, the spectacular growth of Europe's urban population and its town planning consequences resulted in a broadly shared 'industrial city' model. This consisted of an often confused, practically never planned, mix of economic activities and varying types of housing and systems of internal communications and amenities.

DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE, URBANISATION AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS DURING THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTIONS IN EUROPE

Professor Béla Tomka
University of Szeged, Hungary

The Industrial Revolution is a highly contested concept. To refer to only two aspects of the debates surrounding the term, historians are divided as to whether it is more plausible to refer to changes that took place in manufacturing as industrial revolution or simply industrialisation – the latter obviously emphasising the piecemeal nature of transformation. Furthermore, many historians spoke of industrial revolutions in plural, and of an extensive and gradual process of change rather than of an intensive and transformative one.

■ Still, by the end of the 20th century, the centrality of industrial revolutions to Europe's modern history was firmly established, even though an excess or even confusion of definitions challenged its value as a concept more powerfully than any of the direct attacks it had to endure in the preceding decades. ▶▶▶

POPULATION CHANGE AND URBANISATION

These controversies over the Industrial Revolution are of interest if we investigate the 'shared histories for Europe' and the significance of the industrial revolutions to these histories. Industrial revolution in its classical sense stretched from the mid-18th century to the early 19th century and was largely a British affair. It began in England and spread to some parts of the Continent, but it mostly affected Western Europe and hardly other regions. As a result, if we really want to establish the elements of shared histories in Europe, including the connections between Western and Eastern Europe, a less dramatised view of the industrialisation process which is by no means in conflict with recent scholarship seems to be more appropriate.

Thus, we use the term in the plural and consider not only the first but also the second and third industrial revolutions that took place roughly between 1865 and 1914, and the early 20th century and 1973 respectively. The paper does not provide a comprehensive survey of social and economic changes in Europe. In accordance with the research programme, we deal with two major areas of social transformations emerging in the wake of industrialisation – which are actually four: the population change as well as [urbanisation](#), and the changes in the social inequalities including [proletarianisation](#) as well as the emergence of new social movements. Its main purpose is to identify the principal changes in demographic behaviour, etc., which, in one way or another, set a context for, raised opportunities for, or constrained other aspects of social life in the 200 years covered. It focuses on the shared experiences and connections between the histories of national societies in Europe, including the interactions, convergences and tensions/conflicts that have emerged during the above mentioned period in Europe.

These areas of social life are selected for investigation since they were at the heart of social transformations during industrialisation: changes in demographic behaviour, social stratification and their political consequences provide ample evidence for shared experiences of European societies.

The demographic transition is a long term change in the course of which the population moves between two relatively steady states: from one of high fertility and high mortality to one of low fertility and low mortality. Due to the timing difference between the mortality and fertility downswings the population size increases significantly over a variable but usually rather long period. This large-scale historical trend generated a huge literature that ultimately gave birth to the model after the Second World War, and it is now universally referred to as the demographic transition. In its standard version, the transition takes place in a succession of four stages.

The research findings of the past decades have cast strong shadows on the validity of demographic transition as a population theory. However, despite the criticisms, the concept is still widely used in population history and demography alike, because even with its simplifications, it reveals important historical processes and offers a heuristic framework for the discussion of fertility and mortality change. First of all, demographic conditions altered thoroughly in all European societies in the past centuries, the transformation leading to declining mortality and fertility, while, even if for a short period, population size did grow significantly.

Even though there existed a considerable urban network in Europe by the end of the 18th century, the rate of urban growth during the 19th century was unprecedented, with the emergence of new industrial towns, a rapid expansion of the population of major ports and the growing predominance of large cities, including metropolitan centres. The timing, pace and level of urbanisation varied considerably throughout Europe, however, the existence of common European urban characteristics seems to be plausible which become even more perceptible if we compare cities in Europe with their counterparts outside the continent. Possibly the most important common feature of European urban development is the peculiar physical appearance of the cities in the continent. Most of the European cities possess a medieval or early modern urban centre. The evidences of 19th century reconstruction projects are almost always visible in the city centres or in some of their parts, mostly in the form of buildings housing important public functions, as, for example, schools, courts and railway stations, and, in the case of larger cities, even theatres and museums. The architectural traits of a long history unequivocally distinguish European cities from the American ones, where urban centres of the colonial times survived in only a few cases and sporadically. ▶▶▶

SOCIAL INEQUALITIES AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Advancing industrialisation in 19th century Europe had a significant impact on working practices. It facilitated the diffusion of new values and patterns of behaviour related to work which, for example, included regular and more disciplined work, the separation of work time and home time, the reduction of personal initiative on the job, as well as the acceptance of a continuous supervision over working activities. It also altered the forms of work organisation leading to the decline in work organised in or by the household economy, and the diffusion of wage labour. The direction of development was quite straightforward in the first half of the 20th century as well. Wage labour further expanded, while the weight of family work and the number of self-employed permanently diminished. This can be specifically attributed to the falling share of agricultural workers among employees, but large numbers of small scale industrial and commercial family businesses were also crowded out by big corporate companies. The transformation of work brought about worsening conditions for many workers.

■ The changes in income distribution in modern European history are often described by an inverted U-curve, showing that differences in income first increased and then began to decline in industrial societies in the course of roughly the past two centuries. Though still relatively little related information is available on the 19th century, research has broadly confirmed that the curve was indeed turning upward during the Industrial Revolution, i.e. income differences were on the increase. In the course of the 20th century, however, a development of opposite trends followed, that is, income gaps gradually moderated in industrial societies: the standard deviation of personal incomes fell, the ratio of wages and salaries to returns on capital increased and the income differences between social classes faded somewhat. Women's income disadvantage to men also diminished. These general trends did not prevail everywhere in every period or with equal intensity in Europe. ▶▶▶

■ As elaborated by Hartmut Kaelble, compared to similar areas of the United States, Asia and other parts of the world, the urbanised regions of Europe also demonstrate several other particularities, such as the more extended preservation of the residential function of inner cities, the reflection of 19-20th century social segregation in the spatial alignment of urban districts, as well as the structural and architectural outcomes of systematic urban planning. A dominant part of these features can be interpreted as the result of the relatively moderate pace of growth of European cities.



Victorian Shoemakers in Northampton (Manfields Shoe Factory).

■ The new relations of production during the first and second industrial revolutions gave birth to similar types of industrial workers with analogous lifestyles and attitudes across Europe. Industrial centres and regions from the Ruhr in Germany to the Pas de Calais region in France equally saw the birth of the factory worker as proletarians. These workers were characterised first of all, by uncertainty which fuelled social conflict. Social clashes and even social movements obviously existed prior to the industrial revolution. But it was the sheer size and concentration of the industrial working class and the proletarianisation of lower classes which gave rise to the classical organisational forms of the labour movements: trade unions and political parties.

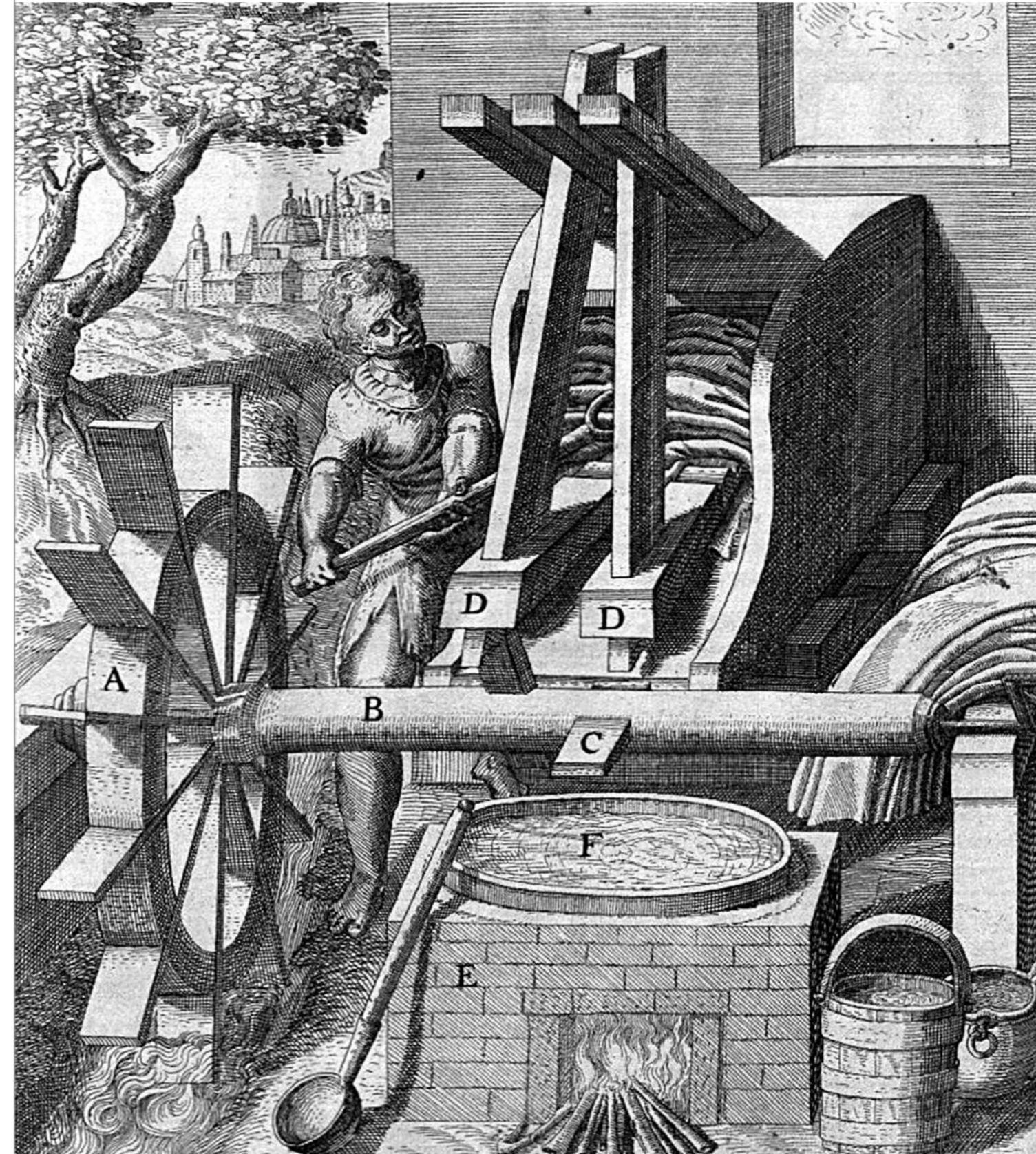
■ Labour movements facilitated the creation of distinct languages of class which gave sense to their collective actions even though they were ideologically divided into Christian, liberal, socialist and [anarcho-syndicalist factions](#). Their international aspirations were difficult to harmonise with the growing nationalisation of European worker's movements, which acted primarily within the framework of nation states that dominated Europe. They organised arguably most effectively around issues of wage increase, working time and electoral reform but their struggle against social desolation also helped bring about the extensive welfare state which proved to be one of the major peculiar features of European societies in the 20th century.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION: A NEW HISTORY

Professor Pat Hudson
University of Cardiff, United Kingdom

The Industrial Revolution depended as much upon the labour of women and children as upon that of adult men (a fact that bears interesting similarities with industrialisations in the 20th century). The population growth that accompanied industrialisation considerably lowered the age structure of the population encouraging youthful employment. Women and children sought manufacturing work to boost family incomes at a time when agricultural occupations for these groups were declining and when male employment in manufacturing was uncertain because of technological and organisational changes. Employers found that women and children provided a cheap and flexible labour supply that was more amenable to change and less able to resist it. Much labour in manufacturing was carried out in domestic premises and employed most family members plus servants and apprentices. The shift into waged work for women and children impacted upon their subsistence activities (home weaving, sewing, food preserving and preparation, tallow candle making, rush plates, etc.). Subsistence products came increasingly to be bought in from markets, peddlers and shops. It seems that workers, including more family members, worked longer hours in order to afford more of the desirable ranges of necessities and small luxuries that were becoming available with the extension of the market and the lowering of prices for manufactured consumer goods. The working population, through a mixture of necessity and choice, became more industrious. ▶▶

Economic changes were accompanied by social changes not least rapid population growth, a lowering of the age of marriage, more procreative activity that resulted in higher illegitimacy rates and larger families, migration and urbanisation. People married younger and had more children both inside and outside of marriage. This was related to growing wage dependency, migration and the social changes that accompanied these. Population expansion in turn contributed to the high unemployment, poverty and 'crime' caused by economic upheaval. Revolutionary sexual and social changes were a hallmark of the period. Although the benefits of modern economic growth eventually filtered down the social scale to benefit the mass of the population, this was a very slow and uneven process. Living standards stagnated or declined for many whilst the growing middle and entrepreneurial class, financiers and landowners generally gained (sometimes enormously) in wealth and conspicuous consumption (seen in marked contrasts in housing, diet, clothing, disease and death rates between rich and poor). This polarisation of economic experiences combined with the cultural upheaval caused by rapid urbanisation, and the work pressures created by technological innovation and growing competition, contributed to political instability and to a shifting political and social structure. There were movements of resistance to the introduction of machinery that undermined the skill, status and remuneration of workers. These were often sufficiently powerful to mould the pace and course of change in Britain and even more on the continent. Hargreaves' workshop was twice attacked and destroyed by workers, for example and he never fully benefited from the value of his invention. [Arkwright's factory at Chorley](#) was sacked and burned: so worried was he that he provided his workers with weapons and canon. Mills were commonly built with crenellations (a rampart normally built around the top of a castle with regular gaps for firing arrows or guns) and other defences. These movements of resistance are a vital element in understanding the economic changes of the early 19th century and the nature of British society thereafter. ■■■



A fulling mill from Georg Andreas Böckler's *Theatrum Machinarum Novum*, 1661.



TARGET GROUP LOWER SECONDARY

KEY ISSUES

Why did the population of European countries increase during the 18th and 19th centuries?

Did all countries experience similar rates of growth?

Variations in birth and mortality rates between different social groups.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Between 1750 and 1800, the population of Germany (using the 1914 borders but not including Alsace and Lorraine) increased from 18.4 to 24.5 million – a 33 per cent increase. The population of France grew by 18 per cent from 24.5 to 29 million.

According to Robert Hughes in *The Fatal Shore*, the population of England and Wales, which had remained steady at 6 million from 1700 to 1740, rose dramatically after 1740. The population of England had more than doubled from 8.3 million in 1801 to 16.8 million in 1850 and, by 1901, had nearly doubled again to 30.5 million. During the 19th century Britain's population doubled twice.

Overall Europe's population increased from about 100 million in 1700 to some 400 million by 1900.

TEACHING, LEARNING AND ASSESSMENT OPPORTUNITIES

EXERCISE 1

RELATIVE POPULATION GROWTH

1. Analyse the statistical data to consider issues such as the relative rates of growth of population in different countries and the periods when the expansion of population was greatest;
2. Suggest possible reasons for the differences;
3. Test their suggested reasons against the available evidence.

EXERCISE 2

LOCAL DIFFERENCES

1. Research population data for the locality/region (e.g. by the use of census returns).
2. How similar/different is this data to that for the country as a whole or for neighbouring countries?
3. Does the data indicate any differences in population growth between people in different occupational groups or social class?

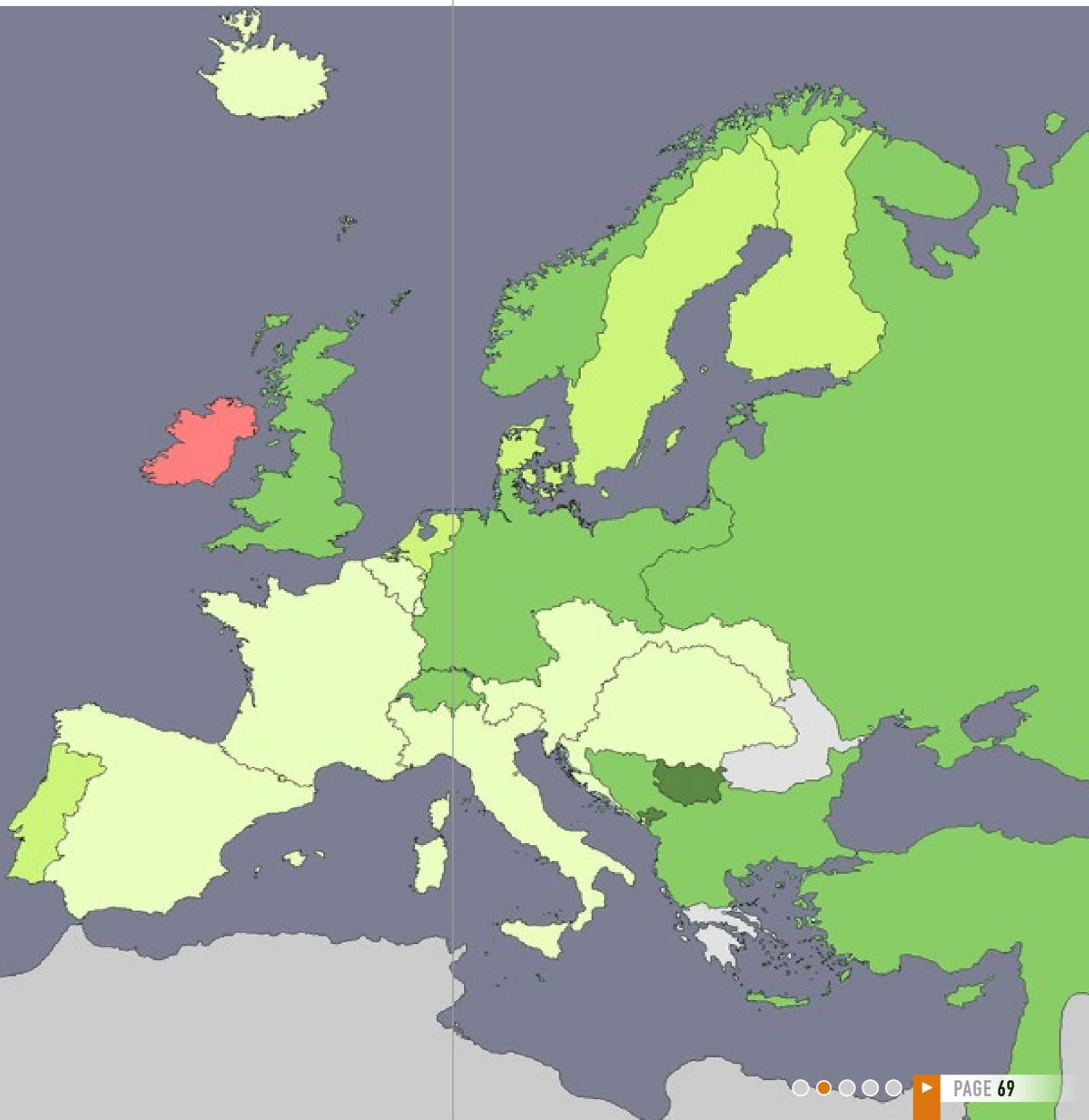
LEGENDS

GROWTH RATE 1825-1875 (Borders of 1875)

- Under 0
- 00 - 39.9
- 40 - 59.9
- 60 - 89.9
- 90 and more
- No date
- Not observed

SOURCES

European History Online
Digital Atlas on the History of Europe



POPULATION GROWTH IN EUROPE, 1825-75

POPULATION GROWTH IN EUROPE, 1875-1900

POPULATION GROWTH IN GERMANY AND FRANCE (1750-1800)

POPULATION GROWTH IN GERMANY AND FRANCE (1800-1913)

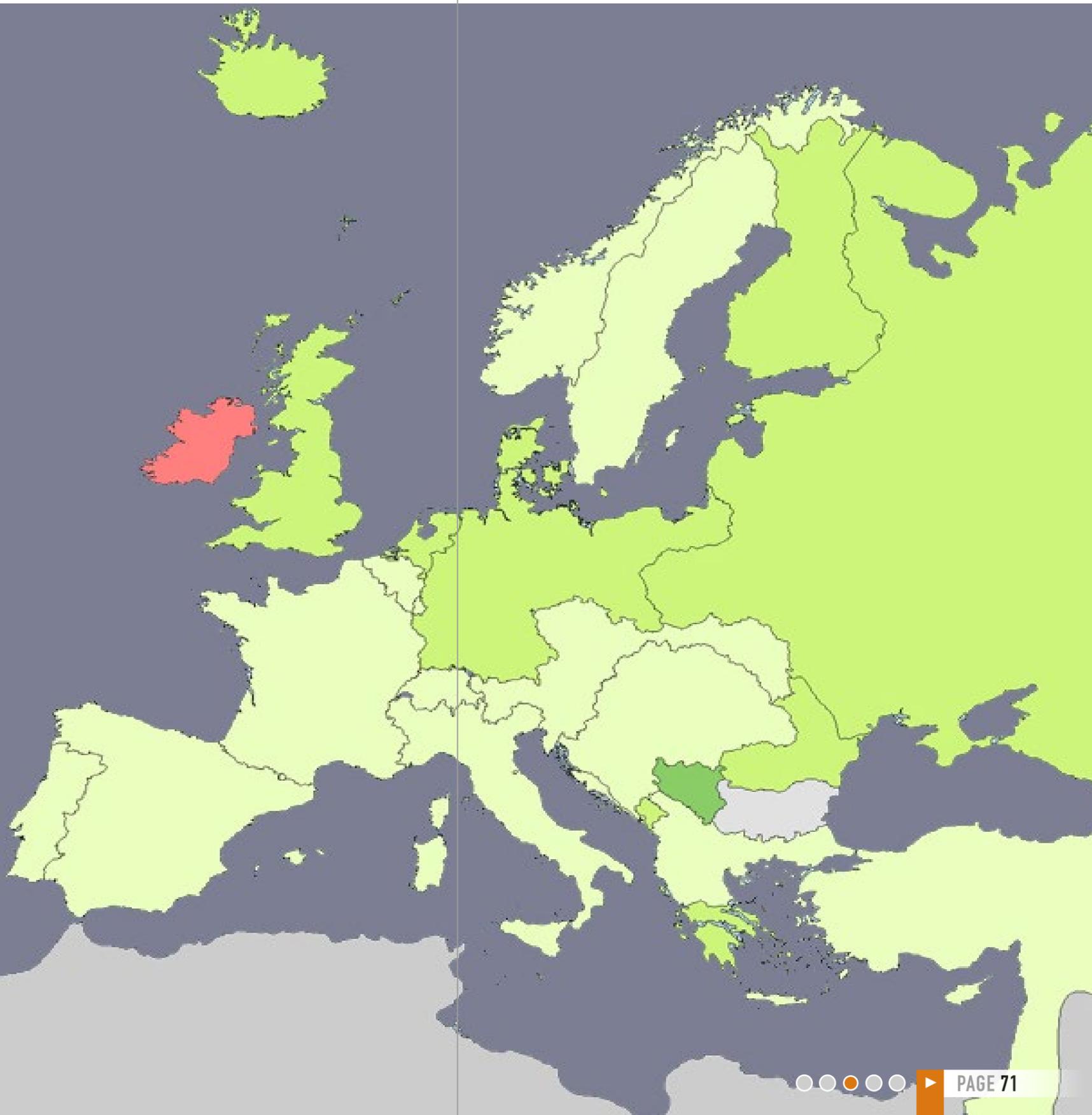
LEGENDS

GROWTH RATE 1875-1900 (Borders of 1875)

- Under 0
- 00 - 39.9
- 40 - 59.9
- 60 - 89.9
- 90 and more
- No date
- Not observed

SOURCES

European History Online
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POPULATION GROWTH IN EUROPE, 1825-75

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POPULATION GROWTH IN GERMANY AND FRANCE (1800-1913)

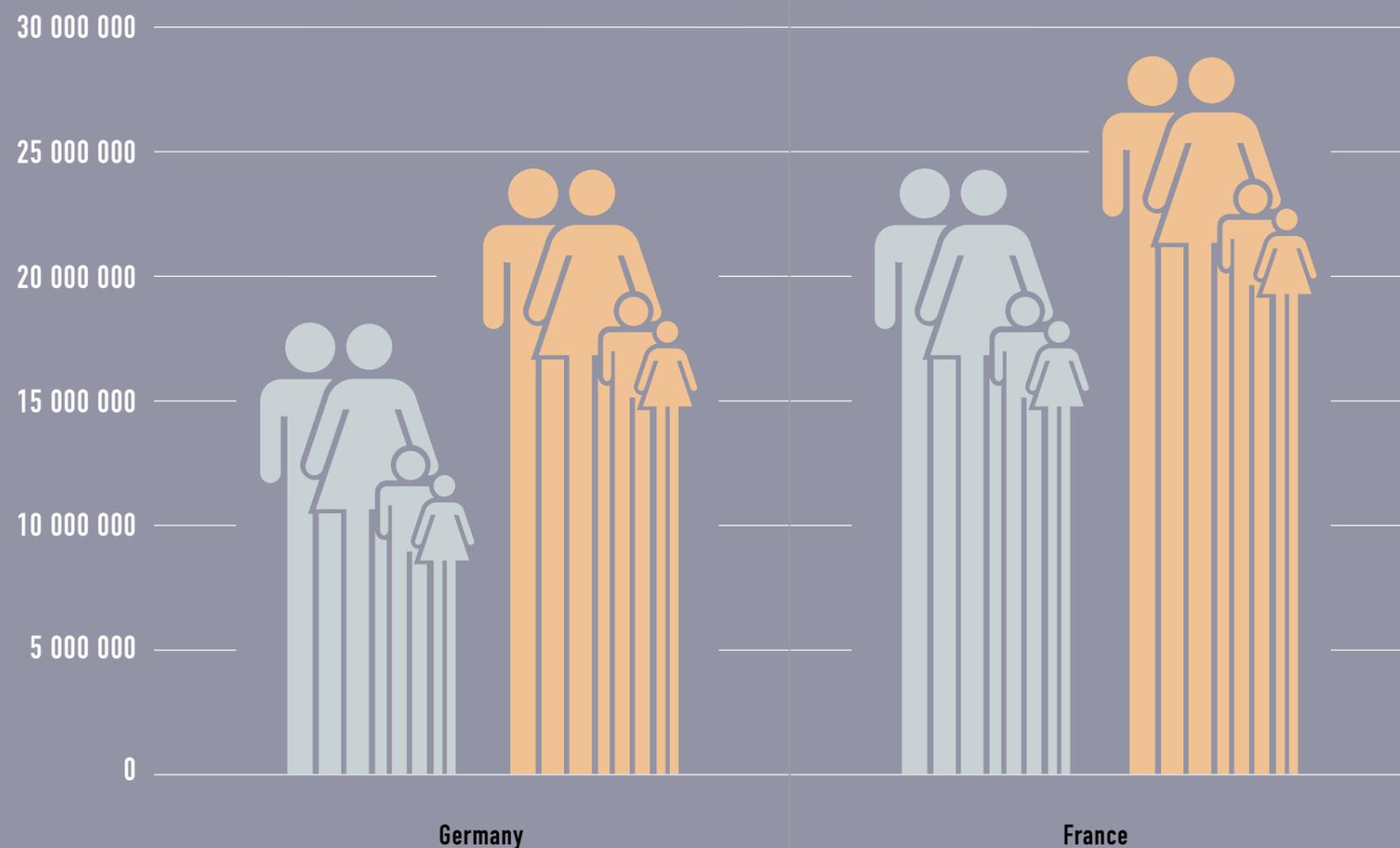
LEGENDS

POPULATION GROWTH IN GERMANY AND FRANCE BETWEEN 1750 AND 1800, DIAGRAM, 2011

- 1750
- 1800

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POPULATION GROWTH IN EUROPE, 1825-75

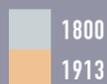
POPULATION GROWTH IN EUROPE, 1875-1900

POPULATION GROWTH IN GERMANY AND FRANCE (1750-1800)

POPULATION GROWTH IN GERMANY AND FRANCE (1800-1913)

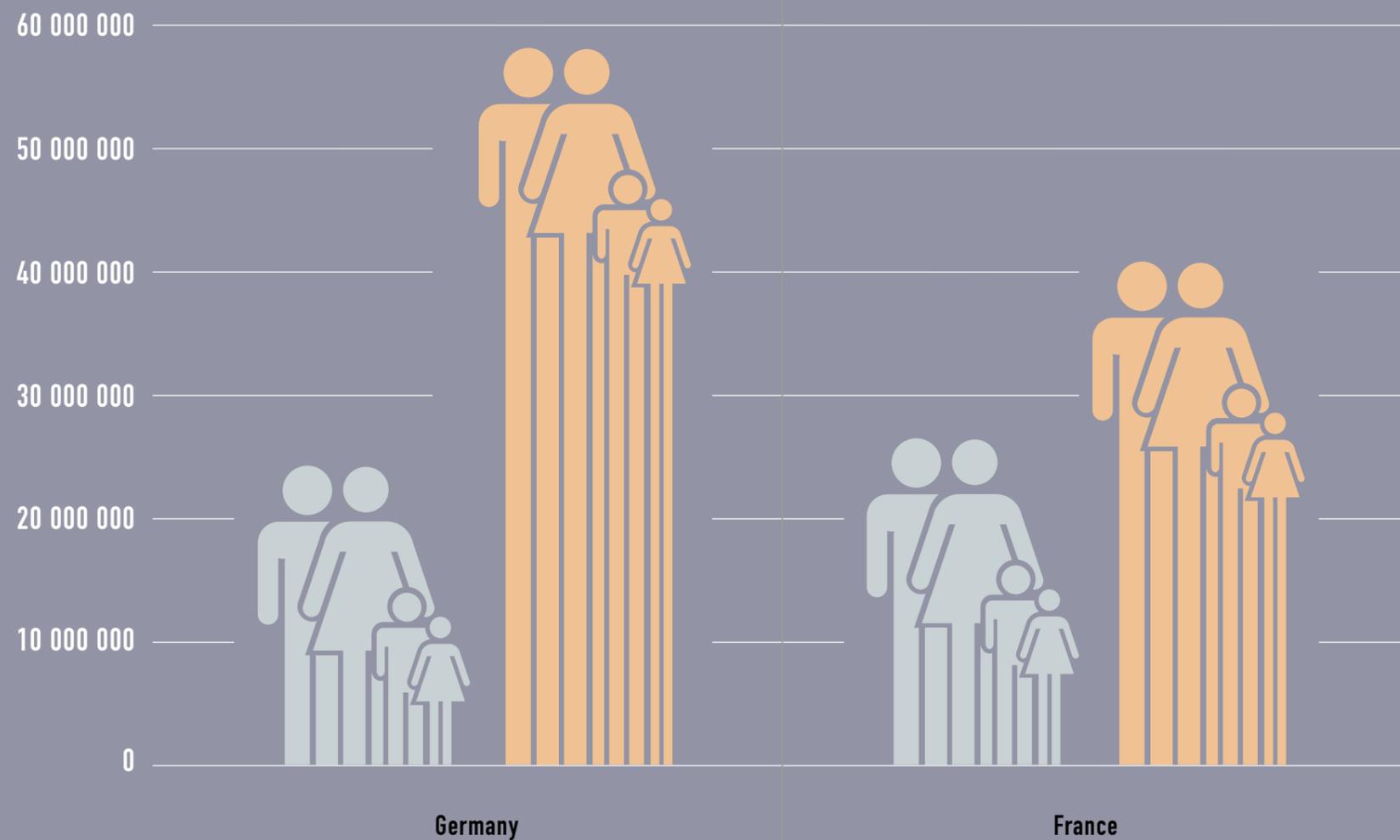
LEGENDS

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POPULATION
GROWTH
IN EUROPE,
1825-75

POPULATION
GROWTH
IN EUROPE,
1875-1900

POPULATION
GROWTH
IN GERMANY
AND FRANCE
(1750-1800)

POPULATION
GROWTH
IN GERMANY
AND FRANCE
(1800-1913)


TARGET GROUP
UPPER SECONDARY
KEY ISSUES

Why did people move?
Understanding 'push and pull' factors affecting internal migration and urbanisation.

What were the new industrial cities like?

BACKGROUND INFORMATION
Internal and external migration

'Internal migration' refers to the movement of people from one part of a country to another. In the mid-1700s the great majority of people in Europe, as in previous centuries, worked in agriculture and lived in rural areas. But this changed rapidly. By the mid-1800s, following the Industrial Revolution, a high percentage of people in England had moved to find work and to live in towns and cities – a movement referred to as 'urbanisation'. The 1851 census showed for the first time in the history of any large nation, more people in England lived in urban areas than in the countryside. And a hundred years later this process had also taken place in much of Europe. By 1900, over one-fifth of Germans and French lived in places with a population of 20,000 or more.

Internal migration on a large scale from rural to urban areas was one of the most significant ways in which the Industrial Revolution had an impact on how people lived.

There were also people who, for a variety of reasons, moved from their home country to live elsewhere. This is referred to as emigration or 'external migration'. Many people from Britain (which then included Ireland), for example, emigrated to North America and to various countries of the British Empire - Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand.

TEACHING, LEARNING AND ASSESSMENT OPPORTUNITIES
EXERCISE 1
UNDERSTANDING INTERNAL MIGRATION

Working with all or a selection of the resources indicated, students should consider:

- 1. What were the factors that forced people to move from one area of a country to another (i.e. 'push' factors); and, conversely, those that did not force a move but made it appear attractive (i.e. 'pull' factors)?**
- 2. What sort of people (e.g. in terms of social class or occupation) were mostly involved in internal migration?**
- 3. Whether the nature of internal migration differed significantly between countries, and if so why.**

EXERCISE 2
URBANISATION

- 1. Consider the map showing the population figures of European Cities 1750–1900.**
What light does it throw on what was happening to many cities in Europe during this period? Consider, for example – the relative rates and dates of growth; the location of the cities; which were old established cities and which were those where industrialisation had had the greatest impact.
- 2. Discuss with students the following statement which is taken from *Internal migration before and during the Industrial Revolution: the case of France and Germany*, Leslie Page Moch, *European History Online*:**
"Research demonstrates that urban growth did not come from a single cityward move on the part of rural people, dazzled by urban prospects; rather, urbanisation resulted from crises that shook rural areas and people moved many times in the search for a secure livelihood. In this age, migration rates reached their historical maximum before World War I. People moved to and from the city as their life cycle and economic circumstances dictated, and they moved with greater frequency than previously imagined. Migration to the city, then, is better understood as a pulsing two-way current between town and country rather than as attraction to a magnet."
 - ▶ What evidence is there from the earlier work on internal migration that supports or refutes this statement?
 - ▶ Look for evidence to determine whether or not a similar pattern of urbanisation took place in your region or one with which you are familiar.

TEACHING, LEARNING AND ASSESSMENT OPPORTUNITIES

EXERCISE 3

WHAT WERE THE NEW INDUSTRIAL CITIES LIKE? TWO CASE STUDIES : MANCHESTER ('COTTONOPLIS') AND LODZ ('THE MANCHESTER OF POLAND')

CASE STUDY 1: MANCHESTER

1. Use the picture below as the starting point for a study of the growth of Manchester as a result of industrialisation and what living and working conditions were like in what is often considered to be the first of the industrial cities. Ask students, for example, what they think the artist was intending to convey in painting such a scene.
2. Working with the resources indicated, students should consider issues such as:
 - ▶ why Manchester grew in the way and at the pace it did;
 - ▶ why living and working conditions developed in the way they did;
 - ▶ the nature of the evidence presented in the resources;
 - ▶ how typical Manchester was of other European cities.



Manchester from Kersal Moor, engraving by Edward Goodall (1795-1870) after a painting by W. Wyld.

CASE STUDY 2: LODZ (POLAND)

■ The city of Łódź is often compared to Manchester because of its industrial past and reliance on the textile industry. It was once the main textile production centre for the Russian Empire, attracting workers from all over Europe. It was nicknamed *Ziemia Obiecana* – The Promised Land.

1. Look at the video clip on living conditions and social contrasts in 19th century Lodz from “*Ziemia obiecana*”, *The Promised Land*
 - ▶ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wVHTcb0idew>.
 - This is from a film by Andrzej Wajda that is based on a novel by Władysław Reymont. As you explore both the other resources in this case study and elsewhere relating to this theme, ask students to consider how accurate a portrayal of life in 19th century Lodz is given in the scenes shown in the video clip.
2. Working with the resources, students should consider issues such as:
 - ▶ How was the development of industry in Lodz different from/similar to that of Manchester or another European industrialised city with which they are familiar?
 - ▶ What evidence is there that the industrialisation of Lodz occurred at a later date than in Manchester? Why was this? Was this true of central Europe generally?
 - ▶ What evidence is there of the cosmopolitan nature of industrial development in Lodz in the 19th century?
 - ▶ Why Lodz might have acquired its nickname of *The Promised Land*? How appropriate was this?
 - ▶ In the late 19th century people sometimes described things as moving at ‘Lodz pace’. What did they mean by this?

INTERNET RESOURCES

UNDERSTANDING INTERNAL MIGRATION

- ➔ [History of international migration: the Industrial Revolution, University of Leiden](#)
- ➔ [Why did people migrate during the Industrial Revolution?, BBC 2, You Tube](#)
- ➔ [Immigration in Britain 1750-1850, BBC 2, You Tube](#)
- ➔ [Why did people leave Scotland and Ireland?, BBC 2, You Tube](#)
- ➔ [Internal migration before and during the Industrial Revolution: the case of France and Germany, Leslie Page Moch, European History Online](#)
- ➔ [Migration within Spain](#)

URBANISATION

- ➔ [Urbanisation and Industrialisation](#)

WHAT WERE THE NEW INDUSTRIAL CITIES LIKE? A CASE STUDY: MANCHESTER

- ➔ ['History of Britain' clip, Victorian era; industrialisation](#)
- ➔ [British Industrial Revolution: Manchester](#)
- ➔ [Friedrich Engels: Industrial Manchester, 1844, excerpts From The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844, Internet Modern History Sourcebook, Fordham University.](#)
- ➔ ["Ziemia obiecana", The Promised Land](#)

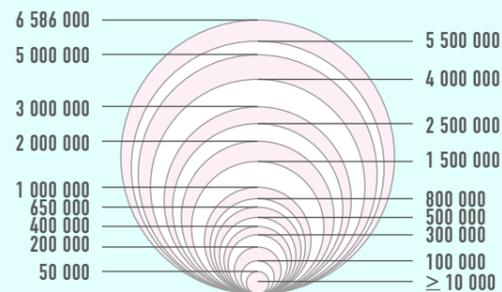
ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

SEMINAR PAPERS

- ➔ [People's History Museum, Manchester, England, by Katy Archer](#)

LEGENDS

POPULATION



SOURCES

European History Online

- B. R. Mitchell; European Historical Statistic (2003)
- Data from other sources or estimate



POPULATION FIGURES OF EUROPEAN CITIES 1750–1900

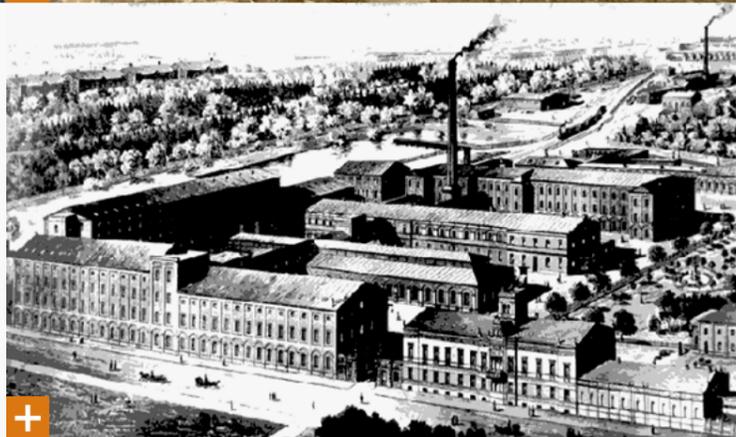
INDUSTRY IN EASTERN EUROPE



POPULATION FIGURES OF EUROPEAN CITIES 1750–1900



INDUSTRY IN EASTERN EUROPE





TARGET GROUP LOWER SECONDARY

KEY ISSUES

What were some of the short and long-term effects of involvement in the industrial workforce for women and children in particular?

How did domestic life differ between different classes?

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Although the timing and pace of the growth of industrialisation varied from country to country, in all countries it had a similar impact on families. Amongst the most significant effects were:

- ▶ the shift from family members working in the home to working in mills and factories;
- ▶ the growing distinction between two social classes - the industrial proletariat and the **bourgeoisie**. For these two classes the nature of family life differed considerably.

TEACHING, LEARNING AND ASSESSMENT OPPORTUNITIES

EXERCISE

DEVELOPING A WEBQUEST WITH PUPILS TO EXPLORE ONE OR OTHER OF THE KEY ISSUES

Examples of the kind of documentation and images pupils might use to explore these issues are given below and in the Resources section.

■ A webquest is an enquiry-based learning tool which encourages pupils to become responsible for their own learning. Pupils are provided with a specific task and the activities to support that task. They are given links to information available on the web which they use to access information. A webquest can fit well into a scheme of work – varying from a single lesson to a series of lessons on a given topic.

WHY SET UP A WEBQUEST?

- ▶ They are an easy way to incorporate the Internet into the classroom. No specialist knowledge is needed to either produce or use them.
- ▶ They lend themselves well to group activities.
- ▶ They lend themselves well to cross-curriculum projects.
- ▶ They encourage critical thinking skills. Learners are not able to simply regurgitate information, but are guided towards a transformation of that information.
- ▶ They can be both motivating and authentic tasks, encouraging learners to feel they are doing something 'real' or 'useful'.

TYPES OF WEBQUEST

Short term

- ▶ knowledge acquisition and integration
- ▶ making sense of large amounts of information
- ▶ typically completed in one to three class sessions

Long term

- ▶ extending and refining knowledge
- ▶ analysing a body of knowledge thoroughly and transforming it
- ▶ creating a product that others can respond to typically completed in one week to a month

TEACHING, LEARNING AND ASSESSMENT OPPORTUNITIES

PRODUCING A WEBQUEST

Introduction

■ Your pupils need to know exactly what their task is. They need to be interested and motivated - you could provide them with a role-play scenario to make the task more 'real' (for example, you are the school social organiser and have to organise a trip for your class to, say, France...).

■ It's important to set the scene for the quest, providing background information, linking the topic to previous lessons and making sure your pupils know what they will learn from the quest, and what skills they'll develop. There should be a focus around which to base the activities, with the final outcome of the quest being an overall task such as producing a presentation or newspaper or web page.

The task

■ Explain clearly and precisely what the pupils have to do. They may need to work in groups and decide among themselves how to divide up the task. You may need to provide general ICT advice such as how to open up links in a new window.

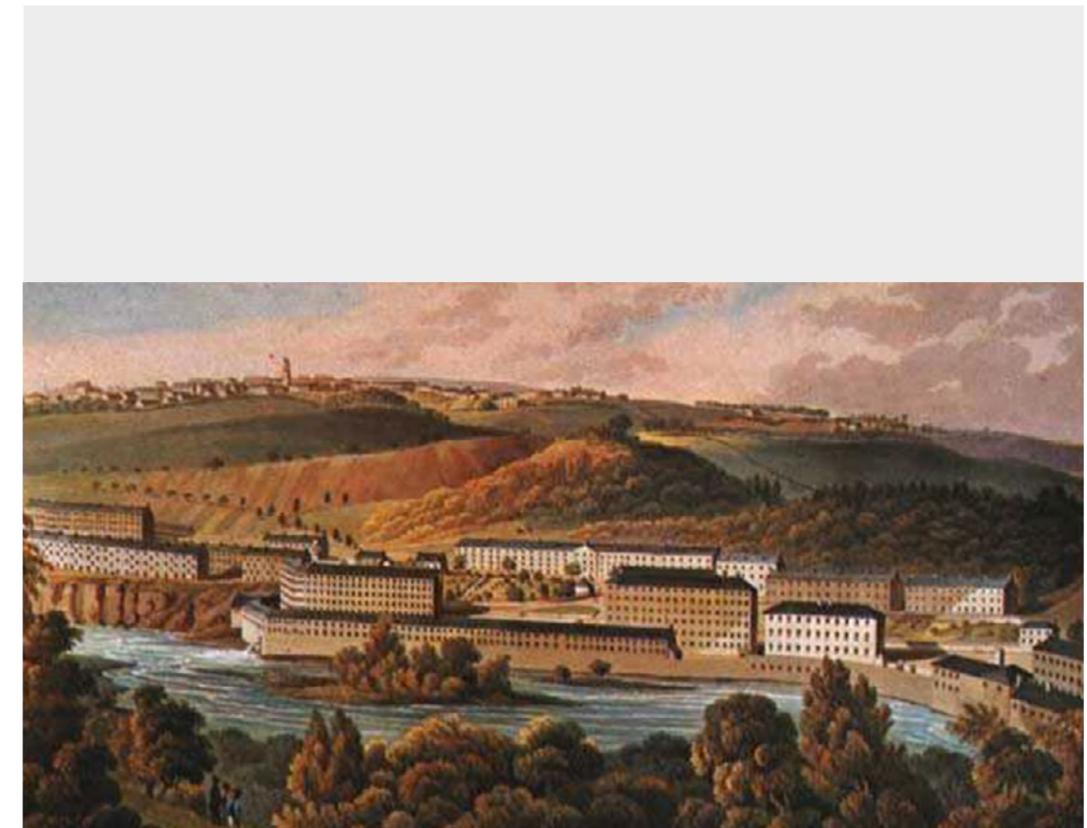
The process

■ This stage guides the pupils through a set of activities and research tasks, using a set of predefined resources. Links should be embedded in the webquest to sites, pages, databases, search engines and so on. There is no reason why pupils shouldn't use printed resources and books as well, since this widens the skills they need to complete the task. Guidance should be given on how to present findings; for example, maps, graphs, essays, wall displays and diagrams.

Conclusion

■ To conclude the webquest, pupils must be aware of what they have learned from the activity. They should have a final piece of work to present to the class or display on the wall. Space should be allowed to expand the topic and encourage pupils to use webquests for future pieces of work.

- ➔ [Linda Anderson, Teaching Times](#)
- ➔ [For an example of a webquest see: A Golden Age or an Age of Misery? – IT Einaudi](#)



INTERNET RESOURCES

- ➔ ["The France of Victor Hugo"](#)
- ➔ [The Children Who Built Victorian Britain](#)
- ➔ [Robert Owen and New Lanark mills](#)
- ➔ [German history in documents and images \(GHDI\)](#)

SOURCES

Edited by Paula S. Fass.
New York: Macmillan
Reference USA, 2004.
3 vols. 1, 055 p. ISBN
0-02-865714-4.

Until mass schooling began to make an impact during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, most young people in Europe gradually moved into the world of adults at an early stage in their lives. They helped with little tasks around the farm, the workshop, or the home, and learned their trade, and the values that went with it, on the job, by means of a formal or informal [apprenticeship](#)...

Children in preindustrial Europe gradually drifted into work from around the age of seven or eight. Much of their labour was casual and undemanding, for they were not strong enough to take on most of the tasks required on a farm or in a workshop. It was only when they reached their teens that they began the more serious business of an apprenticeship in a trade or work beside adults. In the meantime, they often occupied themselves with simple but time-consuming jobs, such as caring for younger siblings or running errands, which released adults for more productive labour. Girls in particular looked after younger children for their mothers or earned a few pence minding a baby for another family. On the farms children helped by picking stones from fields, scaring birds from crops, minding pigs and sheep, and similar work appropriate to their size and experience. In the towns they might start work in some of the lighter trades, such as making clothes, manufacturing nails, or doing deliveries. Many also tried their luck on the streets, sweeping crossings for pedestrians, performing tricks, or cleaning shoes. Some of this work required long, lonely hours out in the fields or on the streets, not to mention facing rain, mist, and cold winds during the winter...

Authorities... were generally worried more by the lack of work for poor women and children than by any abuses of their labour. They therefore welcomed the first signs of industrialisation: the spread of industry in the countryside, notably in the north-western parts of the continent. These new '[proto-industrial](#)' forms brought a gruelling round of agricultural and industrial work unknown in earlier centuries that bore down on children as on the rest of the family. During the early 19th century, for example, among the [handloom weaving](#) families of the Saxon Oberlausitz, young children wound bobbins and prepared spools, while adolescents of both sexes learned to weave. Besides handloom weaving, village children were employed in large numbers by proto-industries in hand spinning, hosiery, embroidery, lace making, braiding straw, and metalworking. The early textile mills of the late 18th century were a further boon for governments saddled with large numbers of orphans by war and revolution.

Robert Owen employed around 500 parish apprentices in his famous cotton mill at New Lanark in Scotland. Although the early spinning machinery was specifically designed for use by young people, most factory children continued with the traditional role of helping adults. Best known are the little [piecers](#) working beside the [mule-spinners](#) in the textile mills, the [trappers](#) operating ventilation shafts in the mines, and the carriers of bottles for glass blowers. The French example shows child labour concentrated in a small number of industries during the 1840s, above all in textiles, mining, metalworking, and food production.

Overall, industrialisation may have drawn more children into the labour force, though historians argue whether in the British case the maximum level of participation occurred during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, with proto-industrialisation, or during the 1830s and 1840s, with the spread of the factory system. It may also have required a more intensive work regime in terms of working hours and effort, at least for that minority employed in the mills and 'sweatshops'. Children like those in the cotton mills of Ghent in Belgium, who worked from dawn until 10:00 P.M. in winter, and from 5:00 A.M. until 8:00 P.M. in summer, would have had little time for leisure. As one young Londoner lamented, there was "never no time to play."

Yet it is easy to exaggerate the misery involved. Historians frequently note that children might start work in the mills "as young as seven or eight"—but the majority probably waited until they were closer to ten or twelve, and even later in a heavy industry like iron- and steel-making. To take the best-documented case, the British census of 1851 recorded that only 3.5 per cent of children aged 5 to 9 had an occupation. Even in the next age group, 10 to 14 years, no more than 30 per cent was gainfully employed (37 per cent of boys and 22 per cent of girls)... ▶▶▶

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AND CHILDHOOD:
IN HISTORY
AND SOCIETY

THE OXFORD
HISTORY
OF MODERN
EUROPE

PAMELA PILBEAM

LIFESTYLE AND
EXPENDITURES
OF A SKILLED
WORKER'S FAMILY
IN BERLIN (1890)

IMAGES
ASSOCIATED
WITH WOMEN,
CHILDREN
AND FAMILIES

■ The favouring of work at the expense of leisure during the opening phase of industrialisation is unlikely to have created a vacuum in popular leisure activities. Some of the old holidays and festivals persisted; children had the run of the fields or streets around their homes; and even on the factory floor child workers had some scope for "larking about." Witness the two French girls revealed to have been dancing together in a mill at Saint-Pierre-les-Calais during the 1850s, until they suffered broken arms when their skirts became caught up in the machinery. Doubtless it was children from well-off backgrounds who principally benefited from innovations such as board games and jigsaw puzzles, not to mention visits to zoos, circuses, and puppet shows. Even so, the capacity of industrial centres such as Nuremberg in Germany and the Black Country in England to churn out cheap wooden and metal toys ensured a certain democratisation in this sphere. There was, in addition, a section of the market catering for popular tastes by the late 19th century, with "penny dreadfuls" and romans à quatre sous to read, and "penny gaffs" and music halls to visit. By this time young people in the towns would scorn their country cousins for their unfashionable clothing and traditional dances, preferring the varied delights of a consumer-oriented urban culture.

■ In terms of drawing children into the schools, industrialisation emerged as an ambiguous influence. On the one hand, during its early stages the rapid movement of population into the new industrial areas played havoc with the school system, depressing levels of literacy in areas such as Lancashire or Flanders. Certain trades were particularly associated with illiteracy, notably coal mining and construction. In northern Europe Protestant churches took the lead in encouraging education during the early modern period; they were joined in this aim in the late 18th century by reformers promoting a national system of education. Prussia, hardly a leading industrial power during the early 19th century, led the way: by the late 1830s, an estimated 80 per cent of children aged six to fourteen were attending the elementary schools. On the other hand, the more progressive industrial employers tended to insist on some schooling for their employees, even if it was more to instil religious and moral values than to promote learning. Skilled craftsmen, retailers, and at the very least a new elite of foremen, technicians, and clerks in the factories depended more on literacy than did peasants and farm labourers. The atmosphere in the towns was more favourable to education than that of the villages, given the more vigorous political and intellectual life. By the time education was made compulsory in Britain and France during the 1880s, most children were probably

receiving some elementary education. Yet the pressures of poverty and parental indifference meant that, even during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, many children in Western Europe still had to combine work with school. Aurelia Roth, for example, complained from Bohemia that with her long hours spent grinding glass, "I didn't get much time to learn, and still less to play, but it hurt me the most if I had to skip school." Nonetheless, at this time children in Western Europe were a dwindling force on the shop floor; the only problem was the need to enforce more regular attendance at school among the poor.

■ ... the spread of industrialisation coincided with that of mass schooling, at the expense of informal methods of education in the family or the local community. Various German states attempted to make elementary schooling compulsory during the 17th and 18th centuries, but there were simply too few teachers and school buildings available for such measures to have any chance of success. They did at least enjoy a considerable lead over surrounding parts of the continent where schools were few and far between, notably in Scandinavia, Ireland, Southern Italy, and Eastern Europe. Other nations gradually took the path pioneered by the Germans, taking over responsibility for education from the churches, and making schooling both free and compulsory. In Britain and France, for example, this latter shift occurred during the 1880s. The social inequalities that had always marked access to education were far from eliminated by the early 20th century, but at least the widespread illiteracy of the past disappeared. Compulsory education had long-term significance for children. More than any factory legislation, which was always difficult to enforce, it ended most forms of child labour (part-time work excepted). It also made everyone familiar with the notion of an age-graded society, with children starting school at the same age, and working their way up the system year by year. A "long" childhood had come to replace the gradual transition into adulthood by the early 20th century. ■ ■ ■

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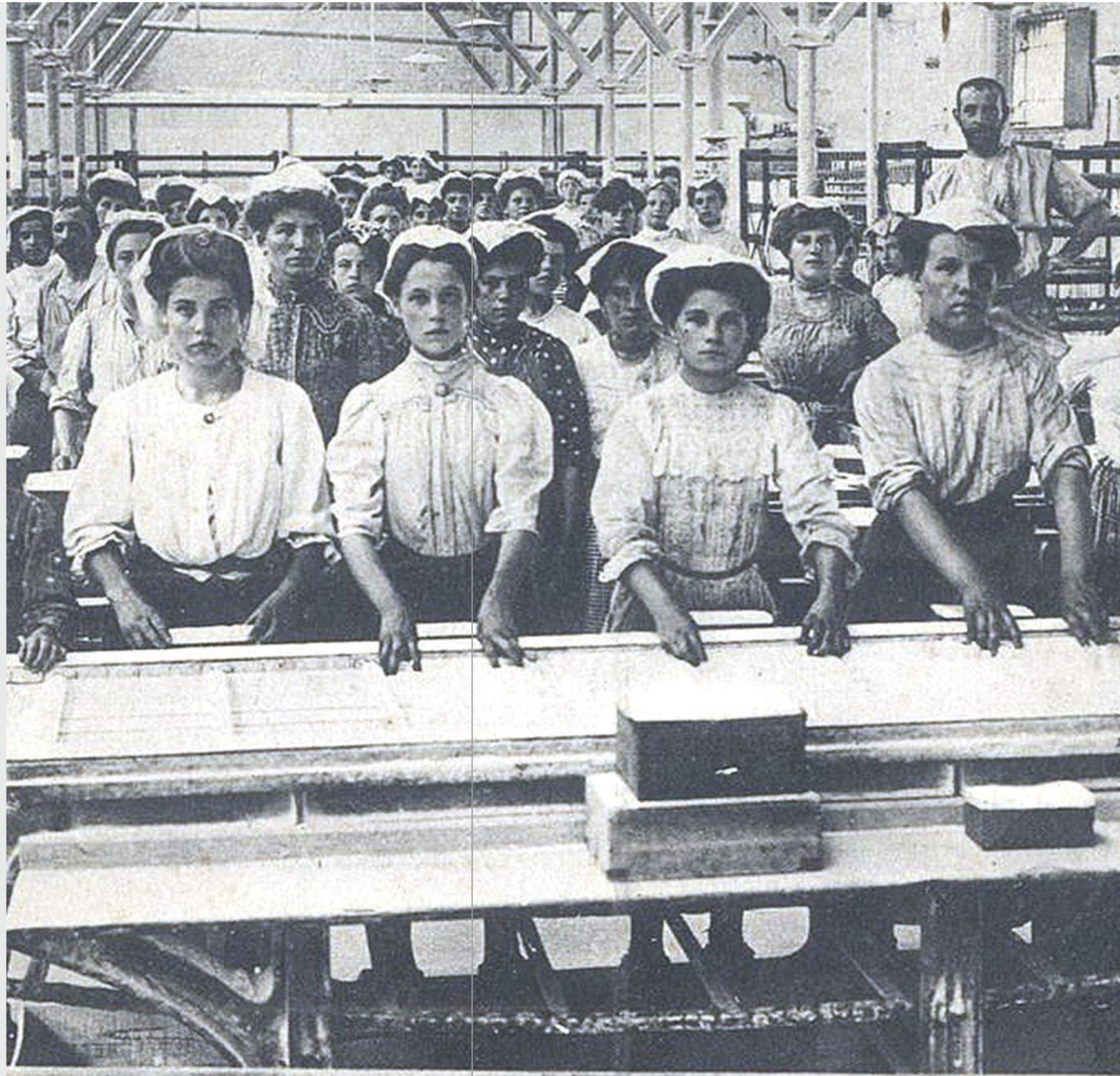
LIFESTYLE AND
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IMAGES
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SOURCES

Edited by T. C. W. Blanning, Oxford University Press Inc., 2000, excerpts from p. 101-125. Adapted and illustrated to be posted by Leopoldo Costa.

It was female and child employment in cotton mills and mines, in the former of which small children filled a technological gap for a couple of generations, which appalled educated reformers, shocked at the regimentation and publicly displayed inhumanity of hard manual labour and apparently unaware that women and children inevitably always contributed to the artisan family economy. At mid-century in France about 40 per cent of cotton workers were women, 12 per cent were children under 16. By the 1870s the figure for child labour had fallen to about 7 per cent because technical advances made them redundant. ■■■



Casserie de sucre, raffinerie Delerue, Raismes (Nord de la France).

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SOURCES

Otto von Leixner. 1888 bis 1891. Soziale Briefe aus Berlin. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der sozialdemokratischen Strömungen [1888 to 1891: Letters on Society Sent from Berlin. With Particular Consideration Being Given to Social Democratic Currents]. Berlin, 1891, pp. 183–88. Original German text reprinted in Gerhard A. Ritter and Jürgen Kocka, eds., *Deutsche Sozialgeschichte 1870–1914. Dokumente und Skizzen* [German Social History 1870–1914. Documents and Sketches]. 3rd ed. Munich: Beck, 1982, pp. 276–78. Translation: Erwin Fink

Families of skilled workers usually spent more money on meat than families with less income. The table below shows that one such family in Berlin spent between one-third and one-half of its food budget on meat, which was usually not of the best quality, was mixed with other ingredients to stretch it further, and was often reserved for a Sunday treat. Food expenditures accounted for over half of this family's total living costs. This was a fairly common proportion for working-class families around 1890, although from the turn of the century onward, this amount declined slightly, to about 50% of living costs. The family's second largest expenditure was for rent, which accounted for 16% of living costs. Note that clothing costs reflect a disparity between the father and the other family members: whereas clothing and shoes for the mother and the children cost a total of 43 marks, 48.5 marks were spent on clothing for the father, who also spent 162 marks for tobacco and beer. Alcohol expenditures varied considerably among different regions of Germany, depending in part on whether drinking was done at home or in a pub.

He works as a molder in a bronze workshop, a hard-working, highly respectable fellow, a good husband and father. [...] He almost never attends meetings and very rarely goes to pubs. Despite her sickliness, his wife, a former maid, is very industrious and economical. Their dwelling consists of a relatively spacious room adjoined by the kitchen. Even though the husband, wife, and two children sleep and live there, everything is scrupulously clean. Calico curtains with floral patterns hang from the two windows; modest flowers sit on the windowsills. One of the long walls accommodates two beds and a simple sofa bed that serves as the children's place of rest; the other wall is occupied by a 'Vertikow' cabinet, a wardrobe, and a washstand. A table and chairs round out the furnishings.

The average annual income is 1, 700 marks. [...] Rent costs 259 marks. Despite the lack of furnishings, these small apartments are also the most expensive ones, since they are the most sought-after. [...] When the molder receives his pay each Saturday, he sets aside a portion of the rent, which is paid monthly in advance. The wife is given 18 marks per week for household expenses, i.e., 2.57 marks a day, 64 pfennigs per person; this also has to cover the lighting. The husband pays for the heating. [...]

It is quite instructive to consider their daily food consumption. The following list represents an average, since the menu is not always the same. Legumes, potatoes, flour, bread, and milk are consumed rather frequently. In terms of meat products, the most common items apart from cheap sausage – which is smeared on bread rather than stacked upon it in slices – are ground beef or lungs, out of which meatballs or 'fake rabbit' (i.e., ground meat mixed with breadcrumbs or bread cubes, then fried in a bit of fat) are made. In consideration of Sundays and holidays, they save on weekday meals.

The list shows the following average numbers:

| | | Marks |
|--|-------|-----------------|
| Milk, 2–2 ½ liters | | 0.36 – 0.45 |
| Meat, 1–2 pounds | | 0.70 – 1.40 |
| Vegetables, potatoes, legumes, or rice | | 0.05 – 0.15 |
| Coffee and chicory coffee | | 0.10 – 0.15 |
| Bread | | 0.30 – 0.40 |
| Bread rolls (the coarser kaiser rolls) for breakfast | | 0.12 ½ – 0.12 ½ |
| Sausage | ca. | 0.30 – 0.30 |
| Fats, salt, and spices | ca. | 0.10 – 0.15 |
| | marks | 2.03 ½ – 3.12 ½ |

The average of the two numbers is 2.58 marks, which thus corresponds to the amount allotted per day; but since it is not reached every day, the result is a surplus, which is used for lighting and a number of minor expenses. Nothing is purchased on credit; indeed, that is one of the main requirements for keeping a small household in order. If more substantial expenses are necessary, a certain amount of money is set aside each week so that the item can be purchased in cash. ▶▶▶

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■ In the morning, the husband takes a tin container of coffee along with him; in the evenings and at lunch he drinks two glasses of beer, three at the most, at a cost of 10 pfennigs per glass (he does not drink any schnapps); on weekdays he smokes two cigars, three on Sundays, at a cost of three pfennigs each; he goes to the pub perhaps once a week but returns home by 10:30 p.m. at the latest.

■ In the following, I will list the figures I was able to collect:

| | Marks |
|--|----------|
| Income | 1.700,– |
| Expenses: | |
| Apartment | 259,– |
| Household | 924,– |
| Taxes | 30,– |
| Health insurance and other contributions | 13,– |
| Heating, on average | 45,– |
| Winter clothing for husband | 30,– |
| Hat | 2.50 |
| Boots for husband | 16,– |
| Boots for wife | 11,– |
| Boots for children | 10,– |
| Clothing purchases for wife and children | 23,– |
| Physician and pharmacy for wife | 20,– |
| Newspaper, shared with someone else, totalling 6 marks, thus | 3,– |
| Miscellaneous (mending, linens, entertainment) | 64,– |
| Husband (beverages, tobacco, coin collections, etc.) | 162,– |
| | marks |
| | 1.612.50 |

■ In 1889, the savings amounted to 82 marks. [...] Entertainment involving money is very rare; there is just enough money for outings to the Zoological Park on 'cheap Sundays' (the picnic basket is brought along) or to the Hasenheide; once in a blue moon, the family goes to a cheap 'smoke' or variety theatre. Basically, that is the extent of the entertainment outside the home. The husband manages by borrowing books from public libraries and reading in the evening if he is not too tired; the wife is content with a novel and the local news in the paper, or she talks with the ladies next door as soon as she has put the children to bed. ■ ■ ■



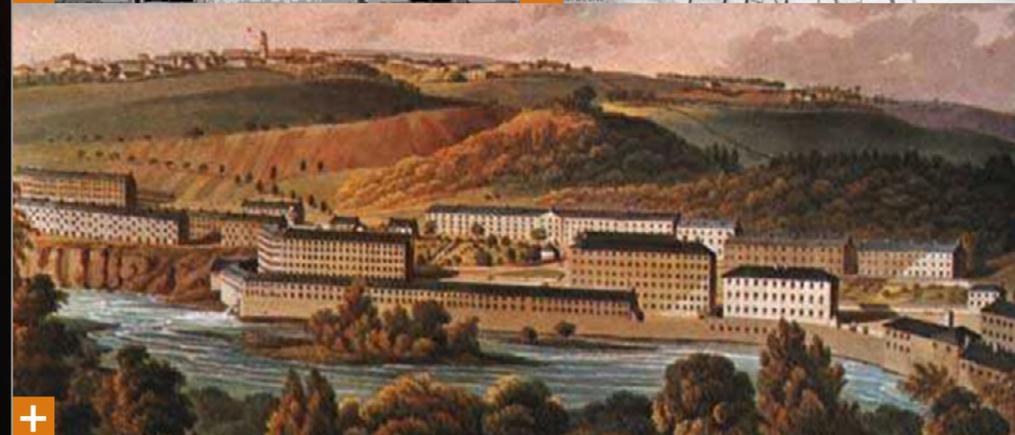
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TARGET GROUP
UPPER SECONDARY
KEY ISSUES

The growth of workers' organisations nationally and internationally in the 19th century.

Relationships between workers' organisations, employers and governments.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Present-day trade union activities began in Central Europe around the mid-19th century. The main reason for the birth of the trade union movement was the major economic and industrial upheaval experienced in Europe during the 19th century.

Throughout Europe the period from the 1880s onwards saw considerable labour unrest – some of it violent - in the relatively advanced industrial regions. Much of this discontent arose out of the changes in industrial society: the growth of communications, transport, urbanisation and the dissemination of news; newspapers were cheaper, the provincial and national press was growing, and deference was weakening; old craft unions now co-existed with newer unions of the unskilled.¹

¹ See also seminar paper: Introduction à l'histoire du mouvement ouvrier en Belgique: Une sensibilisation aux conditions de vie et aux luttes sociales Delaet J-L

TEACHING, LEARNING AND ASSESSMENT OPPORTUNITIES
EXERCISE

Below are sources which could form the basis for three case studies on aspects of workers' organisations and unrest amongst workers in three countries of Europe during the 19th century. Students could:

1. **Expand on one of these three studies**
2. **Analyse the case studies in terms of what light they throw on working people's ambitions and attitudes**
3. **Use these case studies as exemplars for the development of additional studies.**

CASE STUDY 1
▶ SOURCES
The compagnonnage system in France

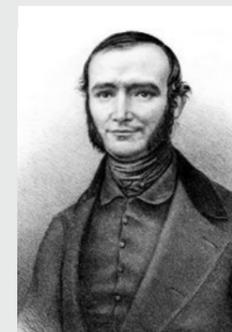
In the 19th century, the *compagnonnage* (trade guild) system was faced with the rise of industry and a drop in the number of members, and strove to become a more united movement. Under the Empire these guilds were still banned, but as they had no real power to prevent their existence the authorities contented themselves with keeping the guilds under close supervision and putting a stop to their 'coalitions' (strikes and black-listings). Brawls between rival societies reached new heights.

In the early part of the century, the guilds were seen as the only real associations for the protection of workers, and several trades set about organising themselves along the same lines. These included the shoemakers (1808), clog-makers (1809) and bakers (1811). They were rejected by other guilds of the *compagnonnage du Devoir*. This is led to rifts in the ranks of the *compagnons du Devoir*, among the bakers, shoemakers, carpenters and cooperers. The new societies joined the *Devoir de Liberté* movement. These rifts and quarrels gradually weakened the guilds.

As the century wore on, the Industrial Revolution and the advent of machinery reduced numbers in many trades, especially in the textile sectors (dyers, cloth-makers, cloth-shearers and milliners), but also among tanners, chamois-dressers, metal-founders, cutlers...



Compagnon shoemakers being led out of Tours in 1850.

Portrait of Perdiguiet
circa 1845.

The *Tour de France*, which had been thrown into disarray by the Revolution, now took in fewer towns on its itinerary. Innovations with regard to ritual appeared in many societies. Most were borrowed from freemasonry, to which guild members were attracted because of its prestige, rites and symbols.

The *compagnonnage* declined in the second half of the century. Numbers fell because many workers preferred to join other societies such as mutual aid societies and, after 1864, trade unions. These offered workers the same benefits but were less mysterious and quarrelsome, and involved fewer constraints.

Several guild members tried to ease the tensions between the guilds of the *compagnonnage du Devoir* and the *compagnonnage du Devoir de Liberté*. They realised that their squabbles were weakening them. The best-known of them is a joiner of the *compagnonnage du Devoir de Liberté* called Agricol PERDIGUIER, known as "Avignonnais la Vertu" (1805-1875) He published the *Livre du Compagnonnage* in 1839 and his memoirs in 1855.

Portrait of
Lucien Blanc.

The guilds, which had previously been composed solely of young journeymen gradually began to call on former members, now settled down, married and well established in business, to run them. These older men formed parallel movements in which *compagnons du Devoir* and *compagnons du Devoir de Liberté* were united.

Between 1860 and 1899 societies of reunited former guild members sprang up. They held congresses and organised themselves first into a *Fédération Compagnonnique de tous les Devoirs réunis*, then into a *Union Compagnonnique* (1889). The instigator of this progressive reform movement was Lucien BLANC, a saddler and harness-maker, known as "Provençal le Résolu" (1823-1909).

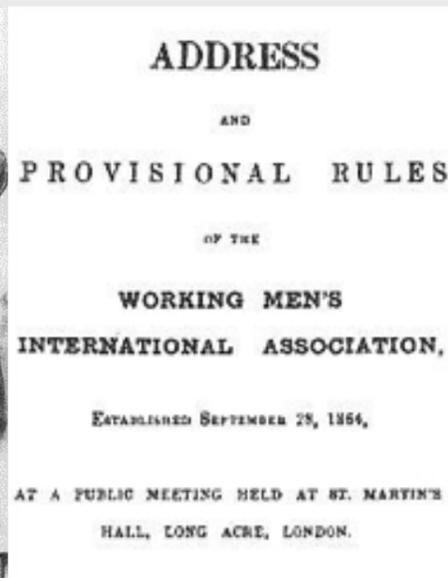
The Union did not, however, succeed in bringing all the guilds together. Some of them refused to give up their independence and banded together under the aegis of the *Ralliement des compagnons restés fidèles au Devoir*.

As well as being more peaceful (open brawling was rare after 1850), guild members were also less trouble to their employers. Now a minority among workers and members of associations made up of young employees and their employers, they seldom organised strikes or blacklists after 1880, and only took part as individuals in industrial action sparked by trade unions.

CASE STUDY 2

International co-operation amongst workers

- ➔ The inauguration of the International Workingmen's Association 1864



CASE STUDY 3

The depression at the end of 1885

The new wage cuts and more severe working conditions imposed by the bosses of the glassworks, driven to take such unpopular measures by the increased competition consequent on the introduction and extensions of the continuous glass melting furnace, inflamed the world of workers, causing riots to suddenly flare up in the industrial areas of Liege and Charleroi.

Serious workers' strikes broke out on March 26, 27 and 28, 1886 in Liege and then in Charleroi. Henri Lambert finished his university studies while major labour riots shook people to their core with their degree of violence and bloodiness. They spared no one in the glass-making region of Charleroi.

After the shock of 1886, in Belgium there was a significant dual evolution: that of worker organisations and that of capitalism, particularly in the glass industry. "The window glass industry did not remain outside this development, but it had certain special characteristics: labour became grouped in associations eerily reminiscent of the corporations of the ancien régime, while firms, under the deceptive legal appearance of limited liability companies employing a large number of workers, remained family businesses in their essence and their methods." Thus, the labour union Glassworkers Union and in 1894 the New Glassworkers Union, profiting from the relative scarcity of skilled labour (blowers), developed and conducted a veritable policy of **ancien regime** corporatism. "They firmly shut the doors of plants to non-union labour, monopolised apprenticeships, and stood between the boss and the worker in the negotiation of employment contracts. Traditionally, this brotherhood had been purely professional, with politics strictly excluded." Henri Lambert was thus in direct contact with this particular problem linked to the law of association and its applications. This is all the more so in parliamentary circles began to worry about the problem.

TIME AND SPACE

” The Industrial Revolution progressively brought about a radical transformation of concepts of time and space. The establishment of new communication links facilitated the free movement both of goods and of people - and hence of ideas and information. These new links (railways, canals, roads and later, telecommunications) also fundamentally altered people's perception of space and time.

COMMUNICATION LINKS THE SPREAD OF TECHNOLOGY

Professor Ron Noon

Liverpool John Moores University, United Kingdom

The thought-provoking book by the American writer Jeremy Rifkin, *The European Dream*, has a stimulating chapter on “Space, Time and Modernity” and what he calls Europe's 'obsession' with space and time. He provides a checklist of the new technologies that increased human power over space and time from the great European awakening onwards:

- ▶ Heavy wheeled plough, substitution of horses for oxen, shift from two-field to three field rotation;
- ▶ Increased food production and a dramatic growth in population and in turn urbanisation facilitated for the first time since the fall of the Roman Empire the beginnings of sustained domestic commerce and trade; ▶▶▶

- ▶ Thousands of water mills and windmills across Europe provided a new source of inanimate power for grinding grain, making beer, sawing wood, producing paper, fulling cloth and operating the bellows of blast furnaces. By the beginning of the 14th century there had been significant strides in substituting mechanical for human power in most of the basic industries;
- ▶ The Gutenberg press in 1436 and a massive revolution in communications;
- ▶ Improvements made to the compass and the increasing use of maritime charts and maps allowed Europeans to circumnavigate the African continent and cross the Atlantic to America. This process of colonisation would dramatically change Europeans' sense of space and the world as a much bigger place;
- ▶ And, the biggest innovation of all and one which still has a lasting impact on our perceptions of industrialisation was "the shift in the energy regimes from wood to coal and the introduction of the steam engine in the late 18th century". Rifkin argues that this seminal technological change "greatly accelerated the pace, flow and density of economic activity". It resulted in "faster, cheaper, and safer modes of travel – steamships and trains – broadened people's spatial horizons more profoundly than in any previous period in human history." The application of steam power to locomotion and the generalised impact of the 'Iron Horse' goes way beyond integrated national markets and the boost to capital goods industries, and "the drive to maturity". It was a revolutionary change in notions of time and space for passengers.

The consequences were not just in terms of producing more stuff far more efficiently with these new inanimate sources of power and Britain's comparative advantage in coal supplies. Improvements in transport and communications meant that the time taken to travel distances was shortened and "human exchanges – of both a social and commercial nature – were sped up".

TIME

” It is nowadays increasingly coming to be accepted that one of the most critical, and one of the most difficult, transformations required in an industrialising society is the adjustment of labour to the regularity and discipline of factory work." (Sidney Pollard, 1963)

- ▶ Time was being made over to conform to scientific criteria and the pre-industrial sense of time with its emphasis on changing cycles and seasons of nature, unhurried rhythms of daily rounds and long periods of prayer time was passing.
- ▶ The question of usury brought the issue to a head with the growth of towns and trade and merchant functions that emphasised material gain. For the latter 'time is money' because their successful functioning was based on their ability to use time to their advantage. The merchant who garnered the most knowledge of how to predict, use, and manipulate various time frames commanded the best prices and made the most profit. To the Church time belonged to God. This conflict over usury and merchant's time was viewed by Jacques Le Goff in *Time, Work and Culture in the Middle Ages* (1972) "as one of the major events in the mental history of these centuries". Market price would eventually eclipse 'just' or 'fair price' and the ground would be laid for the ascendant market capitalism and the withering away of ecclesiastical hegemony.
- ▶ The idea of organising time into standardised units of hours, minutes and seconds would have seemed strange, even macabre to a peasant serf of medieval times.
- ▶ By its essential nature the clock dissociated time from human events. No longer was it biotic and physical phenomena like the rising and the setting of the sun and changing seasons but time became a function of pure mechanism. ▶▶▶

The first phase of industrialisation is what we usually associate with the concept of proto-industrialisation and it is very much associated with textiles in the case of the British experience. The patterning is not just confined to the first example of industrialisation because he goes on to suggest that “while textile production predated the rest of the Industrial Revolution by two centuries, it embodied many of the essential attributes that were to characterise the coming age” and these were pan-European. Textiles required a large centralised workforce. It required the use of complex machinery. It used great amounts of energy. “The new urban proletariat congregated each morning in the dye shops and [fulling mills](#), ‘where the high consumption of energy for heating the vats and driving the hammers encouraged concentration in large units.’ This type of complex, highly centralised, energy-consuming production technology made it necessary to establish and maintain fixed hours for the beginning and end of the workday.”

Work bells and later the work clock were the means by which “merchants and factory owners” were able “to control the work time of their labourers”. There is so much that needs particularising both in terms of time and space in relation to this broad brush statement because there is a big difference between merchant putter-outers in the case of Britain’s cottage industries and later factory owners. The former is characterised by a higher ratio of variable to fixed costs and the relative autonomy of the textile (hand) worker is very much a reflection of how much more control over the labour process was needed. This was the context of St Monday and “desultory” or at the very least “irregular” bouts of work and leisure which became anathema to the English merchants and industrialists.

It was not only in the factory that the clock played an important new role. The bourgeoisie class found use for it in virtually every aspect of its daily life. This was a new form of temporal regimentation, more exacting and demanding than any ever conceived. The bourgeoisie introduced the clock into their homes, schools, clubs and offices. No corner of the culture was spared the reach of this remarkable new socialising tool. Lewis Mumford took stock of this transformation in time consciousness and concluded that: ‘the new bourgeoisie, in counting house and shop, reduced life to a careful, uninterrupted routine: so long for business; so long for dinner; so long for pleasure – all carefully measured out... Timed payments; timed contracts; timed work; timed meals; from this time on nothing was quite free from the stamp of the calendar or the clock.’ ■ ■ ■



The opening of the Liverpool-Manchester Railway - 15 September 1830.


TARGET GROUP
LOWER SECONDARY
KEY ISSUES

The development and rates of growth of new forms of transport in the 19th century.

Their economic and social impact on the countries of Europe.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Before the 19th century the fastest that human beings had ever been able to travel was the speed of a galloping horse. With the Industrial Revolution came faster and more powerful means of transport.

Railways... were first used in collieries, where goods wagons ran on wooden rails. About the middle of the 18th century horse-driven railways were running, both above and below the surface, on rails completely made of iron. The first steam-driven wagon was made by the French artillery officer, Nicolas Cugnot around 1770. He was followed by the Englishman, Richard Trevithick, who set his vehicle on rails. In 1803 the first colliery locomotive went into action in Coalbrookdale. This gave rise to George Stephenson's classic steam engine (Locomotion No 1): the front part consisted of a large steam boiler, behind which worked the driver and the stoker; within the engine were a huge amount of horizontal heating pipes, and the steam was blown out at the front. Steam cylinders and pistons were mounted beneath on either side in order to drive the wheels directly.

Stephenson also built the first railway line in England. In 1825, the Stockton and Darlington Railway was opened, and the subsequent railway boom resulted in an explosive growth in the whole of the British economy.

Just as railway mania was beginning to die down, a new development began: the motorcar engine. This revolutionised road traffic completely – primarily... on the continent [of Europe] and in the USA... In the 1870s it was discovered that oil products could be used as engine fuel, because they could easily be gasified... Motorcar production had already become an important manufacturing branch in industrial countries when Henry Ford conquered the mass market. He deliberately set out to build a cheap everyday car for farmers in the mid-west [of the USA], the Ford model T. Sales rose like lightning, bringing with them revolutionary methods of production. As early as 1911 assembly line production began in the British Ford works in Manchester. In 1914 the complete Ford factory in Detroit was operating on the assembly line system.

[The tracks of the Industrial Revolution. European Theme Route Transport, European Route of Industrial Heritage (ERIH)]



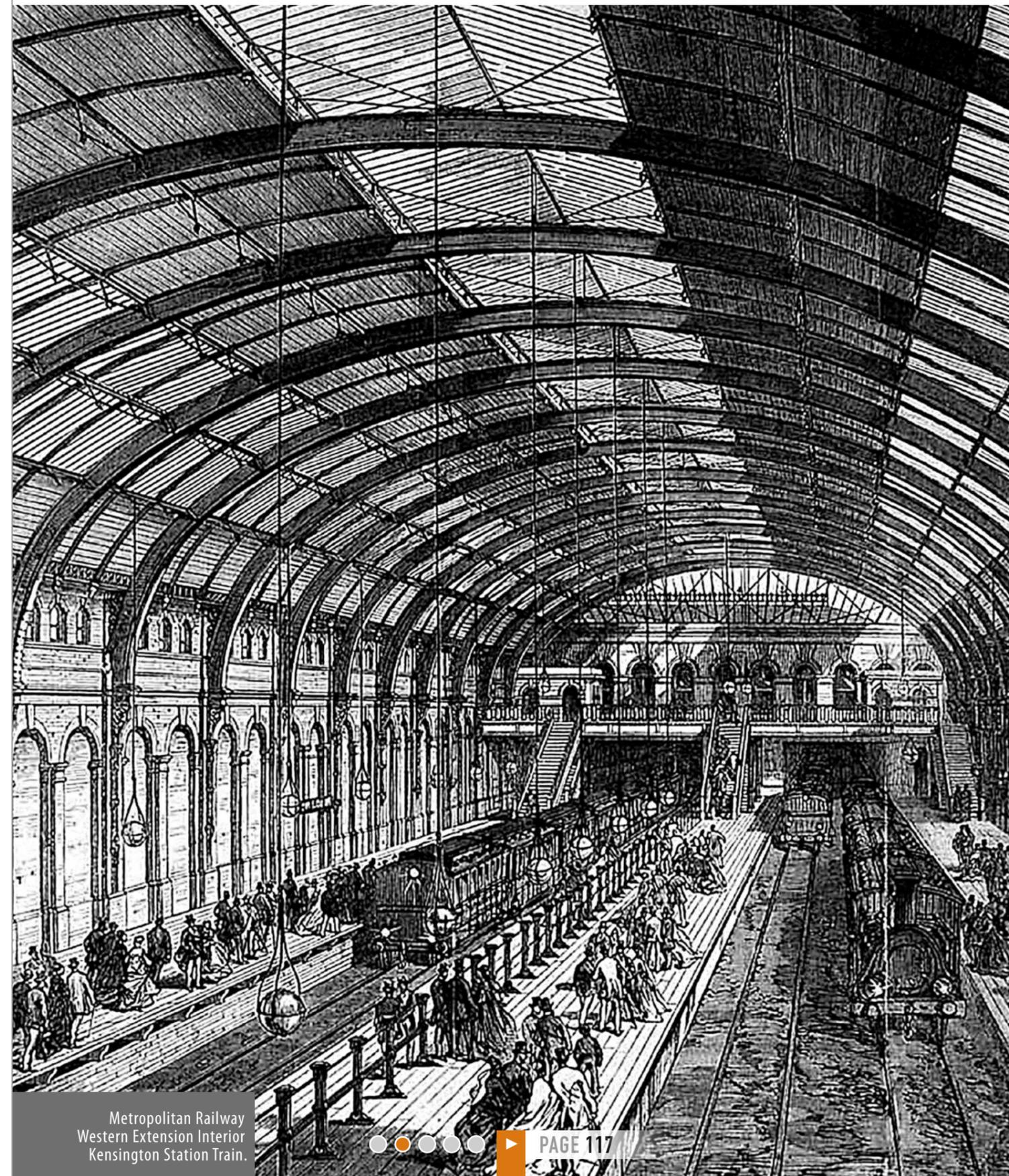
TEACHING, LEARNING AND ASSESSMENT OPPORTUNITIES

EXERCISE

1. Use the statistical data on European railways 1840-1900 to explore with pupils questions about the different rates of growth in the various countries, in which countries growth was the greatest and why that might be.
2. Not everybody welcomed the coming of railways. Discuss why individuals might differ in their responses. Compare, for example, the possible views of – an industrialist, a landowner, a politician, an innkeeper, a factory worker, an agricultural labourer.
3. Which had the greatest long term economic and social impact – the railway or the motor car?
4. What is meant by 'assembly line' production? What is its history and what consequences has it had?
5. Research the impact that developments in transport have had on the area in which you live or one that you are familiar with.

INTERNET RESOURCES

- ➔ [The railway age in Britain](#)
- ➔ [England, Edwardian Era around 1900](#)
- ➔ [How transport in Tameside \[near Manchester\] has changed through history](#)
- ➔ [Teacher Network : the industrial revolution](#)
- ➔ [Cité du train, Mulhouse](#)
- ➔ [Cité de l'automobile, Mulhouse](#)
- ➔ [Cité de l'automobile, the history of the museum, Mulhouse](#)



Metropolitan Railway
Western Extension Interior
Kensington Station Train.

SOURCES

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| LENGTH OF LINE OPEN (in kilometres) | 1840 | 1860 | 1880 | 1900 |
|--|--------|---------|---------|---------|
| AUSTRIA-HUNGARY | 144 | 4, 543 | 18, 507 | 36, 330 |
| BELGIUM | 334 | 1, 730 | 4, 112 | 4, 591 |
| FRANCE | 496 | 9, 167 | 23, 089 | 38, 109 |
| GERMANY | 469 | 11, 089 | 33, 838 | 51, 678 |
| GREAT BRITAIN | 2, 390 | 14, 603 | 25, 060 | 30, 079 |
| ITALY | 20 | 2, 404 | 9, 290 | 16, 429 |
| NETHERLANDS | 17 | 335 | 1, 846 | 2, 776 |
| RUSSIA | 27 | 1, 626 | 22, 865 | 53, 234 |
| SPAIN | - | 1, 917 | 7, 490 | 13, 214 |
| SWEDEN | - | 527 | 5, 876 | 11, 303 |

TABLE 1
SPREAD
OF RAILWAYS
IN TEN SELECTED
COUNTRIES
(1840-1900)

TABLE 2
PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL EUROPEAN
RAILWAYS BELONGING
TO EACH COUNTRY
(1840-1900)

IMAGES
ASSOCIATED
WITH THE CHANGES
IN SPEED
OF TRANSPORT

LEGENDS

- RUSSIA
- ITALY
- GREAT BRITAIN
- GERMANY
- FRANCE
- AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

SOURCES

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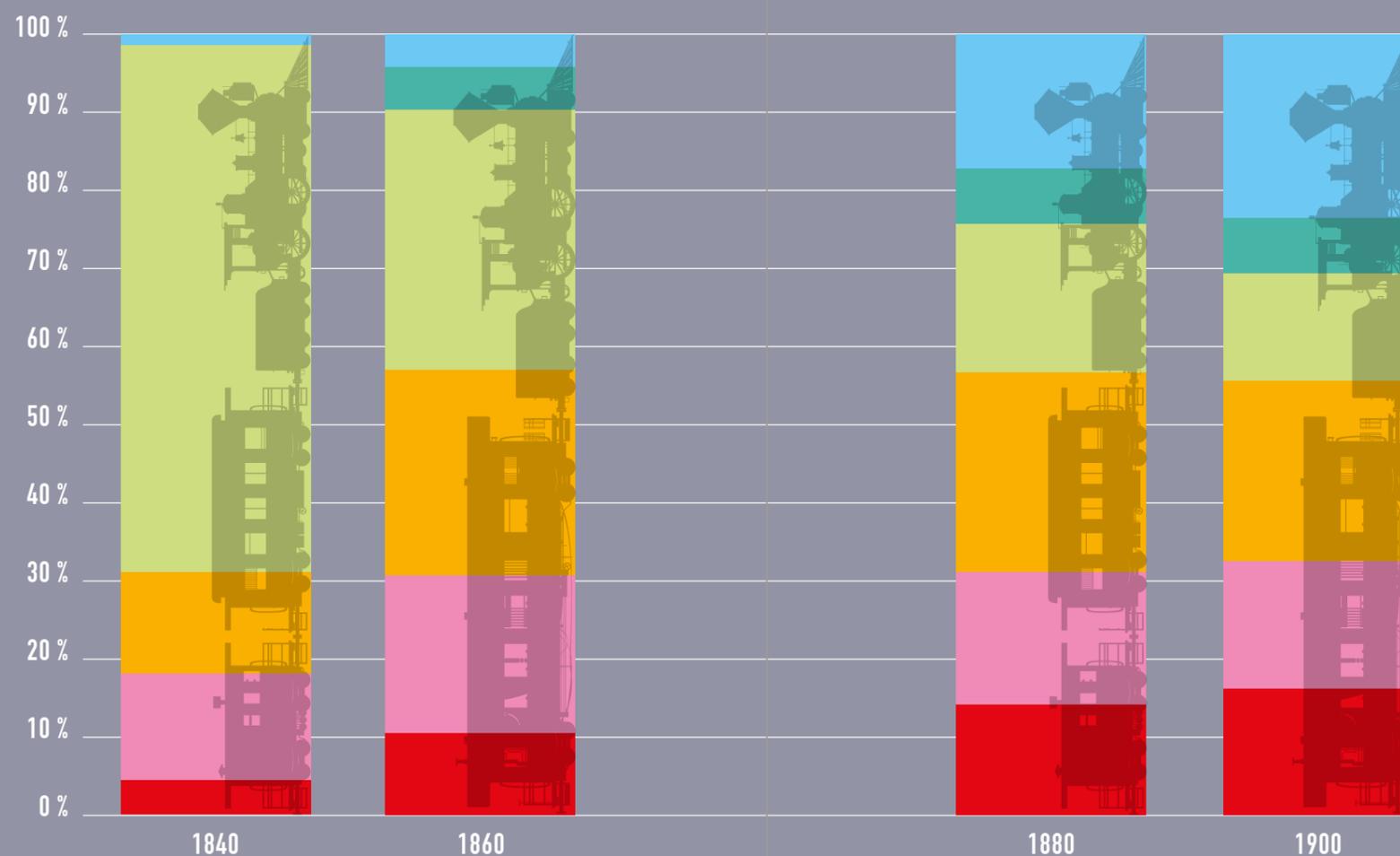


TABLE 1
SPREAD OF RAILWAYS IN TEN SELECTED COUNTRIES (1840-1900)

TABLE 2
PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL EUROPEAN RAILWAYS BELONGING TO EACH COUNTRY (1840-1900)

IMAGES ASSOCIATED WITH THE CHANGES IN SPEED OF TRANSPORT



TABLE 1
SPREAD
OF RAILWAYS
IN TEN SELECTED
COUNTRIES
(1840-1900)

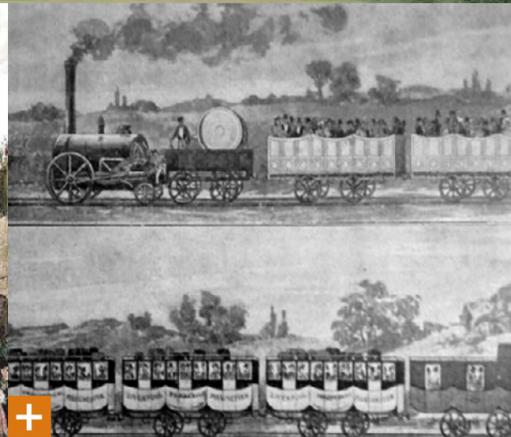
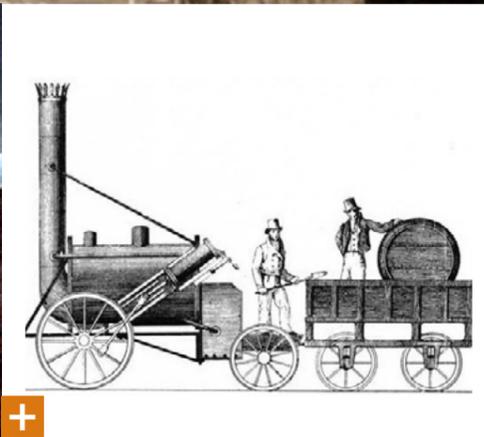
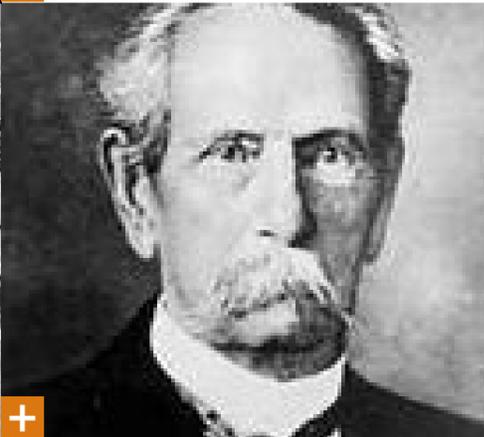
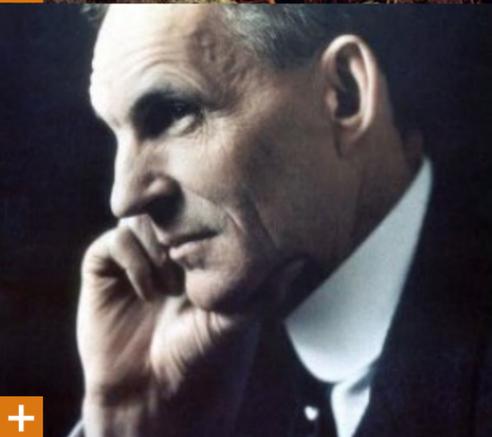
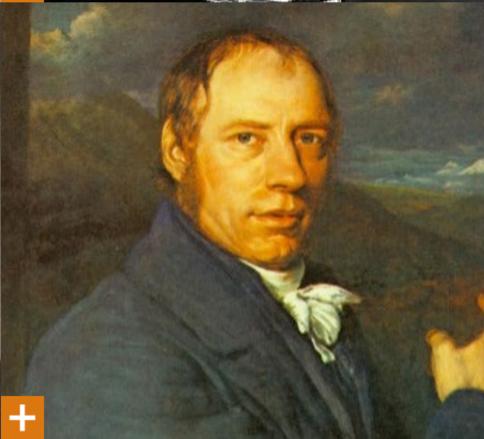


TABLE 2
PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL EUROPEAN
RAILWAYS BELONGING
TO EACH COUNTRY
(1840-1900)



IMAGES
ASSOCIATED
◀ WITH THE CHANGES
IN SPEED
OF TRANSPORT





TARGET GROUP UPPER PRIMARY

KEY ISSUES

How did people keep track of time before the development of clocks and watches?

Why did being able to tell the time accurately become increasingly important?



BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Before the beginning of the Industrial Revolution most people's perceptions of time were not very accurate. The means by which the passage of time was measured were rough and ready.

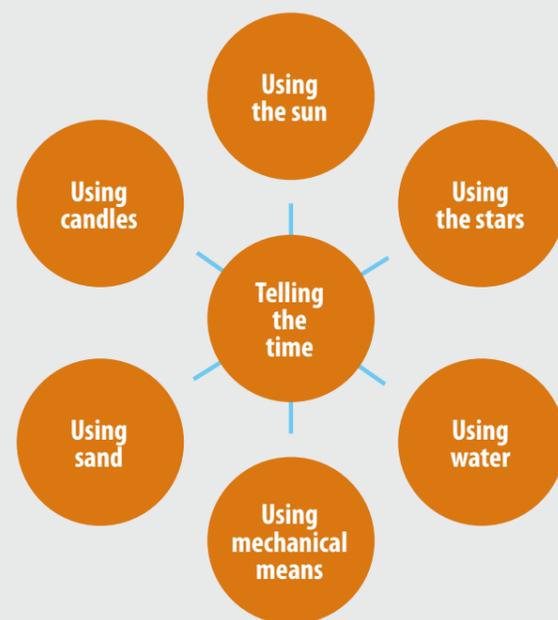
A stick in the ground – or any conspicuous landmark – cast shadows whose lengths varied as the day progressed. Sundials were a more sophisticated version of this, though cloud cover rendered them useless. Indoors, specially marked candles could be used to give approximate times.

From the late 17th century the accuracy of mechanical clocks had gradually improved, but for most people in an overwhelmingly agricultural economy the natural rhythms of the days and the seasons sufficed. Time was local and was based on where the sun was at noon.

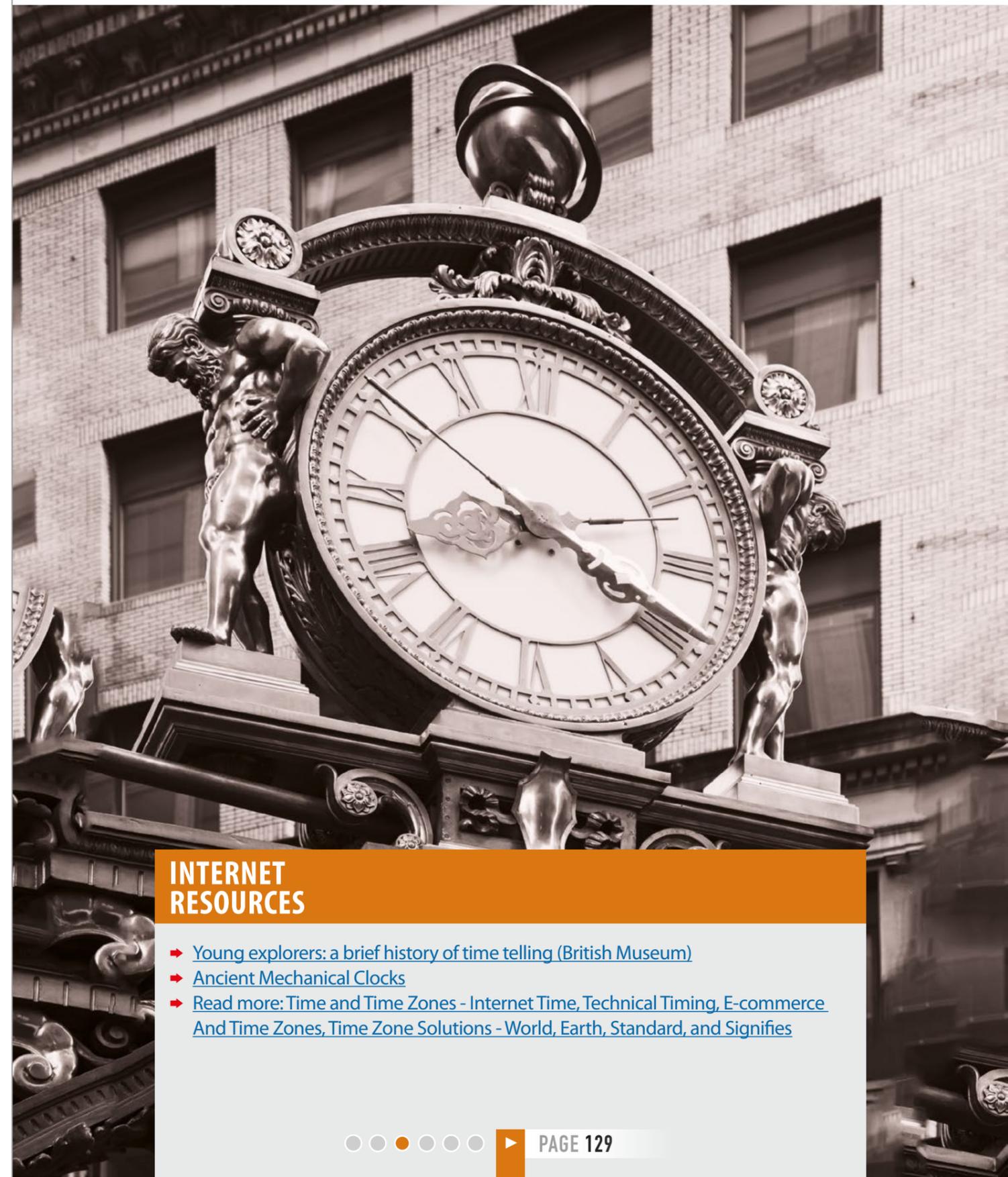
The Industrial Revolution changed all that:

- ▶ Co-ordination was essential to bring together supplies of raw materials, to organise workers and distribute their output. No point in having workers turn up at any old time, hoping that someone had brought in the cotton or wool to be processed, or hoping that someone had cleared yesterday's output. Factories demanded considerable time-management. Workers had to be woken by 'knockers-up'; shifts needed to be measured by a factory clock.
- ▶ As the industrial economy and its transportation network became more and more complex, bulky raw materials and finished products needed synchronised services from canal companies, mail coaches and, later, railways.
- ▶ For railway passengers, especially, the use everywhere of local time (calculated when the sun was overhead at noon) spelled confusion. Agreed timetables were essential, as was a standard time. Railways ultimately imposed Greenwich Time across Great Britain. (A standardised time system was first used by British railways on December 11, 1847, when they switched from local mean time to Greenwich Mean Time (GMT). It was also given the name 'Railway time' reflecting the important role the railway companies played in bringing it about. The vast majority of Great Britain's public clocks were being synchronised using GMT by 1855.).

EXERCISE 2



1. Link the images A – F to the relevant means of telling the time identified on the diagram
2. Discuss/research how each of these worked, and their advantages and limitations in telling the time.
3. Using the information given in the introduction explore with pupils why the coming of the Industrial Revolution resulted in a demand for better time keeping.



INTERNET RESOURCES

- ▶ [Young explorers: a brief history of time telling \(British Museum\)](#)
- ▶ [Ancient Mechanical Clocks](#)
- ▶ [Read more: Time and Time Zones - Internet Time, Technical Timing, E-commerce And Time Zones, Time Zone Solutions - World, Earth, Standard, and Signifies](#)

By the late 1200s Europeans began to build mechanical clocks. These clocks worked by winding them up and then letting a weight slowly descend to the ground. The clocks had to be near the top of towers to give the weights room to move down. By 1369 there was a clock on the castle at Vincennes, and the next year there was a clock on the Conciergerie in Paris. These early clocks weren't accurate, and they were expensive, so medieval people also continued to use older methods of telling time, like sundials and candle clocks. ■ ■ ■



MECHANICAL CLOCKS

GREENWICH MEAN TIME (GMT)

STANDARD TIME

Greenwich Mean Time (GMT): a time system originally referring to mean solar time at the Royal Observatory in Greenwich, London, which later became adopted as a global time standard. ■■■



Royal Observatory in Greenwich.

MECHANICAL
CLOCKS

◀ GREENWICH
MEAN TIME
(GMT)

STANDARD
TIME

Standard time was developed in 1884 to create uniform time standard across the globe. This led to the creation of 24 different international time zones. In theory, these regions are spaced longitudinally at 15 degrees, causing time to vary by one hour in each successive zone from a meridian running through Greenwich, England. This is the basis of Universal Time or Greenwich Mean Time (GMT). Based on political factors and other issues, the exact points at which time zones end and begin can vary in certain areas of the world. ■■■



Royal Observatory in Greenwich.

MECHANICAL
CLOCKSGREENWICH
MEAN TIME
(GMT)▶ STANDARD
TIME



TARGET GROUP

UPPER PRIMARY/LOWER SECONDARY

KEY ISSUE

How and why telecommunications advanced in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

**European Theme Route
Communications,
European Route
of Industrial Heritage (ERIH)**

The electrical telegraph opened up a new dimension in communications. Since the start of the 19th century dozens of inventors had been experimenting with sending news via weak electric wires over long distances and in real time. But in order to make this practicable people had to be able to understand the nature of electricity better, especially the connection between electric current and magnetism. In 1837 two Englishmen by the name of Wheatstone and Cooke patented the first electromagnetic telegraph and put it into use for railway traffic. The receiver contained a dial with the letters of the alphabet arranged upon it. To send a message, magnetic needles were turned towards the desired letters. The magnetism induced an electric current which was then sent through several wire circuits to another receiver. The current set the magnetic needles on the second receiver in motion, and these then pointed to the same letters which had been typed in by the sender.

In the same year in the USA, an amateur researcher by the name of Samuel Morse used an alternative system that only required a single wire line. In order to broadcast a message, the information was first coded into two different impulses, short and long: dots and dashes. This simple telegraph alphabet soon established itself, not least because Morse was able to deliver a new receiver which automatically recorded the messages on a moving strip of paper. A worldwide telegraph network was subsequently established on a basis similar to the binary code: an early form of the internet.

A thousand kilometres of telegraph wire had already been laid – including under the ocean – when Guglielmo Marconi gave the first demonstration of wireless telegraphy. In the apparatus he made in 1896, jumping sparks produced electromagnetic waves which transmitted sounds and speech way beyond visible distances. With the aid of ever higher antennae people were able to cover increasingly large distances. Later people learnt how to exploit the influence of wave frequencies on broadcasting. Short wave transmitters, for example, enabled people to communicate with far-off ships at sea – one of the advantages of wireless telegraphy. Today radio, television and mobile telephones work on the same principle.

At first only a very few people recognised the commercial potential of the telephone. In 1861, a German, Philipp Reis, was the first person to succeed in transmitting voices and sound electrically. But the commercial exploitation of voice communications only began with the telephone that Alexander Graham Bell, a professor of vocal physiology and elocution, presented to the American public in 1876

Here one person spoke into an apparatus consisting essentially of a thin membrane carrying a light stylus. The membrane was vibrated by the voice and the stylus traced an undulating line on a plate of smoked glass. The line was a graphic representation of the vibrations of the membrane and the waves of sound in the air. A second membrane device was used to receive the signals and transform them back into the spoken word. It was not long before the membrane devices were replaced by carbon microphones. Copper was used for the telephone lines, and around the turn of the 20th century developments in telephone engineering began a triumphant march that was to continue into the 21st century

TEACHING, LEARNING AND ASSESSMENT OPPORTUNITIES

EXERCISE 1

'MR WATSON, COME HERE, I WANT YOU!'

■ The race

An exciting inventing race was on across Europe and America in the 1870s. Who could invent the first working telephone? Several inventors thought it was possible to send the human voice along a wire using electricity – but how?

■ The problem

A telephone needs all of these parts:

- ▶ a microphone to change sounds from our speech into electrical signals;
- ▶ a way of sending electric signals through long wires;
- ▶ a loudspeaker to change the signal back into speech for someone to hear.

■ Bits and pieces

Inventors around the world were working on the different parts of the telephone. For example, in Germany, Philipp Reis built a device with a circuit attached to a receiver at one end, which was made from a vibrating knitting needle! The apparatus could only transmit musical notes and not speech but the idea was later developed by others.

■ The winner

Someone needed to put all the ideas together to make a telephone that worked...

Alexander Graham Bell was a Scottish teacher working in America. In 1876, Bell used his new invention to call to his assistant Thomas Watson, "Mr Watson, come here, I want you." Along the corridor, Watson heard the words through a receiver. He rushed out to Bell, dropping the receiver in his excitement. It was the world's first telephone call.

A letter from Bell

■ Imagine that you are Alexander Graham Bell and it is the day after you have discovered that your telephone works. Write a letter to a close friend telling him or her about your exciting new invention. A couple of lines have been added to help you get started.

■ Try to include some of these ideas:

- ▶ what your telephone is and what it does;
- ▶ your dreams for the future of the telephone;
- ▶ how important you think the invention is;
- ▶ your feelings about the discovery.

Boston, Mass., USA

11th March 1876

My dear

I have made a great discovery!

.....

.....

Perhaps one day,

.....

.....

.....

Yours truly

TEACHING, LEARNING AND ASSESSMENT OPPORTUNITIES

EXERCISE 2

THE SPREAD OF RAILWAY NETWORKS

■ The spread of railway networks was closely linked to the invention and development of the telegraph. Telegraph systems spread across railway networks to control signalling and carry messages. Along with growth of telephone networks, people could now communicate over great distances and this had a huge impact on society, business and the development of industrial cities.

■ Manufacturing and industry had more clients demanding better products and services and more companies were formed. This increase in activity provided the need to develop better communications systems. To succeed you needed information at your fingertips.

■ Imagine you are an entrepreneur living in the 1890s. You see the potential of new communication systems to make money and want to open a new business. You need financial backing to set it up but need to convince your sponsors to lend you the money. However, they don't understand the new systems or appreciate how they can help. They agree to meet with you so you can convince them of their value.

Prepare a persuasive presentation for your sponsors. You should briefly explain how each system works and how they are creating new opportunities.

(Adapted from: Industrialisation and communication, Learning resources, Connected Earth, BT)

INTERNET RESOURCES

- ➔ [Connected Earth – How communication shapes the world](#)

Videos available on Connected Earth :

- ➔ [How a telegraph was sent – What happened in the post office room](#)
The electric telegraph changed the way in which the world communicated. This podcast, produced with Amberley Museum and Heritage Centre, describes what would happen in the Post Office room if you wanted to send someone a telegram.
- ➔ [How a telegraph was sent – What happened in the telegraph room](#)
The electric telegraph changed the way in which the world communicated. This podcast, produced with Amberley Museum and Heritage Centre, describes what would happen in the telegraph room to send a message by teleprinter and receive a telegram.
- ➔ [A short history of the telegraph](#)
The electric telegraph changed the way in which the world communicated. This podcast, produced with Amberley Museum and Heritage Centre, tells the development of the telegraph in the 19th century.
- ➔ [A short history of public telephone kiosks and people's experiences of using them.](#)
When the first public telephone kiosks came into use in the early 1880s most people had never even seen a telephone before, let alone used one. This podcast, produced with Avoncroft Museum who exhibit the national collection of telephone kiosks, introduces the history of the high street icon.

WIRELESS COMMUNICATION

■ "Young man, you have done something truly exceptional"; these were the words William Henry Preece, chief engineer of the British Postal Service, spoke in 1896, when Guglielmo Marconi sent a signal from the General Post Office Building to another building 1,600 metres away.

To Marconi, born in Bologna in 1874, we owe one of the most extraordinary scientific discoveries of modern times: wireless communication, namely the distance sending of telegraph signals without any connecting wire.

Not yet twenty, he set up his first laboratory for his experiments in the so-called "silkworm room", on the attic of his family's mansion, "Villa Griffone", and located nearby Bologna, at Pontecchio, where silkworm used to be kept for breeding. His painstaking attempts to duplicate the systems exploiting electromagnetic waves, already experimented by other scientists, date back to 1894. Marconi tried also to improve the performance of already-known equipment and in particular he created, as he said in his own words, "a new set-up", enabling to increase the distance through which communication would be possible regardless of interposing obstacles. The natural obstacle that Marconi was able to bypass was the Celestini hill, standing just a mile away from "Villa Griffone".

■ One day in the summer of 1895 operations were carried out according to a well-tryed scheme, except for the signalling procedure to indicate that the outbound signal had been duly received. It could not be carried out, as before, by waving a handkerchief as the two points (receiver and sending ends) were not visible one from the other. A rifle shot was then the signal communicating that the experiment had succeeded, but it came also to symbolise the birth of the radio and all its subsequent applications with relevant effects in the field of physics, engineering, medicine and related application in medical appliances for the treatment of several diseases.

■ At the core of all that Marconi achieved in his life was experimental research as relentlessly and obstinately pursued, together with his commitment to apply his inventions to the benefit of his fellow human beings, and in particular to place radio telegraphy to the service of anyone in need of rescue in dangerous situations (G. C. Corazza). Let us recall here that the over eight hundred passengers rescued from the tragic shipwreck of the Titanic in 1921 owed their lives to the radio telegraphic station installed on the ship from which the S.O.S. signal was sent out (G. Maioli). The scientist said in an interview in 1897: "My discovery is not the result of long hours of meditation, but of experiences...". This was probably one of the reasons why at the end of the 19th century Bologna's official cultural and scientific milieus did not show any interest in Marconi's achievements, as the inventor did lack a formal university education.



Guglielmo Marconi.

■ Other significant experiments and discoveries followed that epoch-making day, which enabled the scientist from Bologna, Nobel Laureate for Physics in 1909, to show his extraordinary talents of inventor and researcher: from the first communication from Poldhu in Cornwall to St. John in Newfoundland, Canada, to the direct transmissions between Italy and Eastern Africa (1910); from the radiotelegraph and radiotelephone connection between London and the British colonies (1924), to the transmission of a radio signal, from the yacht *Electra*, at anchor in Genoa's harbour, which switched on the lighting system of the World Exhibition in Sydney, Australia. ■ ■ ■



OUR INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE

”

In most European countries, the industrial past, which is reflected today not only through buildings and transport networks but also through industrial archives, eye-witness accounts and numerous artefacts and works of art, is increasingly acknowledged as a significant part of historical heritage, on the same footing as other great periods in our history. Promoting this heritage is a means not only of improving historical knowledge but also a way of highlighting important moments in history from every possible viewpoint.

MUSEUMS, INDUSTRIAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MONUMENTS AND MEDIA

John Hamer

Education Consultant, United Kingdom

European Tourism Day was on 26 September 2011. An important part of this was an event held in Brussels on "Industrial heritage: differentiating the European tourism offer". This provided an opportunity to discuss how the European industrial heritage can be a key to the sustainable development of tourism in a region, contributing both to the creation of new jobs and to the preservation of the testimonies of an important part of Europe's history.

In May of last year (2011) the European Industrial Heritage Organisations published a memorandum in which they requested:

... the Council of Europe, the European Union, the member states, and the International organisations active in the fields of studying, preserving and increasing public appreciation of Heritage:

- ▶ to initiate a wide-spread campaign to promote increased awareness and appreciation amongst the public, public authorities and institutions, and non-governmental organisations, of the urgent need to save the Technical and Industrial Heritage of Europe, and to accord it the significance it deserves on the grounds of its Historical and Scientific importance, and through its Cultural significance in offering ways of understanding the social and economic development of our countries.

The European Industrial Heritage organisations therefore propose:

- ▶ that a campaign for a European Industrial and Technical Heritage Year should be launched.



Possibly in response to this a motion for a resolution on the future of Europe's industrial heritage (Destruction or restoration of industrial heritage) for discussion in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council was presented at the end of June 2011.

- ▶ *The cultural heritage in Europe presents specific characteristics that distinguish it from other parts of the world.*
- ▶ *Industrialisation, which started in the 19th century and significantly marked the region at the beginning of the 20th century, transformed the way of life in Europe, and even worldwide. In Europe, we built industrial environments, large centres made up of living spaces and all the corresponding buildings, which completely changed the environment.*
- ▶ *What is happening today to such environments, regions, and buildings? In some regions, they have been successfully transformed into protected cultural heritage and capital has been invested to give these environments a new image. We can thus see some good practices of industrial heritage restoration in Germany, Austria, Belgium, Netherlands and Poland. Such investments were encouraged by the recognition that by saving the industrial heritage we can preserve the identity of a certain period, a specific way of life, which at the same time of its emergence imprinted itself on the environment and landscape.*
- ▶ *In view of the above, the Parliamentary Assembly should devote particular attention to the emerging, identifiable industrial heritage which is in need of new content and existence. However, we should not forget the natural environment and the conformity of industrial buildings with this environment, even though they have served their purpose, as well as the important role of capital which is becoming increasingly interested in such investments. Every renovation project should have an answer to the questions: why invest? What makes the industrial heritage so important that we should place it on the UNESCO World Heritage List?*

This continued the long-standing involvement of the Council of Europe in matters of industrial heritage.

Up to the 1970s industrial heritage was not considered to be interesting. Only products of 'high culture' were part of 'culture', such as fine arts, music or literature. Expressions of the industrialised world and technology were not part of it, especially when they only dated back to the 19th and 20th centuries. A castle, a palace, a church or a town house were regarded as part of the culture of a country. A blast furnace or a rolling mill, however, could only be an achievement

of civilisation but never represented 'culture'. Almost overnight it seems, however, landscapes in which culture seemed to have been absent for a long time, were suddenly seen to provide outstanding elements of a special kind of material 'culture' - the objects of industrial heritage – factories, mills, coalmines and the infrastructure that supported them – housing, railways, canals.

To quote Neil Cossons speaking to a conference of The International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage:

- ▶ *"Industrial archaeology struck a chord with a public who, perhaps for the first time, could see their own history, places that reflected their own lives and their own values, being taken into care for the future. In this respect industrial archaeological conservation was if not unique certainly novel."*

There was a growing recognition that:

- ▶ the origins and subsequent evolution of industrialisation deserved recognition;
- ▶ its material evidence was a legitimate and rewarding field of study;
- ▶ some of that evidence was sufficiently emblematic of a vital and vivid past to justify retention;
- ▶ future generations might gain inspiration and understanding from it.

However, although the terms industrial heritage and industrial archaeology passed rapidly into common usage it, wasn't until about eight or nine years ago that they were formally defined and adopted by UNESCO's International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS)

Arguably, the most significant advance in the international recognition of the subject has been the inscription of industrial sites as World Heritage Sites in their own right. In November 2011, for example, the Ironbridge Gorge celebrated the 25th anniversary of its designation as a world heritage site. Significantly Ironbridge sought recognition for an extensive industrial landscape rather than a single site, and this emphasis on themed landscapes has been maintained in the United Kingdom.

Indications of strength within the industrial heritage world:

There are a number of international and pan-European bodies, for example:

- ▶ The International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage (TICCIH).
- ▶ E-FAITH.
- ▶ The European Route of Industrial Heritage (ERIH): the tourism information network of industrial heritage in Europe. ▶▶▶

Preserving the industrial heritage also faces a number of challenges:

Will future generations care? To quote Cossons again:

- ▶ *"In today's world we cannot take those views for granted. The justifications are no longer self-evident. In the old industrial world consciousness of the importance of the social and economic changes wrought by industrialisation, first-hand knowledge and experience of industry and all it represented, is evaporating as generations change and the public experience of work, in the industrial sense of the term, fades. And with it has gone the powerful collective memories of those industrial communities. That is inevitable.*
- ▶ *... We must now consider the future for this particular past in the context of new public perceptions. For this new public the industrial past and all it represents will be as distant, as alien, as incomprehensible, and perhaps as irrelevant, as the remains of ancient Athens or Rome.*
- ▶ *... So, if the age of industry is now gone, what do we want of it its remains? Do its vestiges and its memories matter, and if so to whom? Is this a history we wish to take forward with us, that future generations might gain from it some understanding and meaning? Or, can we let it go, relieved that the problem has quietly slipped away? Was it all too much to handle and the loss of its departing of no real consequence? Indeed, is this a chapter of history we might wish to consign, consciously and even enthusiastically, to oblivion?"*

Unsurprisingly Cossons concluded that this latter is an option we must not choose. In looking to the future of industrial heritage he offers three principles:

- ▶ Recognise the importance of landscapes rather than just specific sites or buildings. Places are what people value.
- ▶ Informed conservation: reconcile the voices of the past with the needs of today and tomorrow.
- ▶ Adaptive re-use.

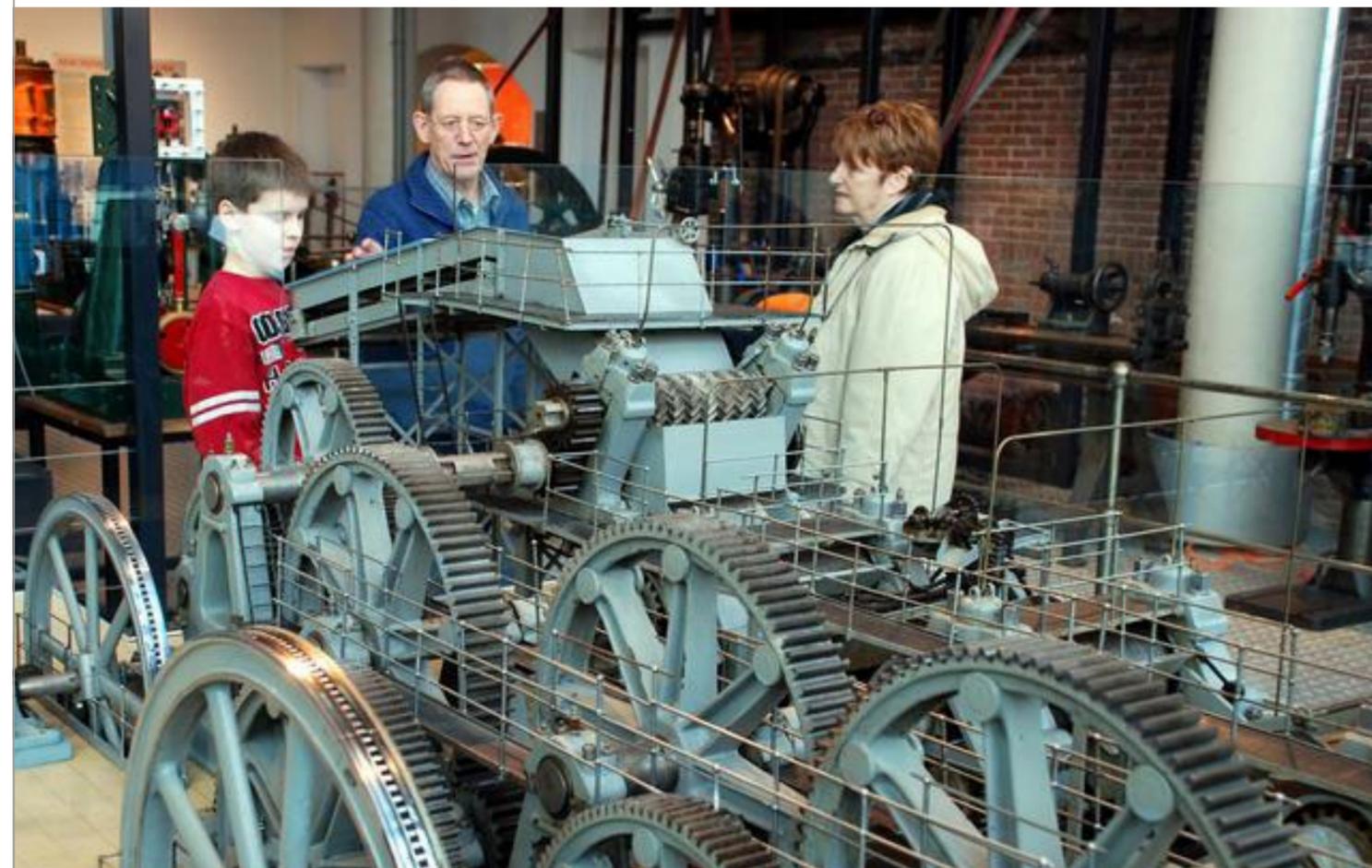
These principles echo those put forward by others; for example Dietrich Soyez writing on industrial heritage in old industrialised areas:²

¹ Neil Cossons, *Prospects, perceptions and the public*, op cit

² *Virtual Geography Textbook (VGT) on Canada and Germany*, Module 2: Selected Aspects of German Historical and Cultural Geographic Landscapes, Alfred Pletsch and Grant Head, Section 9

The recognition of industrial culture follows four main endeavours:

- ▶ to give a better understanding of history (industrial, social, and economic) by using the original site and thus create points of interest for tourists;
- ▶ revaluation of symbols of industrialisation in order to strengthen local and regional identities as well as central functions;
- ▶ improvement of the regional image hoping to gain positive economic incentives through increased attractiveness;
- ▶ new and other uses of former industrial objects.



Hengelo, Twents Techniekmuseum Heim - Netherlands.



TARGET GROUP TEACHER TRAINEES

KEY ISSUE

What should be done with old industrial sites and buildings?

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

THE PROBLEM ACCORDING TO ENGLISH HERITAGE

Reuse and regeneration

Much of Britain's industrial heritage is at risk of decay or even demolition. Finding an alternative use for functionally redundant industrial buildings presents one of the best opportunities of securing their long-term future. They can form the focus for the regeneration of an area, help to reinforce people's sense of place and are often built of robust good quality materials – their re-use cuts waste and minimises the requirements for new materials. Yet industrial sites often present a challenging set of circumstances to planners and developers. They may often be an eyesore or potentially dangerous. Industrial buildings are designed in accordance with the process which takes place within them but this can often render them difficult to adapt. The cost of acquiring, restoring, running and maintaining an industrial site may also be prohibitively expensive.

SOME OF THE ALTERNATIVES

Preservation
Conservation

Restoration

'Disneyfication'

Adaptation

Obliteration

TEACHING, LEARNING AND ASSESSMENT OPPORTUNITIES

■ An example of the kind of activity that might be undertaken with secondary age pupils is given below. It is taken from one of the teaching kits produced by English Heritage.

EXERCISE

ENGLISH HERITAGE TEACHER'S KIT

Debate: why should we preserve industrial sites?

■ Set the scene before you start. English Heritage aims to provide advice and guidance on the future use of industrial sites and is asking students, local people, owners, developers, voluntary bodies, academics, professionals and politicians to get involved and debate the future of our industrial heritage. You have been asked to have a debate as a class (or in groups) and answer the following questions to help your students decide if and why we should preserve industrial sites.

You may wish to ask your group these questions:

- ▶ Is the site important in the history of industry and technology?
- ▶ Does it have connections to a well-known inventor, engineer or industrialist?
- ▶ Is it a well preserved or typical example of a local industry, with educational or architectural value or interest?
- ▶ Is it an integral part of the local landscape and character, which can be adapted to a new use?
- ▶ Is it an attractive landscape feature with tourist appeal?
- ▶ What future use do you imagine the building may have? over the past 30 years developers have found new uses for a variety of former industrial sites including residential, retail, offices, business start-ups and workshops, hotels, restaurants, pubs and a variety of leisure activities.

TEACHING, LEARNING AND ASSESSMENT OPPORTUNITIES

■ If you've already looked at industrial sites in your area, then you can use the information you've gathered about them to help you with your debate. You could also use some of the information in these links to back up points you make in your debate. They provide further information on the reuse of industrial buildings and some examples of on-going conservation projects:

- ➔ [Industrial heritage at Risk](#)
- ➔ [Ditherington mill](#)
- ➔ [Snape maltings](#)

■ You can then run your debate, with perhaps half the class arguing for preservation and half arguing against, based on the research they have done. You could present the findings of your debate in a magazine-style article, or ask students to vote for their chosen answer, recording votes using the voting function on an interactive whiteboard.

A CASE STUDY: GASOMETER OBERHAUSEN

■ The 117.5 metre tall Oberhausen Gasometer is now a symbol of the industrial history of the Ruhr area, an important point of orientation and identification in the city of Oberhausen and a unique events venue. The 'Neue Mitte Oberhausen', a shopping and leisure centre, a venue for commercial and cultural events on the former industrial site of the Gutehoffnungshütte (GHH), has emerged in its shadows.



■ Built between 1927–1929 to store gas for smelting and coking processes, and with a storage capacity of 350,000 m³, the Oberhausen Gasometer is the largest disc-type gasometer in Europe. Following the closure of the neighbouring industrial plants in 1988, the gasometer became superfluous and was seen by the public as an oversized symbol of the industrial decline of the region.

■ The question 'Keep it or tear it down?' was discussed with great emotion in the city of Oberhausen. In 1992, the city council decided to convert it into an exhibition hall as a project for the IBA Emscher Park. By fixing the former gas-pressure disc in place, several accessible exhibition levels were created inside the gasometer. A interior, glass elevator conveys its passengers to viewing platforms located under and on the roof, at a height of 110 m. The roof is reached by means of a safety lift and an external staircase circling the lift. Measuring 114.9 m in length and with 616 steps, it is one of the longest industrial staircases in the world.

■ Since 1994, the gasometer has been a multicultural events venue for exhibitions, concerts, theatre performances and trade fairs. The Gasometer exhibition space became internationally renowned with its opening exhibition 'Fire and flames – the history of the Ruhr area' (1994, 1995), one of the most successful historical exhibitions in Germany after World War II. At the IBA Finale in 1999, Christo and Jeanne-Claude presented the work of art 'The Wall' within its shell. A 26-m tall wall built from industrial drums provided a theme for the mammoth interior space and played with its perspectives. Since 2006, visitors have been able to experience the permanent 'Licht Himmel' light-sound installation by Berlin artist Christina Kubisch in the upper exhibition space, which is more than 100 m tall.

INTERNET RESOURCES

- ➔ [Approaches to regenerating industrial heritage sites, Tehmina Goskar](#)

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES SEMINAR PAPERS

- ➔ **Consequences of the Industrial Revolution on Europe** by Andrea Rihter
- ➔ **Le patrimoine industriel : de l'histoire de l'Europe à la construction européenne** by Jean-Louis Delaet


TARGET GROUP
TEACHER TRAINEES
KEY
ISSUE

Enabling young people to explore, understand and care for their industrial heritage.

BACKGROUND
INFORMATION

The European Route of Industrial Heritage (ERIH) is the tourism information network of industrial heritage in Europe:

"Currently we present more than 850 sites in 32 European countries. Among these sites there are 77 Anchor Points which build the virtual ERIH main route. On thirteen Regional Routes you can discover the industrial history of these landscapes in detail. All sites relate to ten European Theme Routes which show the diversity of European industrial history and their common roots."

➔ www.erih.net

Anchor Points: the milestones of European industrial heritage

Anchor points illustrate the complete range of European industrial history. They are the backbone of the route: outstanding industrial monuments in the former heartlands of the Industrial Revolution, Great Britain, Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg and Germany.

Regional Routes

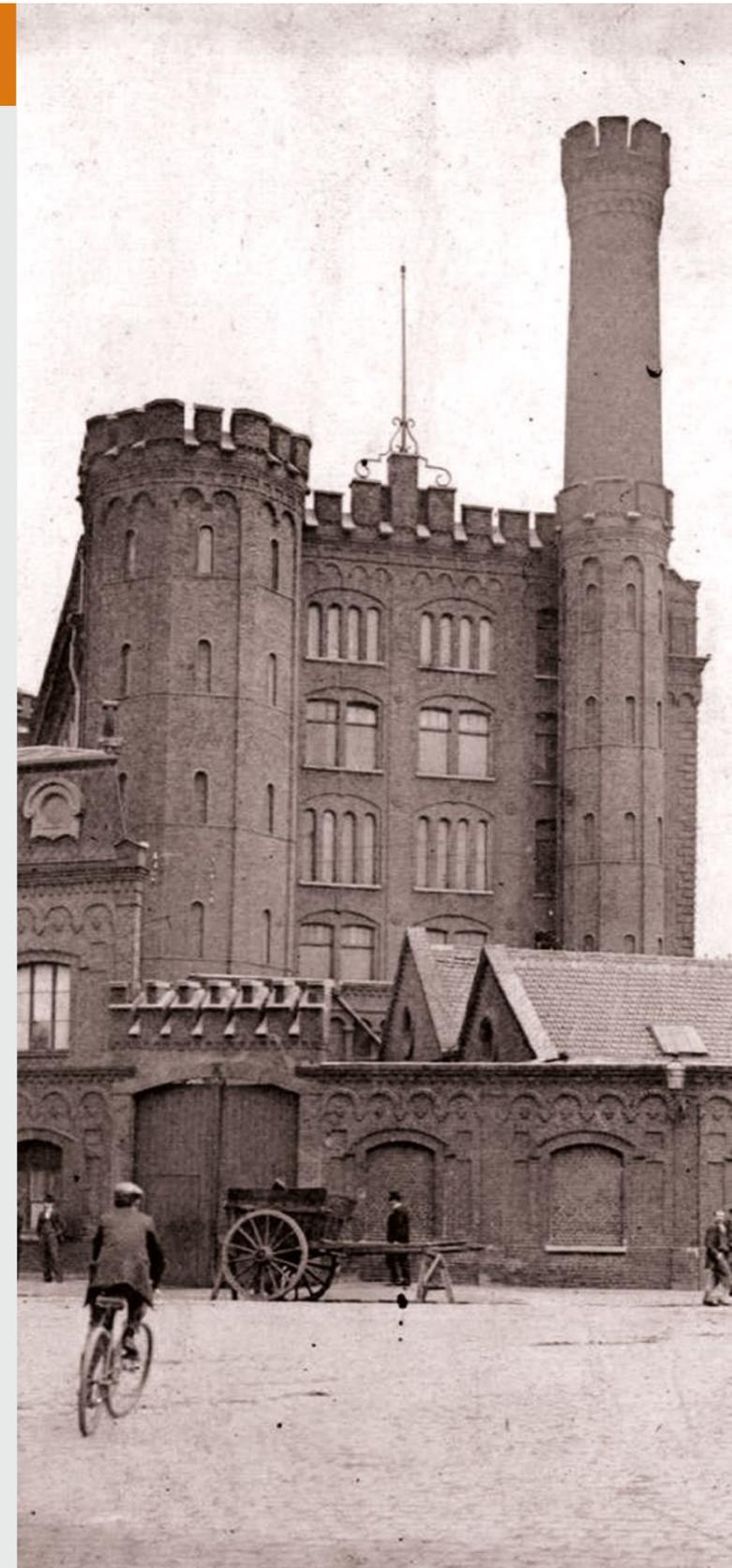
Each region has its own speciality. In this respect European industrial heritage is just like food. Its strength lies in the fact that it unites many different traditions within a single idea. The Regional Routes link landscapes and sites which have left their mark on European industrial history.

European Theme Routes

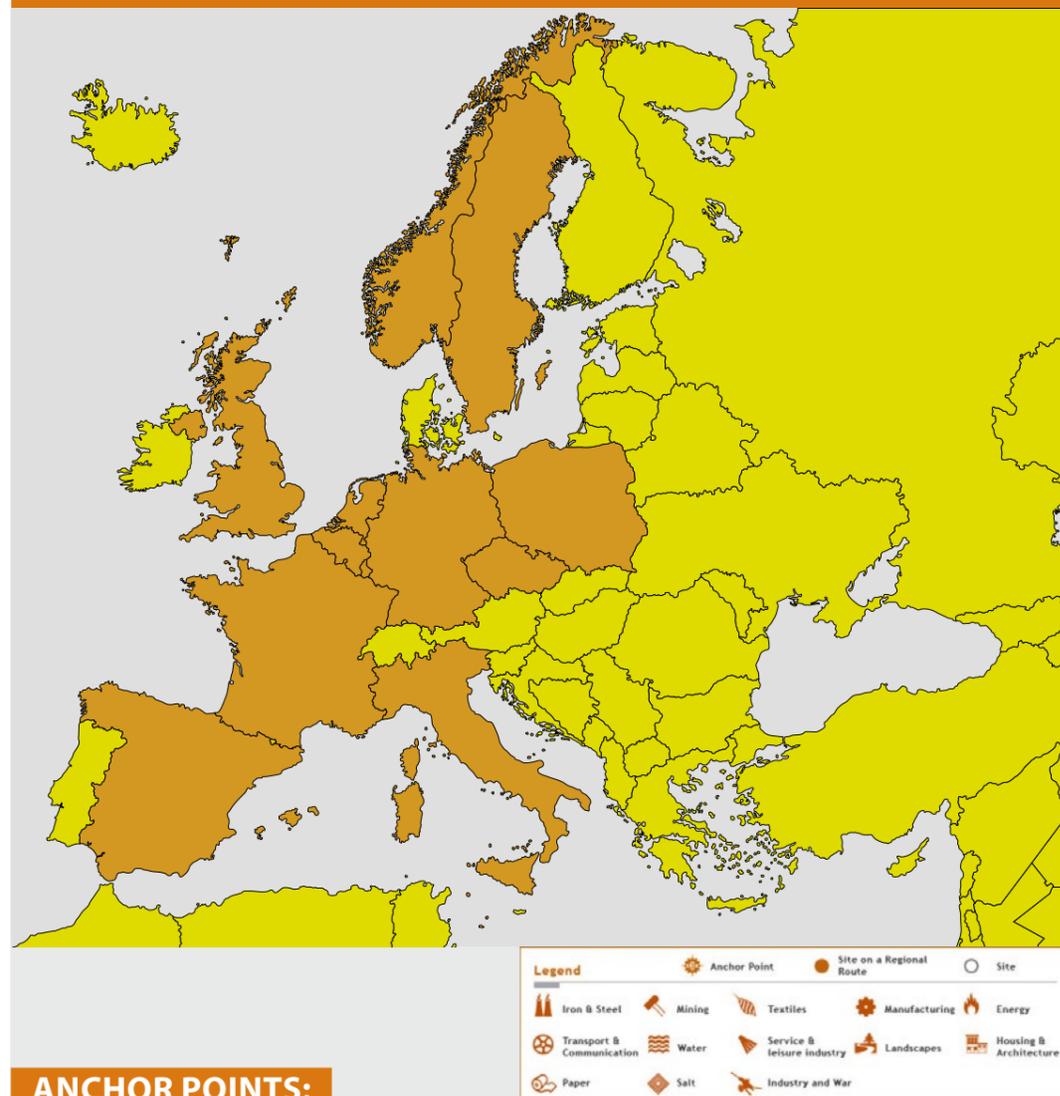
Theme Routes take up specific questions relating to European industrial history and reveal potential links between radically different industrial monuments all over Europe. The result is a "circuit diagram" of the common routes of European industrial heritage.

Biographies

A selection of the personalities who influenced European industrial history.



TEACHING, LEARNING AND ASSESSMENT OPPORTUNITIES



ANCHOR POINTS: THE MILESTONES OF EUROPEAN INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE

— The name says it all. There are a lot of features anchored here. Primarily the overall framework. Anchor points illustrate the complete range of European industrial history. After that, they tell tourists what they can see at a local level. Visitors of all ages can relive their industrial heritage in the form of attractive guided tours, multi-media presentations and outstanding special events. Last not least, all the anchor points are simultaneously starting points for a variety of regional routes.



Usines sidérurgiques à Belval (Luxembourg).

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES SEMINAR PAPERS

- ➔ **Connecting Europe's Industrial Heritage** by Peter Backes, Project Manager, World Heritage Site Völklingen Ironworks


BACK TO TEXT

Analphabetism

Illiteracy or the inability to read and write

Illiteracy in Europe, c. 1850

(Approximate percentage of adult illiterates is indicated where known)

| Countries with less than 30% illiterate | Countries with 30 to 50% illiterate | Countries with over 50% illiterate |
|---|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Denmark | Austria 40-45% | Bulgaria |
| Germany | Belgium 45-50% | Greece |
| Prussia 20% | England 30-33% | Hungary |
| Netherlands | France 40-45% | Italy 75-80% |
| Scotland 20% | | Portugal |
| Sweden 10% | | Romania |
| Switzerland | | Russia 90-95% |
| | | Serbia |
| | | Spain 75% |


Anarcho-syndicalist factions

Anarcho-syndicalism is a branch of anarchism which views revolutionary industrial unionism (syndicalism) as an appropriate vehicle by which subjugated classes in a capitalist society might regain control over the course of their own destiny. Adherents view it as a potential force for revolutionary social change. It combines a general defence of workers' rights and interests in the present, with longer term strategies designed to facilitate the development in workers of the class consciousness and capacity for self-activity necessary before capitalism and the state can be replaced with a new democratically self-managed society. (Adapted from Wikipedia)


Ancien regime

The aristocratic, social and political system established in France from approximately the 15th century to the 18th century.


Apprenticeship


A medieval baker with his apprentice. The Bodleian Library, Oxford (Wikipedia)



German journeymen in traditional costume during journeyman years (Wikipedia)

An apprenticeship is the process by which a young person acquires the skills necessary to become proficient in a trade, craft, art, or profession under the supervision of a master. In the domestic apprenticeship system which lasted from the Middle Ages to the time of the Industrial Revolution an apprentice began training at the age of 12 or 13. He was required to serve his master for a certain number of years and in return would receive food, lodging, clothing, instruction and sometimes a terminal payment - but no wages. When his apprenticeship was completed he became a journeyman, and in time might become a master. To achieve this he had to produce an approved sample of work called a 'masterpiece'. Formal apprenticeships declined with the rise of the factory system during the Industrial Revolution. Where they remained the old system was gradually replaced by agreements under which an apprentice received wages instead of food, lodging, and clothing, and under which he had much more freedom. Informally, much of the labour in mills and factories was provided by so-called 'pauper apprentices', who were often children below the age of ten. Many of them were orphans sent into factory employment by the Poor Law authorities, often very far from their home parishes. In 1800 some 20,000 apprentices were employed in cotton mills in Britain. In the next decade as many as a fifth of workers in the cotton industry were children under the age of 13.


Arkwright, Sir Richard


Sir Richard Arkwright was born in 1732 and died in 1792 a very wealthy man. He is commonly considered to be the father of Britain's factory system. In 1769, Arkwright took out a patent on his spinning machine and by 1771 he had established a large water powered mill at Cromford. It is this building that can claim to be the world's first factory.


Masson Mill, Matlock Bath, near Cromford, Derbyshire.

This factory was built by Arkwright in 1783-1784 just outside Cromford. He built the mill in an architecturally elegant style with small lunette windows in the central bay set between Venetian windows. A cupola on top of the bay contained a bell to summon employees to work. (Text and photograph by **Malcolm Dick**)


Bourgeoisie

Bourgeoisie refers to the wealthy stratum of the middle class that originated during the latter part of the Middle Ages. Since the late 18th century, the term has been used to describe a social class "characterised by their ownership of capital, and their related culture". Hence, the personal terms bourgeois (masculine) and bourgeoisie (feminine) culturally identify the man or woman who is a member of the wealthiest social class of a given society. In Marxist philosophy, the term 'bourgeoisie' denotes the social class who own the means of production, and whose concerns are the value of property and the preservation of capital, in order to ensure the continuation of their economic supremacy in society. (Adapted from Wikipedia)


Fulling mills


A fulling mill from Georg Andreas Böckler's Theatrum Machinarum Novum, 1661 (Wikipedia)

Fulling is a step in the process of woollen cloth making which involves the cleansing of cloth (particularly wool) to eliminate oils, dirt and other impurities, and making it thicker. The worker who does the job is a fuller. From the medieval period, the fulling of cloth was often carried out in a water mill, known as a fulling mill.


BACK TO TEXT

Handloom weaving


The Industrious and the Lazy Apprentice Handloom weaving, from a series by Hogarth illustrating the virtues of hard work, 1747 (Wikipedia)

The handloom was devised about 2,000 years ago. The process consisted of interlacing one set of threads of yarn (the warp) with another (the weft). The warp threads are stretched lengthwise in the weaving loom. The weft, the cross-threads, are woven into the warp to make the cloth. In his book, History of Cotton Manufacture (1823), Richard Guest pointed out: "The warp was placed between two beams about five feet apart; half way between the beams the warp passed through a frame work of looped threads, called healds, each alternative thread of the warp going through one heald, and the other threads through the other heald. The healds were worked by two treadles, which upon one being put down by the foot, raised one half of the healds and every second thread of the warp; the shuttle which contained the weft was then thrown by the right hand between the threads which were at rest, and the second or alternative threads raised by the treadle and the healds; the shuttle was caught on the other side by the left hand, and the weft thus transversely shot between the threads of the warp." Weaving remained unchanged for hundreds of years until John Kay devised the flying shuttle, which enabled a weaver to knock the shuttle across the loom and back again using one hand only. The speed of weaving was doubled; and a single weaver could make cloths of any width, whereas previously two men had sat together at a loom to make broad cloth. (Taken from Spartacus Educational <http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/TEXweaving.htm>)


Mule spinning


Mule spinning, illustration in Edward Baines' book The History of Cotton Manufacture (1835) (Wikipedia)

The mule spinner was a multiple-spindle spinning machine invented by Samuel Crompton (1779), which permitted the large-scale manufacture of high-quality thread for the textile industry. Crompton's machine made it possible for a single operator to work more than 1,000 spindles simultaneously, and was capable of spinning fine as well as coarse yarn. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/560167/spinning-mule> The illustration shows piecers and scavengers at work.


Piecers

The youngest children in the textile factories were usually employed as scavengers and piecers. Piecers had to lean over the spinning-machine to repair the broken threads. One observer wrote: "The work of the children, in many instances, is reaching over to piece the threads that break; they have so many that they have to mind and they have only so much time to piece these threads because they have to reach while the wheel is coming out." (Taken from Spartacus Educational <http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/TEXweaving.htm>)


Proletariat, proletarianisation

The proletariat is a term used to identify a lower social class, usually the working class. A member of such a class is proletarian. Originally it was identified as those people who had no wealth other than their children. In Marxist theory, the proletariat is the class of a capitalist society that does not have ownership of the means of production and whose only means of subsistence is to sell their labour power for a wage or salary. (Wikipedia)


Proto-industrialisation


The term refers to a system of rural manufacture that preceded modern urban factory production. Various descriptions include rural manufacturing, domestic manufacture, cottage industry, and a 'putting-out' system, it used traditional methods of production and extensive low-paid rural labour to produce goods for the market, both domestic and international. Adapted from Understanding Society <http://understandingsociety.blogspot.co.uk/2010/09/proto-industrialization.html>

See also: Proto-Industrialization (YouTube) <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8PRslplqzNo>


Trappers


To clear coal mines of gas a crude system of ventilation was used. To assist this, young children called trappers would sit underground opening and shutting trap doors which went across a mine. This allowed coal trucks through but it also created a draught and it could shift a cloud of gas. However, it was very ineffectual. It was also believed that a system of trap doors might help to stop the blast of an explosion damaging more of the coal mine.

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/learningzone/clips/children-working-in-coal-mines/145.html>

Children Working in Coal Mines (BBC)

This clip shows what life was like for children who worked in the mines during the Industrial Revolution. Huge amounts of coal were needed and children as young as five worked at jobs that were dangerous and exhausting. Trappers kept the air-flow going, which stopped the build-up of dangerous gases. Drawers dragged truckloads of coal to the surface. Older children operated the mine shaft pulleys. Pay and working conditions were poor and life expectancy short.


Urbanisation

Urbanisation is the increase in the proportion of people living in towns and cities. Urbanisation occurs because people move from rural areas (countryside) to urban areas (towns and cities). This usually occurs when a country is still developing. There is no firm rule about what size the population of a location has to be for it to be counted as a town or a city. Commonly accepted figures, however, are 2,500+ for a town, and 20,000+ for a city.


Usury

The practice of charging interest on money loans – particularly when the interest rates are considered to be excessive or abusive. The term may be used in a moral sense — condemning taking advantage of others' misfortunes — or in a legal sense where interest rates may be regulated by law. Historically, some cultures have regarded charging any interest for loans as sinful, and some still do today. (Adapted from Wikipedia)

INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION SEMINAR PAPERS

**PEOPLE'S HISTORY MUSEUM,
MANCHESTER, ENGLAND**

Katy Archer

**CONNECTING EUROPE'S
INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE**

Peter Backes

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PEOPLE'S HISTORY MUSEUM, MANCHESTER, ENGLAND

Katy Archer

People's History Museum
United Kingdom

PEOPLE'S HISTORY MUSEUM. 'THERE HAVE ALWAYS BEEN IDEAS WORTH FIGHTING FOR'

The People's History Museum derives its origins from the collections begun during the 1960s by the Trade Union, Labour and Co-operative History Society. It first opened in Manchester in 1990 at the Mechanics Institute and in 1994, having outgrown this site, the museum's main galleries, changing exhibitions and learning services moved to the Pump House, an Edwardian former hydraulic power station.

■ By 2000 the quantity and scope of the museum collections had outgrown the Pump House and the decision was made to expand, incorporating the museum, archive and conservation studio on to a single site. In late 2007, with funding secured, the restoration of the Pump House and the construction of a spectacular new adjoining building began. In 2010, after a £12.5 million re-development, the new People's History Museum opened providing a unique centre exploring the world-changing ideas fought for by the working people of Britain and charting the nation's democratic history from the early 19th century to the present day.

PROMOTING INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE AT THE PEOPLE'S HISTORY MUSEUM

The People's History Museum is the internationally recognised centre for the collection, conservation, interpretation and study of material relating to Britain's working people. The museum interprets its story through permanent displays, changing exhibitions, online material, learning programmes, talks, tours, lectures and other activities. The role of the industrial revolution in transforming society and inspiring the world-changing ideas that were fought for by the working people of Britain is clearly a big part of this story. The museum welcomes around 80, 000 people each year who visit the museum or take part in outreach programmes locally, regionally and nationally. ▶▶▶

LEARNING

AT THE PEOPLE'S HISTORY MUSEUM

The museum has an extensive learning programme with activities for children and young people of all ages exploring the world changing events led by the working people of Britain. The museum provides services for schools that are linked to appropriate learning frameworks covering subjects including history, citizenship, literacy, drama, art and politics amongst others.

Working closely with schools is a very large part of the museum's work to improve understanding of the history of democracy in the UK and engage young people in a discussion about rights and responsibilities as citizens.

Working with artists and actors as well as the museum's own learning team, the museum delivers a programme of activities on site using the museum's learning studio, mini theatre, exhibitions and gallery spaces. The museum also provides teachers with notes and resources to support their pupils' learning and provides access to the museum's archive collection where appropriate.

FURTHER INFORMATION

The following information is provided to give an idea of the People's History Museum's approach to promoting industrial heritage, with a particular focus on schools.

1. People's History Museum www.phm.org.uk

2. People's History Museum Learning Resources

Living History Scripts

- ▶ 'Read All About It! – Papers, Protest and Peterloo'
- ▶ 'Slavery & Suffrage - William Cuffay's Story'
- ▶ 'Strike a Light! – A Matchgirl's Story'

Teachers' Notes

- ▶ 'Read All About It! – Papers, Protest and Peterloo'
- ▶ 'Strike a Light! – A Matchgirl's Story'
- ▶ Manchester City Centre Trail

Archive Resource Pack for Schools

- ▶ 'James Bronterre o'Brien'

3. Labour History Archive and Study Centre – Subject Guides

Early Industrial Manchester



CONNECTING EUROPE'S INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE

Peter Backes

World Heritage Site Völklingen Ironworks
Germany

Industrial heritage is one of the most important cultural platforms of the 21st century - industrial heritage is booming! The success of the European Cultural Capital, the Ruhr, tells a clear story: millions of visitors, extremely successful events, very enthusiastic people all over. Finally industrial heritage seems to have reached the position in society that we have been working towards for 40 years. We have planted industrial heritage in the minds and hearts of the people. But is this true?

The fact is that the concept of industrial heritage only works when it is pushed by attendant measures. One of the most essential findings from our long years of work is quite simple: the monument on its own is not enough! Industrial heritage sites have to be filled with life, they have to be vitalised. One of our central tasks is to bring people into the monuments and sites. Industrial heritage sites are not only technical monuments or museums of industry, they are also touristic destinations and they have to act like touristic destinations. The European Route of Industrial Heritage (ERIH) is one important element in this touristic concept.

THE GENESIS OF ERIH

In 1999 a small group of enthusiasts met for the first time with the idea creating a European Route of Industrial Heritage based on the model of the Ruhr. The basis for the work was a successful INTERREG IIC application, finalised in 2003 by a master-plan. Between 2003 and 2008 the ideas in the master-plan were realised, funded by INTERREG III B.

THE AIMS OF ERIH

- To use the potential of industrial heritage tourism for local or regional economic development
- To establish "Industrial Heritage" as a brand (ERIH) in tourism
- To create an information platform for tourists and visitors
- To contribute to research on the European dimensions of technology, and the social and cultural history of the industrial age
- To increase public knowledge and understanding generally
- To promote the preservation of industrial heritage sites



ERIH AND TOURISM

Industrial heritage is not a subject that is well appreciated in the tourism industry. Therefore ERIH develops strategies to implement Industrial heritage as a segment of the tourist market. The following measures were identified:

- The creation of a pan-European website
- The development of quality criteria
- The development of Regional Routes as a basis for tourist products/offers
- The establishment of contacts with public tourism organisations (regional and local) and tour operators
- The provision of advice to sites about tourism marketing, infrastructure for visitors etc.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE ERIH NETWORK

- The anchor points: are the representatives of the „ERIH“ brand. They have to meet a list of criteria defined by ERIH and controlled by representatives of the network.
- The regional routes: are joined with the anchor points. They combine and explain industrial history in different regions.
- The European theme routes: show the connections, interdependences and links between different aspects of European industrial history.
- The ERIH Website: presents information in four languages. The ERIH network is spreading all over Europe: over 850 sites in 32 European countries belong to the network.
- ERIH has 74 Anchor Points, 12 Regional Routes and 10 European Theme Routes. The industrial history of Europe is illustrated with 101 biographies.



HISTOIRE DE LA RÉVOLUTION INDUSTRIELLE À L'ÉPOQUE OTTOMANE ET EN TURQUIE

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POURQUOI L'EMPIRE OTTOMAN A ÉCHAPPÉ À LA RÉVOLUTION INDUSTRIELLE ?

Durant le processus de la révolution industrielle lancée en Grande Bretagne, dans la deuxième moitié du XVIII^e siècle, l'Europe a connu une crise de matière première et de marché. La démographie et les richesses de surface de l'Empire ottoman ouvraient un important marché devant les Occidentaux. Par ailleurs, sous l'influence des courants nationalistes, l'Empire était en train de se démanteler. Étant préoccupé plutôt par des guerres et des questions militaires, l'Empire n'a pas pu ouvrir ses territoires aux impacts constructifs de la révolution technologique.

■ **C**e processus s'est poursuivi aussi sous l'influence des capitulations. Ne pouvant plus se contenter des privilèges des capitulations, les Occidentaux, sous la pression de la croissance de production, se sont mis à se plaindre des restrictions commerciales ottomanes. Ainsi, les marchés ottomans se remplissaient abondamment de produit européens à prix réduits, alors que les matières premières étaient exportées aussi à prix réduits. Ceci a empêché l'industrie ottomane de se développer.

■ **L**a situation financière ottomane était également ébranlé par des guerres et l'application des politiques économiques erronées, et l'Empire s'est trouvé obligé de demander des crédits auprès des pays occidentaux. Ces crédits n'ont pas été utilisés à leurs fins propres et l'Empire n'a pas pu les rembourser. Ceci étant, dans le but de percevoir leurs créances, les Occidentaux ont créé en 1881 l'Organisation des Dettes Générales (Duyun-u Umumiye Teşkilatı) pour confisquer une partie des revenus de l'Empire. L'endettement de l'Empire a profité aux entrepreneurs étrangers et leurs homologues turcs ont disparu ou signé des contrats avec des étrangers. ▶▶▶

LA QUESTION SOCIALE, LA PROLÉTARIANISATION ET LE MOUVEMENT OUVRIER

Le problème principal méthodologique de l'étude des relations du travail dans l'Empire ottoman est la question suivante: « Est-il nécessaire d'étudier les relations du travail à l'époque ottomane pour appréhender les relations du travail en Turquie ? » (Makal 1997). Dans ce contexte, il est important de déterminer si le passage de l'Empire ottoman vers la République de Turquie est une rupture ou une continuation. La réponse à cette question doit comprendre les aspects politique, économique, social et juridique. Du point de vue politique, il s'agit d'une rupture entre les deux sociétés, ottomane et turque, et d'un changement radical. Cependant, même en restant dans la dimension politique, on ne peut pas négliger le transfert de certains éléments de l'époque ottomane vers la Turquie moderne. Dans le domaine économique, il faut noter que la République a hérité intégralement de la structure industrielle ottomane sous-développée. Du point de vue social, sur la base des particularités démographiques et du niveau d'enseignement, on peut estimer qu'il existe une continuité entre les deux sociétés. Certaines des régularisations juridiques concernant la vie du travail sont également héritées de l'Empire ottoman. Nous pouvons citer à cet égard une première loi ottomane promulguée en 1909, intitulée « Tatil-i Eşgâl » (« Cessation des travaux ») et visant à régulariser les relations du travail collectif. Elle est restée en vigueur jusqu'à ce qu'elle soit remplacée en 1938 par la loi n° 3512 sur les associations. En conclusion, nous pouvons affirmer que la transition de l'Empire ottoman vers la République de Turquie s'est réalisée avec des ruptures dans certains domaines et des continuités dans d'autres domaines. Et pour appréhender la Turquie actuelle, il est nécessaire d'évaluer l'héritage ottoman.

■ Les relations du travail dans l'Empire ottoman sont sans doute traitées parallèlement à la révolution industrielle. Une des difficultés rencontrées dans l'évaluation de l'industrialisation de l'Empire ottoman est le problème des données, car durant le XIX^e siècle et jusqu'au début du XX^e siècle, on ne peut citer aucune institution ottomane pouvant collecter et produire des données. La plus importante source de données est le recensement industriel de 1913 à 1915.

■ **A** noter qu'à l'époque ottomane, la qualification d'« ouvrier » n'était pas utilisée au sens moderne du terme. Les ouvriers étaient qualifiés comme laboureurs, locataires ou journaliers. Les relations capitalistes n'étant pas développées dans l'Empire, le concept d'ouvrier n'était pas utilisé non plus et par conséquent, il est difficile de parler de la prolétarianisation. La classe prolétaire n'ayant pas pu voir le jour à l'époque ottomane, c'est le terme de « couche » qui était plutôt usité : « la couche inférieure et la couche supérieure ».

■ **D**ans le cadre de l'évaluation de la structure des classes ottomanes, les modalités de production occupent une place importante. Le secteur agricole était dominé par la production de type féodal basée sur la propriété des terres. Les classes sociales de cette structure étaient les seigneurs et les paysans. Pour la société ottomane, les dirigeants et les dirigés ainsi que la bureaucratie militaire et civile peuvent être considérés comme une classe indépendante. A partir du XIX^e siècle, s'ajoute à la bureaucratie et aux paysans modestes la bourgeoisie commerçante. Les salariés et les employeurs n'ont pas pu gagner la qualité de classe dans le contexte des relations industrielles durant les XIX^e et XX^e siècles, car la structure économique ottomane n'était pas favorable à l'apparition des classes sociales. L'organisation des ouvriers sous forme de syndicats était interdite dans l'Empire ottoman par des régularisations juridiques intervenues à diverses dates, à savoir le Règlement de la Police de 1845, la loi sur la Cessation du Travail de 1909. Cependant, on note quelques organisations ouvrières dans le cadre d'associations.

■ **L'**héritage ottoman de la République de Turquie : La République a hérité de la structure économique basée sur les activités de petits producteurs dans le secteur agricole, ce qui n'était pas propice pour l'apparition du travail salarial. Quant à l'industrie, elle présentait une structure composée de petites entreprises pratiquant des techniques révolues et traitant les produits agricoles. Le libéralisme qui dominait la période de la deuxième proclamation de la Constitution ottomane était maintenu par la République et appliqué jusqu'en 1930. La période restant entre 1933 et 1939 est évoquée comme une période étatique en Turquie. L'Etat s'était imposé dans le secteur industriel. Alors que la part des entreprises de l'Etat s'élevait à 2, 1% à la suite de la promulgation en 1932 de la loi sur la promotion de l'industrie, elle s'est élevée à 9, 7 % en 1939. Cependant, l'héritage juridique ottoman empêchait l'organisation des ouvriers car la loi sur la cessation du travail est restée en vigueur jusqu'en 1936.

■ **A** partir de 1945, une nouvelle période s'ouvre pour la République, celle du système politique multipartite. Au lendemain de la seconde guerre mondiale, la vie du travail en Turquie a connu plusieurs importants changements. Selon les données recueillies en 1946 dans la revue du ministère du Travail, la part des salariés sur l'ensemble de la main d'œuvre était de 8, 85 %. ▶▶▶

L'URBANISATION ET LA DÉMOGRAPHIE : LA CITÉ INDUSTRIELLE

La loi n° 5018 sur les syndicats des ouvriers et des patrons et les unions syndicales, promulguée en 1947, régularisait pour la première fois la création des syndicats et les activités syndicales, tout en omettant le droit à la grève et au lock-out. Ainsi, le mouvement syndical n'a pas pu s'épanouir en Turquie jusqu'aux années 1960. Entre 1955 et 1965 la part des salariés s'élevait à 22,41%. Quant à la participation des femmes à la main d'œuvre durant cette période, elle reflète la situation des pays développés et sous-développés. L'exode rural vers les centres urbains exclut les femmes de la vie du travail alors qu'au village, elles travaillaient dans l'agriculture comme une ouvrière de la famille non-rémunérée. Dans le secteur agricole, seulement 1% des femmes sont rémunérées. (Kazgan 1979)

La Constitution de 1961 a favorisé les libertés politiques par rapport à la période précédente. Une des premières conséquences de cette Constitution dans les relations collectives du travail était la promulgation en 1963 de la loi n° 274 sur les syndicats et de la loi n° 275 sur les contrats collectifs de travail, la grève et le lock-out. A partir de 1963, la Turquie est entrée dans une période planifiée soutenue par des politiques de développement visant à remplacer l'importation. Cette période a connu une forte tendance de croissance économique. Entre 1963 et 1980, les syndicats ont affecté les salaires et les conditions du travail.

À la suite du coup d'État militaire de 1980 qu'on peut qualifier d'éloignement de la démocratie, par les décisions économiques du 24 janvier, visant la réanimation de l'industrialisation soutenue par une politique de développement favorisant l'exportation, on a essayé de mettre en place une économie libérale. A la suite de l'adoption de la Constitution de 1982, les activités syndicales et le droit à la grève ont été limités par la promulgation de la loi n° 2821 sur les syndicats et la loi n° 2822 sur les contrats collectifs de travail, la grève et le lock-out. Ces lois ont été en partie modifiées ultérieurement pour améliorer les conditions.

En conséquence de la révolution industrielle, la classe ouvrière est devenue la classe la plus représentée dans presque toutes les sociétés. Un autre impact de cette révolution est la hausse démographique. La révolution industrielle a engendré une grande accumulation de population dans les villes et par conséquent un problème d'urbanisation. Les ouvriers étant rassemblés dans les usines et les usines dans les villes, ceci a augmenté l'exode rural.

Le processus d'urbanisation durant les XIX^e et XX^e siècles ne s'est pas manifesté de la même manière dans les pays développés et sous-développés. Dans les premiers, à la suite du renforcement de l'économie agricole et industrielle, le secteur des services a commencé à se développer. Or dans les pays en voie de développement, c'est d'abord le secteur des services qui se développe et c'est uniquement du point de vue démographique que les villes s'urbanisent. L'expérience de l'urbanisation des pays en voie de développement se traduit par une urbanisation désorganisée, le problème d'adaptation de la population d'origine paysane et par l'apparition des zones dont la structure et les aspects sociaux ne sont pas en harmonie avec la ville.

La révolution industrielle et l'urbanisation à l'époque ottomane: le processus d'urbanisation ottoman diffère de celui des pays européens, et ceci plutôt en raison du retard de l'industrialisation et du développement technologique. Chez les Ottomans, les paysans ont commencé à quitter les terres à la suite de leur privatisation. Ainsi, ces paysans sans terre et sans profession ont rempli les villes et les ont transformées. Cependant, étant donné que dans le secteur agricole, les relations visant le marché n'étaient pas encore établies, les paysans ne se sont pas séparés des terres d'une manière massive.

Le processus d'urbanisation commence dans l'Empire ottoman au XIX^e siècle, à la suite de l'ouverture du pays aux marchés étrangers et du développement des technologies agricoles et de transports. A cette époque, la part de la population urbaine était de 25%. (Keleş, 1973). Les cités industrielles ont apparu dans l'Empire, comme par ailleurs, le long des itinéraires de transports. Les villes se trouvant sur d'importantes routes commerçantes ont exercé d'importantes fonctions dans le commerce régional et de longue distance. ▶▶▶

■ La vitesse de l'urbanisation de la République de Turquie suit la vitesse de l'augmentation démographique. L'urbanisation était assez lente durant la période 1927-1950. La transformation vertigineuse connue en Turquie à partir 1950 a affecté plutôt les villes, alors que les grandes villes n'ont pas pu s'adapter à cette vitesse. Les évolutions dans le secteur industriel, la croissance démographique connue parallèlement à la hausse de rentabilité dans le secteur agricole ont provoqué une urbanisation désorganisée et par la suite des problèmes économiques et sociaux. Dans les années 1960 où commence la période de l'économie planifiée, la transformation rapide des villes a continué. Notant que les villes manquaient de capacité d'absorption de la nouvelle population d'origine rurale et que les possibilités d'emploi étaient bien limitées, ceci a donné naissance à une population vivant du travail offert par des secteurs secondaires. Ainsi, le manque d'habitations destinées à cette population a entraîné la création de bidonvilles. Finalement, l'urbanisation à l'époque ottomane et en Turquie moderne n'est pas le résultat de l'industrialisation mais une manifestation de la transformation sociale.

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Bursa Raylway, Turkey.

LE PATRIMOINE INDUSTRIEL : DE L'HISTOIRE DE L'EUROPE À LA CONSTRUCTION EUROPÉENNE. UN CAS CONCRET : LA WALLONIE

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” Dans le cadre de l'impact de la Révolution industrielle sur cette histoire européenne partagée, la présente contribution met en exergue les potentialités patrimoniales existantes en Europe et plus particulièrement dans le sud de la Belgique, la Wallonie.

DE L'HISTOIRE DE L'EUROPE À LA CONSTRUCTION EUROPÉENNE

Avec le Christianisme, la Révolution industrielle est le deuxième phénomène ayant touché l'ensemble de l'Europe dans son histoire. De plus, les innovations techniques ont joué un grand rôle dans le rayonnement européen dans le monde entier et, par leur nature même, ont une dimension internationale: les produits et les machines s'échangent, mais également les hommes se rencontrent. Enfin, c'est sur une base industrielle que s'est fondée la construction européenne avec la création en 1951 de la Communauté Européenne du Charbon et de l'Acier (CECA).

SIGNIFICATIF DE L'HISTOIRE COMMUNE DE L'EUROPE

■ Par le biais du patrimoine industriel, on touche des domaines aussi divers que l'histoire, la géographie, les techniques, l'aménagement du territoire, l'architecture, la sociologie ou encore l'échange des connaissances et des savoir-faire, les migrations.

Des gisements charbonniers partagés

■ En premier lieu, résultats de facteurs géologiques naturels, les gisements charbonniers ne respectent pas les frontières politiques. Ainsi le sillon houiller de l'Europe du Nord-Ouest part de l'Angleterre, traverse le nord de la France, la Belgique, le sud des Pays-Bas et finit dans l'ouest de l'Allemagne ; le bassin lorrain est commun à la France et à l'Allemagne ; le gisement de Silésie se partage entre la Pologne et la République tchèque. Certains de ces gisements ont d'ailleurs suscité les appétits de pays belligérants d'une époque heureusement révolue. ▶▶▶

Des échanges multiples

■ L'industrialisation a touché tous les pays ou presque. Les échanges d'influence ont marqué l'Europe dans un mouvement d'Ouest en Est. Ainsi, la Révolution industrielle, née en Angleterre au XVIII^e siècle, franchit assez rapidement la Manche pour gagner le continent et particulièrement le sud de la Belgique. Là, les entrepreneurs adaptent les techniques anglaises aux spécificités locales et solutionnent ainsi le problème de l'exhaure des eaux qui contrariait l'essor de l'exploitation charbonnière.

■ A l'image de l'anglais John Cockerill qui exporte de Liège ses machines à vapeur, les Belges contribuent à l'essor des régions du Nord-Pas-de-Calais en France et de la Ruhr en Allemagne. Les Allemands essaient de même dans toute l'Europe centrale et s'appuient sur les innovations de leurs ingénieurs pour développer la production de l'acier. A la fin du XIX^e siècle, tous se retrouvent en Russie pour participer à la mise en valeur des bassins du Donbass et de l'Oural.

De la globalité de cet essor industriel

■ A côté du charbon et de l'acier, indissociables de la puissance économique jusqu'au second conflit mondial, il y a aussi les chemins de fer, les constructions mécaniques, la métallurgie des non-ferreux, les verreries, le textile, la chimie sans oublier bien entendu l'électricité qui marque à son tour l'essor industriel. Les établissements d'enseignement jusqu'au plus haut niveau caractérisent de bonne heure ce développement industriel. Ce développement marque aussi les capitales et les grandes villes avec la prospérité des industries manufacturières et enfin les grands ports, leurs chantiers navals et leurs docks, par lesquelles s'importent les matières premières et s'exportent les produits finis.

Du migrant à une nouvelle citoyenneté l'industrie a nécessité beaucoup de main-d'œuvre.

■ Les populations locales sont vite insuffisantes et ont fait appel à des travailleurs venus d'horizons proches ou lointains. Les Italiens sont présents un peu partout, les Irlandais en Grande-Bretagne, les Polonais particulièrement en France et en Allemagne, ensuite viendront les Portugais, les Espagnols, les Yougoslaves et les Grecs. Ces dernières décennies ont vu l'arrivée de nouveaux migrants d'au-delà des frontières naturelles de l'Europe : Turcs et Maghrébins. De nombreux descendants de ces émigrants vivent toujours dans les pays d'accueil et participent désormais à la vie économique, sociale, culturelle ou politique par l'accession à leur nouvelle citoyenneté.

À l'origine de la construction européenne

■ La CECA, qui regroupe six pays, l'Allemagne de l'Ouest, la Belgique, la France, l'Italie, le Luxembourg, les Pays-Bas, a pour objectif en 1952 de créer un marché unique du charbon et le l'acier. Le traité fondateur, conclu pour une durée de 50 ans, précède et annonce la naissance de la Communauté économique européenne (CEE) et plus tard de l'Union européenne. A côté de ses objectifs économiques, la CECA a développé des actions de types social visant à améliorer les conditions de bien-être des travailleurs notamment par la création en 1957 d'un organe permanent pour la sécurité du travail dans les mines suite à la tragédie du Bois du Cazier en Belgique qui fit 262 victimes originaires de 12 pays européens, majoritairement italiens.

ENGLOBANT AUSSI BIEN LES PATRIMOINES

■ Par le biais du patrimoine industriel et technique, des sites ou des musées sont autant de témoignages qui méritent d'être valorisés dans le cadre de cette histoire partagée. Leur naissance et leur développement sont souvent le fait de groupes de citoyens sensibles à leur environnement. Ces groupes regroupent souvent d'anciens ingénieurs ou travailleurs occupés sur ces anciens sites.

La définition du patrimoine industriel

Ce patrimoine englobe :

- des bâtiments et des machines,
- des ateliers, des moulins et des usines,
- des mines et des carrières,
- des entrepôts et des magasins,
- des centres de production et de distribution de l'énergie,
- des structures et des infrastructures de transport
- aussi bien que des lieux utilisés pour des activités sociales en rapport avec l'industrie : habitations, lieux d'éducation, sièges sociaux, châteaux de directeur ou encore maisons du peuple.

La période historique la plus intéressante s'étend bien entendu des débuts de la Révolution industrielle jusqu'à aujourd'hui, soit principalement le XIX^e siècle et la première moitié du XX^e siècle, sans négliger pour autant les racines proto-industrielles. ►►

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Les sites classés au patrimoine national : l'exemple français

Des sites ont fait l'objet de protection et de classement selon les législations en vigueur dans les pays respectifs. Si on prend l'exemple de la France, selon les chiffres disponibles en 2008, pour les mines de charbon, 26 protections ont été opérées. L'objet de ces protections varie beaucoup d'un site à l'autre mais les chevalements protégés seuls, sans qu'une attention ait été portée aux autres édifices qui composaient le carreau de la mine, l'emportent largement. De même, la protection n'englobe que rarement les crassiers ou terrils quand ils existent. Quant aux sites sidérurgiques, au nombre d'une soixantaine, ils constituent en France le noyau dur de la protection du patrimoine industriel mais avec une particularité : hormis les hauts-fourneaux au coke de la Voulte-sur-Rhône en Ardèche et le haut-fourneau d'Uckange en Moselle, les autres sites classés produisaient de la fonte au bois et sont donc antérieurs à la Révolution industrielle !

Les sites classés au Patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO

Le Comité du patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO prend en compte la qualité intrinsèque des sites, à savoir leur unicité et leur authenticité. Sur le plan de la liste du Patrimoine mondial, le patrimoine industriel et technique est une catégorie relativement peu présente. En effet, si on recense les sites industriels et les villages ouvriers classés en Europe, on en dénombre respectivement 11 et 5, particulièrement présents en Grande-Bretagne, pays de naissance de la Révolution industrielle. C'est peu sur les 911 biens culturels ou naturels considérés par le Comité du Patrimoine mondial en 2010 comme ayant une valeur universelle exceptionnelle. Les exemples souvent cités des salines royales d'Arc et Senans en Franche-Comté, d'Ironbridge Gorge dans les West-Midlands en Grande-Bretagne ou encore de la mine Zollverein dans la Ruhr et du site sidérurgique sarrois de Völklingen en Allemagne sont donc exceptionnels.

Le patrimoine mobilier dans les musées des sciences et des techniques

L'extension de notre intérêt, pour cette histoire partagée, au patrimoine technique mobilier met aussi en évidence les différentes pièces ou instruments qui ont joué un rôle important dans le développement industriel. Dans les situations les plus favorables, ces pièces font l'objet de mesures de protection particulières, ou sont reprises dans la liste des biens à protéger selon les législations en vigueur. Il s'agit des conservatoires des institutions scientifiques et des musées des techniques. Nous pensons au Science Museum à Londres, au Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers (CNAM) à Paris, au Musée de la science et de la technique Leonardo da Vinci à Milan ou encore à la Maison de la métallurgie à Liège et à l'Industriemuseum à Chemnitz en Saxe.

D'autre part, existent également les centres de culture scientifique regroupés au sein de réseaux comme l'Office de coopération et d'information muséographique (OCIM) en France ou PISTe en Belgique francophone dont nous parlons plus loin.

➔ www.ocim.fr

LES RÉSEAUX DE PATRIMOINE INDUSTRIEL AU NIVEAU EUROPÉEN

Des associations et des réseaux s'occupent de ce type de patrimoine, et constituent autant de points d'ancrage ou de possibilités de mise en parallèle. Ils peuvent servir aussi de relais à notre projet d'histoire partagée ou pour tout autre développement.

The TICCIH- The International Committee for the Conservation of Industrial Heritage

Au niveau international, le patrimoine industriel au sens large est pris en charge par une section d'ICOMOS, le Conseil international des monuments et sites, le TICCIH seul réseau mondial de spécialistes du patrimoine industriel. Le TICCIH est fondé officiellement en 1978 à l'occasion d'un congrès à Stockholm mais prend en fait son origine dans la création de l'Ironbridge Gorge Museum Trust en 1973 et l'organisation d'un premier congrès au Deutsches Bergbau Museum à Bochum en 1975. Le développement du TICCIH s'est axé sur la tenue tous les 3 ans de conférences plénières itinérantes en Europe et en Amérique du Nord. La dernière s'est tenue à Freiberg en Saxe en 2009.

➔ www.ticcih.org

Il y a aussi la Fédération européenne des associations du patrimoine industriel et technique, l'E-FAITH, qui est une plate-forme visant à promouvoir la coopération entre les associations sans but lucratif et de bénévoles.

➔ www.e-faith.org

Pour sa part, le patrimoine technique est étudié par une section spéciale de l'Union internationale d'histoire et de philosophie des sciences et des techniques, l'ICOHTEC.



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Les Itinéraires culturels du Conseil de l'Europe : la Route du fer en Europe centrale

Le programme des Itinéraires culturels est né au sein du Conseil de l'Europe en 1987 avec la volonté de démontrer, à travers le voyage dans l'espace et dans le temps, que le patrimoine des pays européens constitue en fait une histoire commune. Ces itinéraires permettent d'illustrer concrètement les valeurs fondamentales que sont les droits de l'homme ainsi que la diversité et l'identité culturelle européenne par delà les frontières et les siècles. Une agence technique de réalisation, l'Institut européen des Itinéraires culturels, créé en 1998, instruit les nouveaux projets et assure le suivi et la liaison entre les partenaires. Il y a actuellement 27 itinéraires dont un seulement est consacré au patrimoine industriel.

➔ www.coe.int

Partant de la ville de Leoben-Donawitz en Autriche, qui abrite une université des mines et de la métallurgie, la Route du fer en Europe centrale parcourt depuis 2007 les témoignages de l'extraction du minerai, des centres de productions du fer et de l'acier ainsi que des musées d'Allemagne, d'Autriche, de Hongrie, d'Italie, de Pologne, de la République tchèque, de Slovaquie et de Slovénie.

L'ERIH- The European Route of Industrial Heritage

L'ERIH, The European Route of Industrial Heritage, est un réseau d'informations touristiques sur la culture et l'héritage industriels qui propose actuellement plus de 850 sites dans 32 pays d'Europe dont 77 sont des points d'ancrage et forment le cœur des itinéraires proposés par l'ERIH. Chacun des sites est rattaché à l'une des 10 routes thématiques qui présentent la diversité de l'histoire industrielle et ses origines partagées dont un sur les mines et un autre sur le fer et l'acier. De plus 13 itinéraires régionaux relient des sites voisins qui permettent d'approfondir l'histoire de territoires emblématiques comme le sud du Pays de Galles, la Ruhrgebiet ou la Sarre-Lorraine-Luxembourg.

➔ www.erih.net

Récemment, des musées de la mine de Grande-Bretagne, le National Coal Mining Museum à Wakefield, de France, le Centre Historique Minier de Lewarde, de Belgique, le Bois du Cazier, et d'Allemagne, le Bergbau Museum déjà cité, ont décidé du principe de la constitution d'un réseau.

Par extension, on peut aussi citer The Association of European Migration Institutions qui regroupe 41 structures particulièrement du Nord de l'Europe dont la thématique première est l'émigration.

Euracom- Association des régions minières d'Europe

L'Association des régions minières d'Europe a été créée à Bruxelles en 2007 partant du constat que les anciennes ou actuelles régions minières du continent sont confrontées à des problèmes à la fois communs et spécifiques. Elle a pour origine l'Association des communes minières de France qui agit depuis 1990 pour la réhabilitation urbaine et la valorisation du patrimoine culturel des bassins miniers. Les problématiques mises en évidence par Euracom résultent des conséquences de la fermeture progressive ou définitive des mines. La transformation des friches minières est un enjeu majeur pour le développement local car elles représentent un potentiel important tant foncier que patrimonial.

Euracom développe des projets dans le cadre des programmes européens Interreg III et IVC, Rechar ou Phoenix. Des communes de 9 pays en sont partenaires, outre la France : l'Allemagne, la Belgique, l'Espagne, la Grande-Bretagne, la Hongrie, la Pologne, la République tchèque et la Slovénie.

POUR UNE HISTOIRE PARTAGÉE

Dans notre démarche d'histoire partagée, il s'agit de déterminer les témoins tangibles de cette épopée industrielle et technique ; lesquels témoins, s'engageraient dans cette dynamique et feraient l'objet d'une valorisation auprès du public scolaire. Beaucoup de sites ou de musées ont marqué une volonté d'ouverture vers le monde scolaire mais celle-ci est parfois handicapée par la difficulté du dialogue avec les enseignants sur des matières relativement pointues comme l'histoire industrielle. Pour cette nouvelle mise en valeur de leur histoire, une solution ou une valeur ajoutée pour les sites de patrimoine industriel, serait de s'impliquer dans les relations intergénérationnelles. La plupart de ces sites développent une approche pédagogique pour les jeunes. Parallèlement, ils entreprennent un travail de mémoire à partir de la transmission de l'expérience des anciens. Il s'agirait peut-être de mettre mieux en relation ces deux démarches. ▶▶▶

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UN CAS CONCRET : LE PATRIMOINE INDUSTRIEL EN WALLONIE

La Révolution industrielle du XIX^e siècle a touché principalement le sud de la Belgique, la Wallonie, et particulièrement son sillon minier Haine-Sambre-et-Meuse. Il faut aussi rappeler que Bruxelles était la principale région du royaume en termes d'emplois manufacturiers, alors que la Belgique était la quatrième puissance industrielle du monde.

LES OPÉRATEURS PUBLICS

Sur un plan fonctionnel, la Région wallonne, qui joue depuis quelques années un rôle majeur auprès des opérateurs de sites culturels ou touristiques, a confié la gestion de son patrimoine propre à deux organismes: l'Institut du Patrimoine Wallon (IPW) et le Commissariat Général au Tourisme (CGT). Il faut aussi préciser que beaucoup de ces sites, particulièrement relevant du patrimoine industriel, bien qu'appartenant au domaine public, ont une gestion privée sous la forme d'association sans but lucratif (Asbl), plus souple qu'une gestion en direct de la Région.

L'Institut du Patrimoine Wallon (IPW)

Créé en 1999, l'IPW remplit diverses missions : assurer la transmission du savoir-faire dans les métiers du patrimoine sur le site de l'ancienne abbaye de la Paix-Dieu, en Province de Liège, ou assurer le travail de sensibilisation, de publication et de promotion du patrimoine, notamment à l'occasion des Journées du même nom. Il valorise aussi les monuments qui sont propriétés de la Région wallonne et mène des opérations immobilières.

L'IPW assure enfin une mission d'assistance aux propriétaires publics ou privés de biens classés. Il a travaillé sur neuf monuments de patrimoine industriel : moulins, fours à chaux, anciennes brasseries. Par l'arrêté du Gouvernement du 23 mars 2006, l'Institut s'est vu confier la charge d'autres biens classés supplémentaires comme le site minier de Bois-du-Luc, les ascenseurs du Canal du Centre ou le Triage-lavoir de Péronne-lez-Binche tous en Hainaut.

➔ www.institutdupatrimoine.be

Le Commissariat Général au Tourisme (CGT)

Les missions du CGT ont été redéfinies dans le décret relatif à l'organisation du tourisme du 27 mai 2004. Bien entendu, il est chargé d'organiser ou de promouvoir le tourisme en Région wallonne, mais aussi de gérer les infrastructures touristiques, propriétés régionales, dont la liste est arrêtée par le Gouvernement. Les anciens sites miniers de Blegny Mine en Province de Liège ou du Bois du Cazier en Hainaut entrent ainsi dans son giron.

➔ <http://cgt.tourismewallonie.be>

LES ASSOCIATIONS

Certains sites sont reconnus et subventionnés comme musées ou institutions muséales (Décret du 17 juillet 2002). D'autres ou parfois les mêmes ont également le titre d'Attractions touristiques (Décret du 1^{er} avril 2004). Ils se sont regroupés en associations et groupes de pression.

Patrimoine Industriel Wallonie-Bruxelles (PIWB)

PIWB fédère les sites et associations d'archéologie industrielle et exerce une action de coordination et de promotion en faveur des organismes et des personnes qui consacrent leurs activités à ce domaine. Après presque 25 années d'existence, le dernier numéro de son bulletin trimestriel, n°69-70 avril-septembre 2007, sous la forme d'un bilan, marque la volonté de renouveau. L'association adopte un programme d'activités pour se donner un nouvel élan. Sa priorité est le changement de ses supports de communication pour mieux développer ses actions d'information et de sensibilisation.

La nouvelle équipe s'est investie dans ce défi que représentait le passage du papier au numérique. Ce processus de transformation a vu la réalisation de :

- un site WEB régulièrement mis à jour par le Centre d'archives et de documentation sur l'industrie charbonnière (CLADIC). L'arborescence du site offre plusieurs possibilités de consultation : la bibliothèque, les publications, l'agenda et les liens. Un moteur de recherche sera bientôt opérationnel.
- Une newsletter électronique paraît huit fois par an, et est envoyée aux membres et à toute personne susceptible d'être intéressé par ses objectifs.
- Une revue annuelle de 80 pages plus fouillée et étoffée que l'ancien bulletin trimestriel avec des articles de fond.

➔ www.patrimoineindustriel.be



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Musées et société en Wallonie (MSW)

■ Fondée en 1998, MSW a pour objet la mise en place d'un réseau de concertation des institutions muséales, la promotion d'échanges avec d'autres associations professionnelles et aussi la participation aux réflexions menées en matière d'emploi dans le secteur socio-culturel. Lors d'un forum que MSW organisa, il émergea le besoin de créer en 2009 un réseau pour toutes les institutions qui s'intéressent au Patrimoine industriel, scientifique et technique.

■ PISTe est donc né et l'un de ses premiers buts est d'amplifier le travail réalisé dans le cadre de l'inventaire des collections développé par le réseau de partage des données « Accès Informatisé aux Collections des Institutions Muséales » (AICIM) et plus particulièrement sa fiche et son thesaurus industriel, scientifique et technique.

➔ www.msw.be

LA CANDIDATURE DES QUATRE SITES

■ Figurer sur la prestigieuse liste du Patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO est un titre convoité. Les quatre ascenseurs hydrauliques du Canal historique du Centre (Province de Hainaut) y sont repris depuis 1998 et les sites, qui attendent dans « l'antichambre » que représente la liste indicative, sont nombreux. La Région wallonne a proposé en 2008 le classement des quatre sites miniers majeurs que sont le Grand Hornu dans le Borinage, Bois-du-Luc dans la région du Centre, le Bois du Cazier au pays de Charleroi et Blegny sur les hauteurs de Liège. Cette candidature est aussi la reconnaissance du travail accompli par tous ceux qui ont œuvré à la sauvegarde de ces sites, parfois dans des conditions difficiles, animés d'une volonté inébranlable de préserver ce patrimoine industriel et social.

■ Le patrimoine houiller wallon rencontre pleinement le critère II du Patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO: « Témoigner d'un échange d'influences considérables pendant une période donnée ou dans une aire culturelle déterminée sur le développement de l'architecture ou de la technologie, des arts monumentaux, de la planification des villes ou de la création de paysages ».

■ Dans les domaines technologique, social et architectural, ces sites miniers représentent un lieu de confluence culturelle qui a assimilé des éléments d'origine très diverse et qui a exercé une influence considérable dans l'Europe et le monde :

■ Du point de vue technologique, les mines, exploitées dès le Moyen Âge, ont intégré des techniques venues de toute l'Europe, notamment des procédés britanniques à la Révolution industrielle. Mais le charbonnage wallon est devenu un modèle international, imité notamment en Russie et en Chine. Les Ecoles des Mines ont formé des ingénieurs du monde entier.

■ Du point de vue social, les charbonnages wallons sont un lieu multiculturel, à cause de l'immigration de la main-d'œuvre polonaise, italienne, espagnole, grecque, marocaine ou turque.

■ Du point de vue architectural, deux sites, le Grand-Hornu et Bois-du-Luc, cristallisent d'importants courants internationaux d'architecture et d'urbanisme.

■ Le patrimoine charbonnier ressortit également au critère IV : « Offrir un exemple éminent d'un type de construction ou d'ensemble architectural ou technologique ou de paysage illustrant une ou des période(s) significative(s) de l'histoire humaine ».

■ Les quatre sites miniers sont en effet un microcosme de la Révolution industrielle sous son double aspect technologique et social. Les différentes étapes de l'évolution technologique sont toutes représentées, de même que l'évolution des relations sociales, du paternalisme aux luttes ouvrières.

➔ www.sitesminiersmajeursdewallonie.be

L'architecture : Le Grand Hornu

■ Le site du Grand Hornu, près de Mons, est une œuvre architecturale de grande qualité érigée par Henri Degorge entre 1810 et 1830. Il reflète l'audace et l'inventivité de capitaines d'industries qui, en visionnaires, construisent les « cathédrales » d'une nouvelle religion qui conduira la Belgique à la seconde place des pays les plus industrialisés au monde ! Le style néoclassique de l'architecture ainsi que la reconversion du lieu dans le domaine du design, des arts appliqués et de la création contemporaine en font aujourd'hui un exemple unique.

■ Le projet contemporain, élaboré entre 1984 et 1989, a vu son couronnement en 2002 par l'ouverture du Musée des Arts Contemporains (MAC's). Ce dernier s'est installé dans les parties anciennes mais aussi dans les nouveaux volumes dus à l'architecte Pierre Hebbelinckx. Son objectif, défini par la Fédération Wallonie-Bruxelles, est de présenter l'état de la création artistique sous tous ses aspects. Quant à elle, l'Asbl Grand Hornu Images, créée par la Province de Hainaut, à la base de la réflexion initiale sur le devenir du site, explore le champ des relations entre l'art et l'industrie. Chacun des partenaires développe son projet propre sur ce site commun.

➔ www.mac-s.be

➔ www.grand-hornu.be



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La vie sociale : Bois-du-Luc

■ Ce site constitue un exemple presque intact d'une cité minière du XIX^e siècle. Il est un témoignage remarquablement conservé d'une ingénierie sociale particulièrement subtile. Le site est l'expression concrète d'un paternalisme, qui vise à encadrer la vie sociale de l'ouvrier et de sa famille depuis sa naissance jusqu'à sa mort afin d'assurer le bien-être mais aussi le contrôle des travailleurs. Au charbonnage répond une cité qui, au fil du temps, deviendra un modèle complet de village industriel. Les ouvriers se nourrissent, se délassent, se soignent, s'instruisent et prient dans l'enceinte d'un village surveillé depuis la maison directoriale.

■ Depuis 1983, l'Ecomusée régional du Centre y a pour mission d'animer le patrimoine ethnologique de ce bassin industriel entre Mons et Charleroi. Classé en 1996, propriété régionale, l'Ecomusée est cédé par emphytéose à l'Asbl du même nom. L'Institut du Patrimoine wallon évalue les possibilités d'y implanter un centre d'archives industrielles depuis que l'Asbl Sauvegarde des Archives Industrielles du COuchant de Mons (SAICOM) s'y est également installée. Les deux associations travaillent ensemble pour la conservation et la numérisation des archives industrielles des bassins hennuyers du Borinage et du Centre.

➔ www.ecomuseeboisduluc.be

La Mémoire : Le Bois du Cazier

■ Le Bois du Cazier, à Marcinelle près de Charleroi, illustre la mémoire, la condition et l'immigration ouvrière. Grâce au travail de sensibilisation mené autour de la catastrophe du 8 août 1956 et à la tradition des commémorations qui se perpétuent chaque année, nul ne peut plus ignorer la puissance de ce patrimoine immatériel ancré dans la mémoire collective. La dureté du travail de mineur et les conditions de vie de ces « gueules noires » contribuèrent à faire de la Wallonie une terre prospère. Outre les espaces consacrés à la tragédie, la présence sur le site des musées de l'Industrie et du verre, achève de faire du Bois du Cazier une vitrine du savoir-faire humain, de ses réussites mais aussi de ses dérives.

■ L'année 2006, cinquantième anniversaire de la tragédie minière, a vu la fin du programme de requalification du site avec l'inauguration du Mémorial aux Victimes et l'implantation du musée du Verre complétant ainsi la trilogie des secteurs industriels de l'ancien « pays noir » : charbon - fer - verre, l'espace 8 août 1956 et le musée de l'Industrie datent eux de 2002. Les forges et la fonderie animent également le site; et l'aménagement de chemins et d'un observatoire sur les terrils complète l'attraction. Le Bois du Cazier a adhéré en 2007 à la « Coalition internationale des sites de conscience », dont le siège est à New York, qui regroupe des musées qui s'interrogent sur des thèmes tels que la guerre, le totalitarisme ou le travail non seulement dans le passé mais aussi aujourd'hui. La participation à ce réseau est l'occasion pour ce site de devenir acteur dans un débat citoyen autour de la sécurité du travail et des migrations.

➔ www.leboisducazier.be

Le savoir-faire : Blegny-Mine

■ Blegny-Mine présente surtout la particularité d'avoir connu l'exploitation industrielle la plus longue puisque celle-ci n'a pris fin qu'en 1980. Il représente une opportunité unique pour le public d'appréhender le savoir-faire technique et de compléter sa découverte de deux siècles d'industrie houillère par la visite d'une exploitation datant de l'immédiate après-guerre, dotée des outils les plus modernes, ainsi que d'une première installation, également intacte, remontant à la seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle. Last but not least, chacun pourra sur place poser l'acte symbolique de « descendre au fond » comme l'ont fait, et continuent à le faire de par le monde, des centaines de milliers de mineurs. Le site minier liégeois présente ainsi une attraction unique et exceptionnelle : la descente dans les galeries souterraines d'un charbonnage authentique. Ouvert au public dès le lendemain de la cessation de son activité économique, les visiteurs peuvent également découvrir un musée de la mine, au Puits Sainte-Marie, et découvrir le biotope du terril voisin dans le cadre du Pays des terrils.

➔ www.blegnymine.be

■ Le dossier des quatre sites miniers majeurs de Wallonie a été introduit en janvier 2009 auprès du Comité du patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO. Dans le cadre de son analyse, ICOMOS a déposé une demande de complément d'informations. Il est notamment demandé de détailler l'analyse comparative qui met en avant les critères sur base desquels les quatre sites mériteraient un classement ainsi qu'un plan de gestion. ■■■

SOCIAL AFFAIRS, PROLETARIANISATION AND THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Ramón López Facal

University of Santiago de Compostela
Spain

” I believe that the teaching of European history in the 21st century must offer pupils an understanding of the historical roots of the world in which they live and the origins of current problems. But they must also be helped to understand that European societies of the 21st century are more complex, mixed and varied than they were in the past, while at the same time and to an increasing extent, they share the same cultural, economic and social references.

History teaching has traditionally encouraged pupils to identify with their respective countries by stressing national aspects of the past that are considered to be common to all while omitting others that tended to reflect diversity, be it regional, social or cultural. Emphasis was also placed on contrasts with and differences from other neighbouring countries.

A common form of history teaching for young Europeans might be achieved by changing the focus so that Europe took the place that individual countries occupied in traditional school history teaching, without substantially altering its implicit representations of the past or its objectives. Such a history syllabus would make no contribution to the development of a form of European citizenship that was consistent with the intercultural, mixed-race and changing society that characterises present day Europe.

I believe that a better alternative would be to focus on the similarities between Europe of the present and Europe of the past but also on the enormous diversity that has always existed. This second aspect usually receives less attention but it could help pupils to understand that social and cultural complexity has always existed, even if its characteristics have varied in different eras.

The model of the Industrial Revolution that is generally presented in textbooks is usually confined to the process that started in England in the 18th century, with specific additional information about each country. Clearly pupils must understand the features of the Industrial Revolution in England but at the same time they should also learn that this process was concentrated in a very few regions of Great Britain. Many parts of the United Kingdom remained isolated from it and retained their pre-industrial hand working traditions. Nor should it be forgotten that there were processes based on other models of industrialisation, such as the one that developed in the Jura.

Neither was the proletarianisation of a high percentage of the poorest population of Europe from the end of the 18th century, and particularly in the 19th century, a uniform process, either across Europe or within individual countries. The same applies to workers' organisations. Understanding the complexity of the past, its diversity, the migratory flows within Europe and to other continents, the changes in property relationships and the varying pace of those changes, the conflicts, the social advances and so on can offer us a better insight into why, in modern Europe, we share certain common features while at the same time there are such very obvious differences.

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THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION: BASIC FEATURES IN SPACE AND TIME PERSPECTIVE

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” Any important phenomenon should be regarded and evaluated in the context of its background, causes, preconditions, common and specific features, immediate results and remote consequences on a continental, national and local scale. Let us try to define the framework of the Industrial Revolution and to follow how it influenced European society and mentality.

At the first stage from the late 18th until the mid-19th century the revolution in textiles, coal and iron had begun in England and spread into all West European countries. The enclosures opened the way to innovations in agriculture and left a huge surplus of landless free labour for overseas colonisation and home urbanisation. The Enlightenment (from the Royal Society and old Freemasons to l'Encyclopédie and classic German philosophy) encouraged scientific research. The Spinning Jenny and other inventions stimulated textile production while steam engine improvements made it possible to build mills far from rivers. The parliamentary reforms (the Glorious Revolution in England, through the American and French constitutions to Chartism and later) stimulated state support to business initiatives. On the other hand, the guilds and strikes were strictly forbidden (e.g. Le Chapelier Law) under the pretext that they could hinder enterprise. ▶▶▶

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■ The nostalgia for the pre-industrial epoch can be seen in literature and the pictorial art of romanticism. The inhabitants of slums began protests with machine-breaking (Luddites) and spontaneous revolts (Lyons, Silesia). They often supported the liberals' struggle against absolutism for equal electoral rights and responsible governments. However, in some places the proletarians and unemployed paupers fought the middle class during the Spring of Nations. The tasks of political, national and social emancipation are closely interconnected but sometimes contradictory. Former particularists and separatists (Scotland, Austrian Bohemia and Hungary, Russian Poland and Ukraine) proved more deeply involved in the economies of multinational empires. Poly-ethnic and cosmopolitan overcrowded cities alienated newcomers from the countryside, breaking religious and rural family ties, provoking distress, alcoholism, prostitution and other evils. The churches were looking for new approaches to keep their flocks. The vast agglomerations, industrial suburbs and long distances required communications. These megalopolises created painful problems of housing, sanitation, public education, health protection and fighting criminality. Too slow but persistent attempts at solving them improved the situation, but all the measures proved insufficient; so antagonisms survive until today – visible in sporadic outbursts of violence.

■ At the second stage, until the early 20th century, the revolution of machine building, transport, chemistry and electricity embraced most of Europe and, after the Civil War, North America. Mining and metallurgy areas were formed around deposits of mineral resources (Lorraine, the Saar, Flanders, the Massif Centrale, the Ruhr Gebiet, the Donbas and Kryvyi Rih). The railway network covered Eurasia and played a strategic role (the Pacific, Trans-Siberia, Berlin-Baghdad, Cairo-Cape Town and other projects). The cartels and trusts intermingled with prominent banks tended to monopolise key spheres of production and to influence domestic and foreign policy. The industrial and less organised rural proletariat were faced with gangs confronting and penetrating trade unions. The emigration from densely overpopulated areas (Mezzogiorno, Balkan and Slavic lands) had partly lessened tension and decisively contributed to America's prosperity. Germany was the first Great Power to implement insurance and social legislation alongside universal suffrage for males. The workers' movement was looking for tactical methods in discussions between anarchists, syndicalists and Marxists.

■ The initially small groups were united into the Society of Workers with national branches, next evolving into a confederation of socialist parties. The progress in technologies and relatively higher standards of living were producing a still more numerous percentage of white collar workers, a so called workers' aristocracy not too far removed from the lower middle class in their way of life and mentality. Social Democracy, therefore, was splitting into the more moderate reformist wing (the Labour Party, Fabians, gradualists, opportunists) and the stubborn, radically militant faction (future Communists). The latter criticised Austro-Marxism for its basic principle of a federation of ethnic parties. Despite declaring internationalism, the workers shared racist and anti-Semitic discriminative prejudices. The Second International had threatened with a general strike if the imperialists unleashed a world war, yet pacifism proved helpless. The leftist maximalism tended to dogmatically divide nations into supposedly progressive (Germans, Poles) and reactionary (Czechs, Ukrainians) depending on their eventual ability to promote or to hinder a dangerous utopia of a world proletarian dictatorship.

■ At the next stage, in the late 20th century, nuclear energy, space research, environmental problems, food shortage, poverty, religious fundamentalism, globalisation crises and many other antagonisms put forward challenges deserving special attention. Knowledge of the Industrial Revolution is needed to comprehend and deal with those acute problems. ■■■

REFLECTIONS ON THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN ROMANIA AND SE EUROPE: BETWEEN SPECIFICITY AND NECESSITY – WHY SO LATE?

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MOTTO

”It is well enough that people of the where ever nations do not understand our banking and monetary system, the Industrial Revolution, for if they did, I believe there would be a Revolution before tomorrow morning”
(Henry Ford)

For a long period now, scholars have written extensively about the Industrial Revolution and its relation to the events that followed. The specialised literature has reached a number of rather contradictory conclusions that seem to add up to a sometimes confused picture. For sure, the events in Britain after 1760s clearly constituted the beginning of something quite new in human history, namely sustained economic growth based on constantly growing useful knowledge. The term “Industrial Revolution” was used to describe the period by the 1830s and afterwards, but modern historians increasingly call this period the “first Industrial Revolution”, characterised by developments in textiles, iron and steam led by Britain, to differentiate it from a “second Industrial Revolution” of the 1870s-1880s onwards, characterised by steel, electrics and automobiles led by the US and Germany.

CAUSES OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

- The end of Middle Ages changed economic relationships.
- Higher population because of less disease and lower infant mortality allowed for a larger industrial workforce.
- The agricultural revolution freed people from the soil, allowing – or driving – them into cities and manufacturing system.
- Proportionally large amounts of spare capital for investment.
- The presence of all the required resources close together.
- Culture of hard work, taking risks and developing ideas.



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WHAT CHANGED – INDUSTRIALLY AND ECONOMICALLY

- The invention of steam power, which was used to power factories and transport and allowed for deeper mining.
- Improvement of iron making techniques allowing for vastly higher production levels.
- The textile industry was transformed by new machines – such as the Spinning Jenny - and factories, again allowing for much higher production at a lower cost.
- Developments in metallurgy and chemical production.
- Creation of new and quicker transport networks thanks to first canals and then railways.

WHAT CHANGED – SOCIALY AND CULTURALLY

- Rapid urbanisation leading to dense, cramped housing and living conditions.
- New city and factory cultures affecting family and peer groups.
- Debates and laws regarding child labour, public health and working conditions.
- Anti-technology groups such as the Luddites (in England).

■ The Industrial Revolution, as it is now called by historians, changed the ways in which the World produced its goods. It also changed our societies from a mainly agricultural society to one that in which industry and manufacturing was in control. In the field of technology, the biggest advancements were in steam power. New fuels such as coal and petroleum were incorporated into new steam engines. This revolutionised many industries including textiles and manufacturing. Also, a new communication medium was invented called the telegraph. This made communicating across the Oceans much faster.

■ Still there are some important questions for which the historians still look for elaborate answers:

- Why did the Industrial Revolution take place in Europe and not Asia?
- Why did it start in Western Europe, while South Eastern Europe started later? (William Rostow called it “the second take off”)

■ In the case of Western and even Central Europe historians have a lot of historical sources and good conclusions. Instead, a number of difficulties are posed by the attempt to summarise the rates and even the scope of socio-economic changes typical for the age of Industrial Revolution in South Eastern Europe. As a result, views differ on the chronological framework for these profound economic changes in each Balkan country, and some authors even doubt whether the Industrial Revolution took place at all in these areas of our Continent. The factual difficulties are heightened by the fact that, where there are really gaps in the economic history of a given nation in the Balkans certain periods of the 18th – early 20th Centuries, analogies with known contemporary conditions in neighbouring countries cannot be relied upon.

■ A lot of economic historians, especially in the Balkan countries, have considered the most distinctive characteristics of the Industrial Revolution as residing in the area of technology and in the difference affected in man's attitude to nature by the introduction of machines and steam-power. Hence, historians have concentrated on establishing the chronology of the chief technological innovations and their implementation in the industry of a given Balkan country, of the resulting replacement of outdated handicraft techniques, and of the establishment of some new industrial branches (e.g., the generation of electric power). However, evidence on the chronology of the establishment of industrial production in the Balkan area, and especially of its quantitative parameters, is scarce. This approach is quite complicated by the fact that the transition to machine technology did not occur simultaneously in the different branches of handicraft and manufactory production. Because of the lack of research, a cross-country comparison based on average rates of growth of industrial production in individual countries from the 18th – early 20th century is not entirely reliable. In the same time, for the Balkan countries, however, it is hard to choose a political or economic event from the end of the 19th and early 20th century to mark a precise historical date for the periodization of the Industrial Revolution and the emergence and victory of capitalism in each individual country. This is necessary because although all peoples of South Eastern Europe were economically and socially backward during that period there were national differences - in degree of backwardness, in national structure, and in the timing of their liberation from Austro-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire - which determined what constituted the main obstacles in each country's struggle for economic emancipation. The economic history of Bulgaria, Romania, Croatia and Slovenia, and Serbia can be discussed on a comparatively more scientific basis. Treatment of this sort implies that greater attention should be paid to those Balkan countries where industrial development was more intensive during the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century. These are also the countries which can provide evidence of whether their economies exhibited the main traits of the Industrial Revolution. ▶▶▶

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■ The Industrial Revolution marks a major turning point in human history; almost every aspect of daily life was influenced in some way. But, along with the leap in technology, there was an overall downfall in the socio-economic and cultural situation of the people. Growth of cities was one of the major consequences of the Industrial Revolution. Many people were driven to the cities to look for work, in turn they ended living in the cities that could not support them. With the new industrial age, a new quantitative view of the World took place. This caused the need for people to consume as much as they could. Living on small wages that required small children to work in factories for long days was a striking economic reality as well in the Balkans. Most notably, average income and population began to exhibit unprecedented sustained growth. In the two centuries following 1800, the World's average per capita income increased over 10-fold, while the World's population increased over 6-fold. In the words of Nobel Prize winner Robert E. Lucas, Jr., « For the first time in history, the living standards of the masses of ordinary people have begun to undergo sustained growth... Nothing remotely like this economic behaviour has happened before ».

■ Living conditions during the Industrial Revolution varied from the splendour of the homes of the owners to the squalor of the lives of the workers. Poor people lived in very small houses, where people would share toilet facilities, have open sewers and would be at risk of diseases associated with persistent dampness. But not everybody lived in houses like these. The Industrial Revolution created a larger middle class of professionals such as lawyers and doctors. The conditions for the poor improved over the course of the 19th Century because of government and local plans which led to cities becoming cleaner places, but life had not been easy for the poor before industrialisation.

■ When compared with Western European countries, industrialisation in South Eastern Europe was very much delayed because of the Balkans' general backwardness. We can only talk of an initial or uncompleted Industrial Revolution. Indeed, the term 'revolution' is not appropriate for processes which had continued for more than a century in the countries discussed here. If we ignore the first isolated attempts at establishing industrial enterprises, it is quite clear that the initial stage of Romanian, Croatian and Slovenian industrialisation should be dated back to the 1860s; in Serbia it gained momentum in the 1880s; in Bulgaria, Greece and Bosnia-Herzegovina in the 1890s. If we rank the nations according to the average level of per capita industrial output we find that, around 1911, Romania leads, followed respectively by Croatia/Slovenia, Bulgaria, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, "Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia", Turkey, Montenegro and Albania. All of them, however, lagged far behind the levels of per capita industrial output achieved by the advanced capitalist countries during their own Industrial Revolutions. Not a single Balkan country had managed to reach the economic stage of an advanced industrial country by the Second World War. This indicates that an industrial revolution had not been accomplished.

■ The Balkan states did not follow the British model of Industrial Revolution. The missing element was the preliminary mass exodus of the population from the land, typical for Western Europe. The building of industry developed at a slow pace and it was only after the First and even Second World War that it intensified in some countries in the region. The important role of the cotton industry, which was both the origin and the mainstay of the British Industrial Revolution (18th-19th Century), has no corresponding equivalent in the Balkans. In the beginning, the leading branch in some countries was the woollen textile industry (Bulgaria, Turkey) or flour milling ("Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia", Greece). In Serbia and Croatia/ Slovenia, however, the leading branches were different. An exception seems to be Romania, where the textile industry was initially poorly developed (at the beginning of the 20th Century the country was still unable to abandon the import of textiles, which continued to supply 96% of domestic demand). Extractive industries were also significant in the beginning, although ore production in various countries depended largely on the availability of natural resources. Wood-processing and leather industries, along with the production of building materials, were initially important, with the partial exception of Greece. Engineering was generally poorly developed. It was only Romania, with parts of Transylvania and of course, Croatia, that made limited efforts in that respect, and they should not be overestimated. ▶▶▶

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The uncompleted Industrial Revolution in the Balkans evolved in conditions of lack of capital and low industrial output. In 1901 a state-supported enterprise in Transylvania had an average number of 98 workers, compared with 82 in Croatia/Slovenia, 63 in Romania, 54 in Serbia and 48 in Bulgaria. In the same time, the foreign capital – it means German, Austrian, French, British capital played a significant role in the industrialisation of the Balkans. In the 19th-20th Century the Balkan countries generally used imported machines, whose technical level was good. Competition among European engineering firms left no place for the domestic production of low-quality or outdated machines. Some branches (e.g., the oil industry in Romania) were set up with the most advanced technology available at the time. The Industrial Revolution in the Balkan countries, though incomplete, nevertheless played a positive role in their economic development. It also had a positive impact on the increase of the average worker's pay, in that the average industrial wage in the Balkan countries was higher than the wages of agricultural labourers.

In the case of Romania, it is difficult to give a precise dating for the first introduction of machine technology into handicraft and manufactory production in the 19th Century. Some large industrial enterprises were established in the mid-19th Century, including first petroleum processing plant, the factories of Mihail Kogalniceanu, Nicolae Băleanu and Nicolae Kokulescu. In the 1870s — and especially after the first protectionist duty (1875) and the Bank of Bucharest (1880) - other large enterprises were established, such as the railway depot at Bucharest, two big sugar refineries, several steam mills, the Goetz enterprise, with branches in Galatz (Galați), Czernowitz (Cernăuți), Sulina and elsewhere. In 1879 the number of larger factories reached 87, while in 1887 it came to 171. After the end of the 1880s the industrial development of Romania accelerated. In the period from 1895-1915 there were 89 industrial facilities called "factory". Most of the new enterprises came in the metalworking and chemical industries, while the number of new textile factories decreased, along with the initially favoured branches of milling, distilling, brewing and other food industries. The boom of 1905 was much assisted by the rapid emergence of the oil production and refining industries, in which mainly foreign capital was invested.

If we take into account how fast handicraft and manufactory production was replaced by factory production, Romania appears to be somewhat ahead of some Balkan states in this respect. A number of crafts were replaced by the factory in the last third of the 19th Century. In 1860, for example, there were 36 handicraft workshops for cloth production in Romania, whereas by 1901 only one was left. In a number of branches, however, industrialisation did not succeed in replacing handicraft production entirely. For example, despite the existence of 54 large wood-processing enterprises, another 778 small sawmills were still functioning.

A census from April 1908 shows a decrease in the number of independent craftsmen to 47, 449, paralleling an increase in the number of journeymen and apprentices employed by them to 80, 392 - a fact reflecting the emergence of a social group of well-to-do craftsmen. By 1900-1902 there were 89 independent craftsmen per 10, 000 persons in Romania. Before the First World War Romania had come closer to a level of per capita industrial production more typical of advanced capitalist countries during their process of industrialisation in the 19th Century. Yet, by the time of the First World War started Romania had not turned into an agrarian-industrial country to a degree that would justify claiming that the Industrial Revolution had been accomplished. Accordingly to an industrial inquiry of 1911-1912 in Romania the total value of the agricultural production would amount to 2.03 billion lei, which was almost two to three times greater than that provided by the country's industrial production. Even by 1939 the value of Romanian industrial production had still not reached that of its agriculture.

Transylvania - since 1918 part of the Romanian state - could not fulfil its industrial potential until the First World War. The first signs of industrial development in this mixed ethnic region were felt from 1867, when Austro-Hungary was made. Coal and iron deposits in Anina and Reșița-Doman were exploited. The mining and metallurgical base of the Brașov Mining and Blast Furnace Association in Calan were built. The first big mill with an annual capacity exceeding 50, 000 tons of flour was constructed in the early 1870s. In 1913 the per capita value of industrial production was 79-96 gold French francs comparable with prices from the first decade of the 20th Century.

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HISTOIRES PARTAGÉES POUR UNE HISTOIRE SANS CLIVAGES

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Ce titre pourrait s'envisager au singulier sauf à introduire l'idée d'une Europe, non seulement unie mais unifiée qui pourrait rebuter. Le terme partagé est riche de sens¹. Récemment on a proposé l'expression « d'histoire en conversation » qui sous-tend l'idée de dialogue nécessaire au-delà de l'histoire comparée. Mais pour le sujet qui est proposé à notre réflexion, histoire partagée se justifie pleinement.

■ Harmut Kaelble a souligné combien du point de vue social au sens large, les sociétés européennes se ressemblent plus qu'elles ne se distinguent (transition démographique, vieillissement de la population hors apport migratoire, industrialisation, urbanisation, morphologie urbaine, niveau d'instruction, structures politiques et sociales, etc., « Vers une société européenne » (1988).

■ Eusebi Casanelles (musée des sciences et des techniques, Barcelone) pour sa part insiste sur les patrimoines techniques et industriels communs à toutes les régions industrialisées d'Europe qui contribuent à lui donner une unité plus forte que les seuls traités institutionnels. J'ajouterais, l'organisation de l'espace, beaucoup de paysages comparables, sinon identiques.

■ La civilisation matérielle qui est la nôtre y compris le traitement des questions sociales qui en sont la conséquence, marquée par la révolution industrielle, a profondément et durablement bouleversé les sociétés nées de la révolution néolithique (élevage, agriculture, villes, état, traitement codifié et écrit de l'information...). Michel Serre (« Le temps des cerises ») explique avoir assisté à leur disparition.

■ En moins de deux siècles (1770-1970) nous sommes en effet passés d'une société principalement primaire, agricole, rurale (80% de la population), religieuse, autoritaire, à une société principalement tertiaire, bureaucratique, urbaine (80% de la population), plus démocratique et sécularisée. La transition s'est effectuée par le biais de la société industrielle. Peu importe ici d'établir comme le feront nos successeurs dans quelques siècles si nous avons assisté à la fin de la période néolithique ou au début d'une ère nouvelle à qualifier. ▶▶▶

¹ J'ai eu l'occasion de diriger un ouvrage-atlas consacré au passé de Bruxelles au titre d'« Espaces partagés, espaces disputés » dont j'ai eu le plaisir de proposer l'intitulé et de le voir accepté.

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■ Cette transition est en cours dans le monde, mais pas plus que la révolution industrielle, elle n'est ni homogène ni instantanée. C'est également le cas pour ces deux siècles (période brève au regard de l'histoire) qui ont bouleversé l'Europe occidentale, mais sans doute moins profondément ou moins précocement, dans certaines régions d'Europe centrale ou orientale. En fait la révolution industrielle s'est déployée préférentiellement dans l'aire de développement du commerce à longue distance médiéval, étendue à la selle houillère westphalienne (de l'Ecosse à la Silésie) qui la traverse (le centre). Le reste de l'Europe, méridionale, les Balkans, l'Europe orientale sont concernés plus ponctuellement ou plus tardivement (la périphérie). Mais toutes à des degrés divers ont été soumises à « la grande transformation » qui fait sentir partout les mêmes effets même si ce n'est pas toujours de manière identique. Il est donc sans doute moins difficile de proposer une histoire européenne commune dans ces matières que dans beaucoup d'autres.

LA QUESTION SOCIALE

La prolétarianisation, c'est la salarisation du travail. A la fois moyen d'aliénation de la main d'œuvre mais aussi sa potentielle autonomisation. Nulle part dans le monde, qu'elles que soient les conditions de travail et de rémunération, les populations rurales, a fortiori sans terre ou précarisées, ne résistent à l'attrait du salaire ou de son attente. Il faudrait ici introduire la notion de migration, interne ou externe et pas seulement dans un sous-chapitre de l'urbanisation. La question de l'exode rural de régions de plus en plus éloignées des centres de production. Je pense ici en particulier au recrutement de la main d'œuvre minière, recrutée localement dans un premier temps, puis progressivement dans un rayon presque concentrique de plus en plus large jusqu'à l'ensemble de la méditerranée, spontanément d'abord puis grâce à des plans concertés de recrutement de main d'œuvre (exemples de Belgique, de la France, et de l'Allemagne certainement). La mine constitue un sas d'entrée dans la sphère de la production industrielle (contraintes sociales, physiques, réglementaires...) d'autant plus que la faim du « pain de l'industrie » a mobilisé des millions de travailleurs dans toute l'Europe.

■ Inversement il existe une émigration de travailleurs qualifiés pour lancer de nouveaux secteurs dans certains pays (les sidérurgistes wallons en Suède, ou bientôt en Russie, les mineurs belges en France et en Amérique du Nord...) ou pour pallier les problèmes de recrutement (les mineurs silésiens dans le Nord de la France après la première guerre).

LE TRAVAIL

■ L'observation et la compréhension du procès de travail et son évolution constituent un moyen pédagogique de première importance. Autant il est difficile en matière de mémoire orale d'obtenir des récits de vie circonstanciés en milieu ouvrier, autant la description du travail proprement dit suscite l'implication des témoins.

■ Aborder ensuite les questions de pénibilité, d'insalubrité, de risques (maladie, accidents), de flexibilité et de perte de travail. La question de l'emploi des enfants et des femmes, non seulement permet d'aborder la question du taux de profit et son réinvestissement dans l'activité mais renvoie également aux conditions observables actuellement lors du décollage industriel des pays tiers. La question du travail permet d'envisager également les moyens de résistance internes à l'organisation moderne du procès de travail (la fuite, l'absence, la lutte pour le temps, l'intensité, la reproduction de la force de travail, la grève...) qui renvoient toujours à des situations contemporaines.¹

■ Les apports de la cartographie et de l'image fixe ou animée complètent utilement les textes dans ce domaine. Une recherche concertée dans les divers pays européens permettrait de constituer une anthologie de témoignages, de descriptions d'observateurs d'époque.²

■ Mais la classe ouvrière n'est pas la seule conséquence sociale de l'industrialisation. Comme on a pu le montrer pour la Belgique qui apparaît comme un archétype de la société industrielle, l'effondrement de l'emploi dans l'agriculture n'est pas compensé par une croissance proportionnée de l'emploi dans le secteur secondaire, mais par l'explosion du secteur tertiaire (domesticité et commerce de détail au XIX^e siècle, professions libérales, bureaucratie financière, banques et assurances, et administration publique au XX^e siècle)³. Dans tous les cas, travail agricole, industriel, tertiaire devrait être envisagé dans une perspective sexuée soulignant l'accès des femmes au travail salarié pour la première fois dans l'histoire de l'humanité et au XX^e siècle « la grande marche des femmes » vers le bureau qui les éloignent des travaux manuels pour la première fois également. ▶▶▶

1 La thèse de Joël Michel sur les communautés minières en Europe entamée avec Labrousse (de l'Ecosse à la Silésie est malheureusement restée inédite « Le mouvement ouvrier chez les mineurs d'Europe occidentale (Grande-Bretagne, Belgique, France, Allemagne). Etude comparative des années 1880 à 1914. » 6 vol. Thèse d'état, Lyon III 1987)

2 Sven Steffens a défendu sous ma direction, à l'ULB, une intéressante thèse (malheureusement non publiée), consacrée aux récits auto-biographiques d'artisans (non aux ouvriers d'industrie donc), dans le monde alémanique (Allemagne, Autriche, Suisse alémanique) et en Belgique. « Untersuchungen zur Mentalität belgischer und deutscher Handwerker anhand von Selbstzeugnissen (später 18. bis frühes 20. Jahrhundert), ULB, 1999

3 Voir G. Crossick, H.G Haupt, The Petite Bourgeoisie in Europe (178-1914) München, Londres, New-York 1995. Cette question a fait l'objet d'un certain nombre d'enseignements transnationaux dans le cadre du programme Erasmus.

SEMINAR PAPERS

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PEOPLE'S HISTORY MUSEUM
CONNECTING EUROPE'S INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE
LA RÉVOLUTION INDUSTRIELLE
(ÉPOQUE OTTOMANE ET TURQUIE)

LE PATRIMOINE INDUSTRIEL
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L'ENTREPRISE

L'histoire des entreprises est envisagée le plus souvent d'un point de vue monographique voire national. Envisager quelques exemples transnationaux permet de souligner que l'investissement du capital ne se soucie pas de frontières ou au contraire que la décision d'investir est prise pour effacer (contourner) les frontières (le principal Charbonnage français du XIX^e siècle (Anzin) a été créé par des investisseurs et des ouvriers venus des Pays-Bas, le créateur d'un fleuron du patrimoine industriel européen en Belgique, le Grand-Hornu, est français), ou simplement pour développer ses marchés (le Belge Solvay et son réseau d'usines de production de soude, le belge Empain réalisateur du métro de Paris, des tramways du Caire et de la ville nouvelle Héliopolis, l'exemple de l'investissement allemand dans la sidérurgie au Grand-Duché de Luxembourg avant la première guerre...), la multinationale hollando-britannique Unilever et son influence économique en Afrique centrale. Chaque pays a ces exemples qui tendent à montrer que la « mondialisation » tant évoquée est une question ancienne que l'industrialisation a intensifiée et accélérée.

LES SECTEURS INDUSTRIELS

Sont également souvent abordés par leur réalité nationale. Les premiers cartels internationaux commencent pourtant à voir le jour au XX^e siècle. Le secteur charbonnier pour sa part a fait l'objet d'une approche internationale comparée¹.

¹ Arbeiter, Unternehmer und Staat im Bergbau. Industrielle Beziehungen im internationale Vergleich, München 1989 édit. K. Tenfeld (traduit en anglais).

L'ORGANISATION
DU MONDE OUVRIER

La concentration de la main d'œuvre (dans l'entreprise, dans les bassins et villes industrielles), les tentatives de marginalisation de la valeur travail dans le coût de production soumis à l'importance croissante du prix de l'investissement et de la concurrence, les politiques de suppression des formes anciennes de régulation « corporatives » entraînent les travailleurs à s'organiser. Entraide mutuelle, recherche de produits de base de la vie courante à meilleurs prix, revendication de meilleures conditions de travail et de rémunération sont à l'origine des mutualités, coopératives, syndicats qui précèdent les formes d'organisation politique qu'elles soient essentiellement protestataires ou réformistes. L'approche de ces questions reste fondamentalement nationale sauf celle qui s'intéresse aux Internationales, mais qui contrairement aux espoirs de Marx n'ont jamais réussi à dépasser les intérêts nationaux ou sectoriels.² Sauf au sein de l'internationale communiste où l'inverse s'est produit : la soumission des intérêts nationaux aux intérêts d'un seul pays. Des études transnationales ont été menées, trop souvent juxtaposition d'études nationales ou locales. On peut penser aux colloques animés par M. Degl'Innocenti sur la coopération en Europe.³

Depuis les « équitables pionniers » de Rochdale jusqu'à nos jours la coopérative de consommation et/ou de production représente une intéressante expérience, présente dans tous les pays européens, à la fois de défense des intérêts des travailleurs et/ou des consommateurs, apolitique ou politique. Les mutualités restent (à ma connaissance), moins étudiées, tandis que les syndicats dans une perspective européenne sont notamment envisagés par le centre d'histoire sociale du XX^e siècle (Paris 1 Sorbonne) animé notamment par J.L.Robert, M. Pigenet⁴

L'INSTITUTIONNALISATION DES RELATIONS SOCIALES

L'approche transversale est surtout intéressante d'un point de vue chronologique, les particularités nationales restent fortes, conséquences de la nature et de l'importance de l'industrialisation, mais surtout du système politique, du rythme de sa démocratisation et du rapport de force entre propriété foncière, bourgeoisie urbaine et partis se réclamant de la classe ouvrière. ▶▶▶

² J'ai étudié un intéressant projet d'organisation de la production charbonnière en Europe (le projet Léwy) avec le double objectif de stabiliser le marché, d'assurer la rentabilité de l'industrie houillère et d'améliorer la condition ouvrière ainsi que de construire la paix en Europe, défendu, sans succès, au sein de l'internationale des mineurs par les syndicats belges puis français avant 1914.

³ M. Degl'Innocenti (a cura di) Le case del popolo in Europa, Firenze 1984, La impresa cooperativa in Europa, Pisa, 1986, Il movimento cooperativo nelle storia d'Europa, Milano, 1988

⁴ Voir L'apogée des syndicalismes en Europe occidentale, 1960-1985, édit : P.Pasture, M.Pigenet, J.L.Robert, Paris, 2005. Francine Bolle, qui termine sous ma direction une thèse consacrée au syndicalisme belge dans l'entre deux guerres a réalisé en partant des tableaux publiés par H. Kaelble, op. cit des graphiques précisés et augmentés des taux de syndicalisation en Europe.

LES ASSOCIATIONS DE « RÉFORME »

■ La transformation du système économique et social entraîne émotion, indignation, puis observations, réflexions, propositions. Les « think tanks » se multiplient dans de nombreux pays et se réunissent dans des congrès internationaux européens dès le milieu du XIX^e siècle (paupérisme, questions sociales, logement, chômage involontaire, législation...). On y débat des mesures à prendre dans divers domaines. Le congrès international sur les questions sociales de 1890 à Berlin convoqué par Bismarck est sans doute un des moments importants à examiner de ce point de vue.¹ Mais ils se multiplient avant la guerre, préfigurant le BIT.

L'URBANISATION

Conséquence capitale de l'augmentation de la productivité due à l'industrialisation des moyens de production et d'échange, l'urbanisation peut être envisagée dans sa globalité. Il s'agit alors d'un sujet, d'une approche en soi, extrêmement vaste et complexe où les particularités nationales, voire régionales restent très importantes voire dominantes. L'approche comparative se révèle extrêmement stimulante, car les différences suscitent les questions et nourrissent le débat. Nous l'avons beaucoup pratiqué, à l'ULB, avec nos collègues montréalais. En revanche, une approche tournée vers les conséquences de l'industrialisation sur les villes nous relie à la problématique générale et rétrécit quelque peu le champ envisagé.

■ Toutes les villes ont un caractère industriel, ne fût-ce que pour permettre leur propre existence et croissance (industries de la construction, de consommation...), certaines sont nées de l'industrialisation et fonctionnellement liées à elle (Roubaix, Essen...), d'autres encore se situent entre ces deux types (les capitales, les ports) qui bénéficient de leur croissance pour attirer les industries et les services nécessaires. D'autres encore, anciennes, ne sont pas touchées, sauf très indirectement, par l'industrialisation. Ce sont des villes « confites », qui au contraire des précédentes voient leur population stagner ou même diminuer par manque d'attractivité. Bruges grand port européen du XIV^e siècle en est un magnifique exemple, Venise aussi.

¹ J'ai été frappé d'y constater que la Belgique, un des principaux pays industrialisés, y était systématiquement à la traîne des pays développés. Sauf sur un point la nécessité de créer un échange d'informations, les prémices du BIT.

■ Il existe deux axes pour traiter la question, l'industrialisation des équipements urbains : la généralisation de la distribution des fluides dans les immeubles : l'eau potable, le gaz (gaz à tous les étages), l'électricité, le développement des moyens de transports publics (tramways, métros, trolleys, bus...), ou des équipements domestiques : le chauffage (individuel ou collectif, localisé ou généralisé par exemple, la disparition du foyer et le rôle du chauffage central sur l'individualisation des comportements), l'éclairage... Et la question de l'habitat différencié (le bidonville, le taudis, la division du logement, la densification de la construction dans la ville ancienne, l'augmentation de la surface occupée avec l'amélioration de la qualification du travail et des revenus) qui est souvent à l'origine de l'observation sociale au milieu du XIX^e siècle. Les notions et les réalisations de logements ouvriers, sociaux, à bon marché, à loyer modéré, privés, patronaux, publics, individuels, collectifs, les législations y afférentes constituent d'excellents moyens pour balayer l'espace européen concerné par le même type d'évolution et d'enjeux. Toujours d'actualité puisque les populations se renouvellent, migrent toujours vers la ville et dans la ville.

■ Si le phénomène de « rurbanisation » (grâce à l'individualisation des transports) a bouleversé la ville post industrielle, le vide qui gagne les centres-villes (pas partout ou pas partout de la même manière), les migrations externes recréent des situations du XIX^e siècle, (précarité et vieillissement du bâti, division des surfaces occupées, résurgence des maladies sociales éradiquées lors des « golden sixties »...). La reconstruction des villes détruites lors des deux grands conflits européens sont l'occasion d'expérimenter, de renouveler la typologie urbanistique et architecturale. Là aussi les relations internationales présentent un grand intérêt (l'exemple du « town planning », des « garden cities » britanniques)². La comparaison systématique des habitats ouvriers nous renvoie directement au processus d'industrialisation et d'urbanisation³. ▶▶▶

² Janet Polasky vient de publier un ouvrage intéressant de ce point de vue comparant Londres et Bruxelles du point de vue de l'urbanisation et de la mobilité. « Reforming urban labor. Routes to the city, Roots in the country ».

³ Dans cet esprit le numéro thématique de « La revue du Nord ». L'habitat collectif en Europe du Nord-Ouest des origines à la seconde guerre mondiale. 90, Lille, 2008

LA CIRCULATION DES TECHNOLOGIES

Sans sous-estimer les difficultés d'établir les moyens de transmission et la chronologie de l'utilisation des différentes techniques, il s'agit sans doute du chapitre le plus universel. Aborder ici non seulement les réussites, mais aussi les échecs peut donner du sens.

LA PATRIMONIALISATION DE L'INDUSTRIE

Dans tous les pays développés la fin du cycle industriel (ou du moins son affaiblissement) a provoqué un intérêt pour l'archéologie et le patrimoine industriels en Grande Bretagne pour commencer. Personne n'y échappe ou n'y échappera. Casanelles nous explique bien que la civilisation matérielle, l'industrialisation sont sans doute le patrimoine commun le plus évident, le plus tangible commun à toutes les sociétés européennes. Les « musées industriels » se sont multipliés, souvent sous l'impulsion de groupes, d'individus, d'anciens travailleurs qui se sont approprié ce patrimoine dans une dimension citoyenne remarquable que souligne également Casanelles. Ce ne sont pas des spécialistes qui sont à l'origine de nombre de préservations. Ce qui n'est pas sans pose problème aux pouvoirs publics « subsidiant » in fine des initiatives par définition totalement non rentables (sauf peut-être par un phénomène de Disneylisation comme à Völklingen en Sarre). Le patrimoine industriel est effectivement souvent onéreux à préserver et surtout à entretenir en l'absence d'activité économique sous-jacente suffisante. Du moins jouent-ils le rôle de conservatoire du passé révolu à la disposition de tous.

■ Le risque de muséification du passé existe, dans ce domaine en particulier où les initiatives se sont multipliées, diversifiées, décentralisées. Nous sommes dans un processus parfaitement inversé par rapport à la constitution des collections du musée du Louvre à Paris. Ces « musées » constituent localement des médias de premier plan pour introduire les concepts et réalités de l'industrialisation. Mais aussi des introductions à la civilisation et à la culture technique. Nous savons que le musée n'est pas l'institution culturelle la plus attractive ni la plus fréquentée.

■ À diverses conditions ils peuvent pallier ces difficultés: qu'ils utilisent au mieux les médias contemporains (TIC) qui permettent de visualiser et comprendre les dynamiques à l'œuvre, qu'ils servent d'incitant pour l'intérêt scientifique et technique de leurs visiteurs, jeunes en particulier (je pense surtout aux jeunes issus des migrations récentes originaires de régions où la culture technique contemporaine est peu présente), qu'ils s'inscrivent dans des réseaux complémentaires qui permettent par addition ou multiplication, d'aborder l'ensemble de la problématique de la société industrielle et non seulement une partie locale, sectorielle ou temporelle de celle-ci. (voir ERHI par exemple¹) D'autre part, il serait judicieux de suggérer à ces initiatives de s'insérer dans un passé commun, ici européen, en évoquant la généralité du phénomène et pas seulement l'exceptionnalité de chaque situation. C'est le risque par rapport à l'objectif qui sous-tend notre rencontre, l'affirmation d'un particularisme local exacerbé tandis que l'histoire évoquée est bien européenne et américaine hier, mondiale aujourd'hui. Enfin, l'utilisation de la promenade expliquée, documentée, utilisant l'environnement non comme décor mais comme document, le paysage ou la ville comme musée, peut susciter plus d'implication et d'intérêt des publics. A La Fonderie (Bruxelles), en l'absence de musée pendant de longues années, c'est la méthode que nous avons utilisée pour intéresser le public, à côté de publications ou d'expositions temporaires en divers lieux (ce qui nous a permis aussi de valoriser des éléments du patrimoine industriel méconnu à l'époque). Nous venons de terminer à Bois du Luc, site minier exceptionnel dont l'histoire remonte à 1685, dans le cadre d'un projet européen Interreg (Hainaut belge et Nord-Pas de Calais) un itinéraire de la culture industrielle qui souligne avec force « l'identité » de ces territoires et de leurs habitants d'où toute frontière a désormais disparu (paysages, patrimoine industriel, immobilier et social...)².

■ Ces « Musées » constituent un livre ouvert sur le passé industriel de l'Europe, élément essentiel de sa communauté de destin. En fait l'actualité nous incite à penser que le besoin d'histoire, social, intellectuel et politique... a tendance à augmenter. Que tout ce qui permet d'intensifier, d'améliorer l'offre répondant à ce besoin est d'ordre positif. Qu'il s'agit d'un enjeu civique majeur dans la formation du lien social, d'un enjeu politique majeur dans une période particulièrement difficile. ■■■

¹ European route of industrial heritage. ERIH www.erih.net

² Itinéraire de la Culture Industrielle (ICI): un autre regard, une autre perspective sur une culture industrielle sans frontières (Hainaut, Nord-Pas de Calais) www.ici-itineraire.eu

CONSEQUENCES OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION ON EUROPE

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In my presentation, or better to say – a stimulus for thinking and for our work – I would like to present contents that are more than important in today's process of changing the image of Europe, as well as complementing and upgrading life values. Indeed industrial revolution started in England and meant a beginning of a new period, but we should not forget that the socialism period in the greater part of Europe was the time of industrial development of the second period. It had its peculiarities and left behind big urban centres and life patterns that we still can detect in some surroundings. Today, these areas are either abandoned or they changed their images through investments of private or public means. There remains the problem of ecology, the problem of life of a period, in some area, where the industrial heritage was preserved or decayed.

Europe is becoming aware of the technical, cultural and social value of this heritage as a whole which conceals an important part of the collective memory and European identity and some of whose elements deserve to be protected as part of the heritage.

In 1990 the Council of Europe passed the Recommendation No.R (90) 20 on the protection and conservation of the industrial, technical and civil engineering heritage in Europe. In the recommendations for the governments of member states we find:

promote public knowledge and enhancement of the technical industrial and civil engineering heritage by campaigns to alert the public at large and by placing particular emphasis on the promotion of tourism;

In measures is written:

local and regional elected representatives in order to attract their attention both to the historic value of this heritage and to the possibilities resulting from action centred on enhancement and new forms of use, including the promotion of tourism by organising specific cultural routes and encouraging industrial tourism.

Perhaps my examples are isolated cases of good practices that take place in front of us and endeavour to secure survival of the industrial heritage the best they can. Museums are merely cultural institutions that are a living memory of a time, a kind, a life of a historical period. ▶▶▶

THE MICHELETTI FOUNDATION

The Micheletti Foundation (established in 1981 in Brescia) is a research centre specialising in 20th-century history. It has been leading the debate on industrial archaeology in Italy and so far it has concentrated on the history of technology, work and industry. It has also played a key role in the setting up of MusIL (the Eugenio Battisti Museum of Industry and Labour), which consists of three complete and functioning areas: the Museum of Hydroelectricity in Cedegolo (Camonica Valley, Brescia); the Museum of Work and Industry in Rodengo Saiano (Brescia); and the Museum of Iron in San Bartolomeo (Brescia).

■ The Micheletti Award is in its 16th year, confirming its position as the most prestigious international award for innovative museums in the sectors of Industry, Science and Technology. The first winner of the Micheletti Award, in 1996, was DASA – the German Safety at Work Exhibition in Dortmund, Germany.

■ From the example of the past five years of the Micheletti Award, it can be seen that the museums which have emerged as winners have covered a wide spectrum of the fields of Science, Industry and Technology.

- In 2006 Tom Tits Experiment at Södertälje in Sweden described itself as a science centre, but the feature which stood out for the jury was the link between itself and a school, which enabled it to introduce science on a daily basis to children from a young age as something which was fun as well as educational.
- In 2007 Brunel's SS Great Britain in Bristol in the UK was rewarded for the outstanding achievement of bringing the world's first iron ship back to its birthplace, undertaking a massive restoration project and becoming an extremely successful tourist attraction, based on sound scholarship.
- In 2008 the University Science Museum at Coimbra in Portugal possessed collections of the highest importance and the judges acknowledged the skill and sensitivity with which it had enhanced the understanding of its treasures with modern presentation and technology.
- In 2009 the Museum of the Jaeren Region at Naerbø in Norway had agriculture as its theme and introduced its visitors to contemporary technology in the farming industry by concentrating on hands-on experience rather than long technical explanations, combining this with great skill in fundraising.
- In 2010 the Agbar Water Museum at Cornellà de Llobregat in Spain covered the theme of water from a historical and ethnical point of view as well as from a technological perspective and introduced a wide variety of activities to complement its static displays.

■ It is expected that in the future the Award will continue to attract candidates from equally diverse fields. In the new stand-alone competition museums will have a greater chance of raising their profiles by taking part in prize ceremonies and conferences organised by the European Museum Academy.

THE ROG FACTORY

The Rog factory represents one of the last preserved quality examples of old industrial architecture, and at the same time, a degraded post-industrial area, in the centre of Ljubljana. The Rog CCA project is based on the City of Ljubljana's Strategy for Cultural Development 2008–2011.

■ From the end of the 19th century until 1952, the Rog factory manufactured various leather products. From 1952 to the beginning of the 1990s, it was a bicycle factory that (at first) also manufactured typewriters. In the 1990s, the abandoned building was occasionally used for cultural events (art and design festivals). In 2006, the building was occupied by temporary users (artists, Social Centre, Yoga Centre, skateboarding venue, etc.) who still operate in Rog to this day.

■ One important aim of the renovation is the revitalisation of the Eastern part of the city centre, which is anticipated to grow into an important development axis of the city centre and its opening alongside the Ljubljanica River.

■ Development of Ljubljana:

- With the Rog Centre, Ljubljana will start implementing the creative city concept as its own development model.
- By mounting ambitious exhibitions enabled by a large, well equipped exhibition hall, the Rog Centre will drastically raise the level of interest in visual arts, design and architecture, addressing a broad circle of visitors.
- The Rog Centre will represent a new model of an education and research centre that will connect the cultural and artistic field, science and technology.



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■ The new centre is conceived as a production, research, exhibition and socialising space. It will be dedicated to visual arts (in the broadest sense of the term), architecture and design, their interconnection and their strategic connection with the business sector and education, with a strong emphasis on international cooperation. The Rog Centre will realise its goals by making strategic connections with appropriate government initiatives and with the already existing players in these fields, thus ensuring credible programmes that will also be interesting for businesses. Architecturally, the Rog Centre is conceived so that the rooms can be adapted to the purposes and spatial needs of artistic creation.

■ In order to create and implement the programme for the Rog Centre, programme partnerships with the public sector (universities, public cultural institutions, research institutes, etc.) and the private sector (NGOs, companies, etc.) are expected. The target groups of users are designers, architects, visual artists, scientists, researchers, innovators, the expert public, students, children, schoolchildren, inhabitants of Ljubljana and tourists.

■ Rog will be a frequented, dynamic centre where artists and partners will operate on a project-to-project basis. This means that organisations or artists involved will not have their domicile at Rog. Partners will be sought on the basis of a pre-conceived programme and the centre's programme orientation. The definition of programme partnerships is currently still open. Current legislation allows providers of cultural programmes in the public interest to pay only for the actual material costs of using the infrastructure in public institutions. Special attention will have to be paid to how the Rog Centre (beginning already during its construction) will fit into the existing institutional and social networks and how it will generate new ones. The Rog Centre will be an institution that will complement and/or extend the programmes of existing institutions, organisations, operations and private initiatives.

EDUCATION AND RESEARCH INSTITUTIONS

■ At the Rog Centre, the City of Ljubljana expects the educational programmes, which will count as part of a curriculum, to be conducted in cooperation with private and public educational institutions. The programme at Rog will be able to fill the holes in the field of education and connect the students of various faculties and academies. The City of Ljubljana sees an opportunity in the connection, through projects, of students and foreign and Slovenian experts into working groups, as well as in their cooperation in the development of new products, in research projects, etc.

WESTERGASFABRIK

How do you arrive at a suitable new use for a heavily polluted former industrial site with a large number of protected historic buildings? The Westerpark district council and the Westergasfabriek project team examined this question in detail. A lengthy and complex process took place before the Westergasfabriek became the culture park it is today. The present success of the Westergasfabriek is due to the combination of temporary use of the area and the development of plans for the long term. Thus the area was already on the map before it was completed. Moreover, a creative, flexible and above all communicative project team proved to be indispensable if the different processes were to be overseen at the same time. The team had to keep in touch with the many facets, while streamlining and organising them. And if necessary the strategy had to be adjusted. This 'creative process' is the opposite of a 'linear process'. The team was following a predetermined direction, but without detailing or a fixed final aim. It did this with a lot of patience, without haste and while being open and above board in order to move from chaos to a clear vision with the help of ever new creative ideas.

■ And for a discussion – a reflection on the “difficult” heritage that vanishes before our eyes, and with it the 20th-century history, marked by wars.

■ The fall of Communism or Socialism, according to the British historian Tony Judt, brought about a wave of painful memories, decades of silenced truth were brought to light, and some deep-seated taboos were broken down. At the same time, a problematic temptation came about to surpass this kind of legacy through summarising, generalising, distortion.

■ Therefore the museum work faced a new challenge and new questions. As active participants or initiators of social and cultural processes in reinterpreting the past, museum workers are concerned with peculiarities of a certain period of history, to which they chiefly dedicate their scholarly and professional attention. But if they want to carry out their mission competently, coherently and trustworthily, they first have to face difficult history or legacy of their own country, nation or community, and with their own role in it. ■■■

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION

” Developments in education, from traditional practices to modern education systems, have been marked by a great many interactions affecting the entire European area.

A study of the field of the history of education in Europe shows a unity in which the specific developments in education of different nations are strongly linked. Unity and cohesion are present in the dialogue, alongside each nation's struggle to distinguish itself from the others.

The enterprise of education has helped Europe in its development of a culture of dialogue.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN EUROPE: A BRIEF INTRODUCTION

European educational practice has spread its influence at different times throughout the world; at the same time it has absorbed and been influenced by systems and practices from outside its geographical and cultural boundaries. In considering aspects of convergence and interactions of the history of education within Europe it is perhaps sensible to locate the discussion in the context of a projection of a shared European future. Such a future demands that we take account of a European identity for a Europe that has lost its world hegemony and exists in a world where aspects of the historical reality of Europe have become mixed up with a more universal culture commonly referred to as Western Culture. At the same time the geographical concept of Europe includes Russia, the region of the Caucasus and Turkey. The historical and cultural approach to the idea of Europe depends on not only fixing its spatial limits but, prior to this, fixing its temporal limits and while there is a lack of consensus concerning the specific moment of the birth of Europe there is a correlation between origin and identity and a series of landmarks has each left a specific stamp. These are:

- ▶ Greco-Latin antiquity, with its linguistic heritage and the essential concepts of freedom;
- ▶ Rome, to which we owe concepts of justice, the law and the basis of political organisation as well as the Latin language;
- ▶ The expansion and spread of Christianity, giving us a point of departure for modernity in Europe;
- ▶ Secularisation in the modern period in stages of Middle Ages, Renaissance and Enlightenment each advancing the notion of humanism in education and culture, and developing values of equality and fraternity and freedom;
- ▶ The accommodation of variety in unity: Latin Europe; Germanic Europe; Byzantine Europe; Slavic Europe; Islamic Europe;
- ▶ Post modernity.



■ The history of Europe is the sum total of all national histories within Europe and the 1954 European Cultural Convention recognises all histories as legitimate. But in some senses national histories are artificial, and a search for an overarching history at the level of the European geographical space is also a valid proposition. Indeed the idea of Europe represents the sum of its geographic position, its human capacity and its cultural values.

■ Although Education is today a predominantly national concern, it is possible to explore a number of issues which have led to discussions and exchanges at the supranational European level. In many cases such exchanges have led to similar outcomes in diverse situations and territories.

■ Potential examples of convergences and interactions are wide ranging. Convergences could include: the rationale of education systems; the role and responsibility of the state; the definition of compulsory education; certification procedures; the status, role and training of teachers; the definition of curriculum and its development; and textbook policy. Interactions may cover: the philosophy of education; gender equality; pedagogical reform; and, the balance between general and professional or technical education.

■ The aim of this section is not to prepare a general and exhaustive history of education in Europe, but rather to provide some insights into chosen areas of enquiry.

GENERAL TRENDS

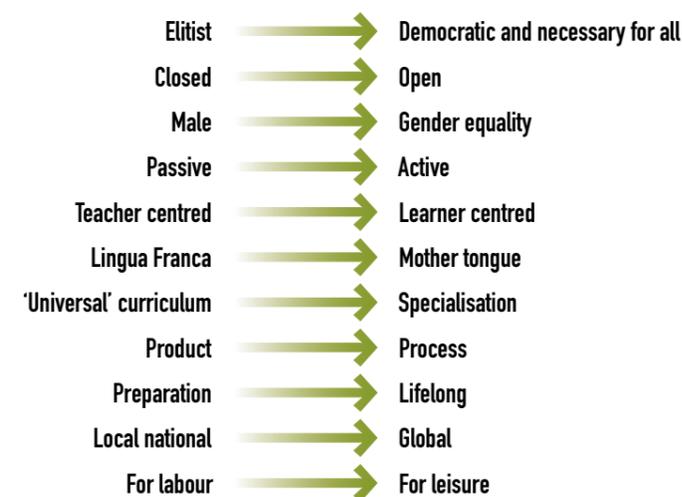
■ Certain long run trends such as those in figure 1 below can be posited. Overall we can note that education has moved from an enterprise available to a chosen few, to be offered to all members of society; education systems tend to be open rather than closed, democratic and egalitarian rather than elitist. Pedagogy and methods within education classrooms have changed so that the learner is more active and has more control over what she or he learns. Education is now usually in the mother tongue and is thought of as a process. Although education now leads to specialisation, it is now a global, lifelong affair with multiple purposes¹.

¹ See also seminar paper by Marcus Wriedt, From erudition to the management of knowledge:some remarks on the development of education in the German Educational System.

■ Such trends do not have a single starting point or end point which has now been reached, and do not all occur during the same time frame. Moreover from time to time changes have been reversed temporarily during some periods and in some territories.² In general the direction of the arrow in figure 1 implies a change in the nature of an innovation, which usually has a positive impact on the individual or on society or both, although this may not always be the case as for instance the use of mother tongue as the language of instruction. There is an increasing incidence of multi-ethnic and multicultural classrooms where non-native speakers are frequently asked to learn in the language of the dominant group.

■ The history of education may in one sense be seen as the history of the struggle between innovators in education and the forces of conservatism, where significant changes are thought of as improvements. Such improvements may occur at turning points in society not always related directly to education as an enterprise, but usually resulting in new paradigms which create the opportunities for new forms and aims of education.

Figure 1: Some trends in the history of education



■ Two important considerations not represented clearly by the above simple figure concern diversity and peace building. History in its full complexity can be taught in multicultural societies; the value of cooperation as well as competition can be illustrated. Critically the role of civil society in helping to frame the objectives and methods of education can be valuable when governments propose unpalatable strictures. The trend is to involve a wide range of partners in the education process, including parents, museums, employers and the media. ■■■

² For example see discussion on the soviet period of education in Ukraine in Seminar paper: Tatiana Stoyan, History of Ukrainian education and pedagogy

ACCESS TO EDUCATION: STEPS IN DEMOCRATISATION

” The development of education systems has responded step by step to the necessity of covering the whole territory of the state and to the need to ensure equal access for all to education. On the one hand it would be possible to compare the structure of systems, whilst on the other hand it would be possible to look at steps in democratisation, in particular concerning equality between men and women, aspects of social segregation, and ideas about the length of compulsory schooling. A now outdated concept of education as necessary and sufficient preparation for later life can be considered alongside the notion of lifelong learning.

INTRODUCTION

Today, in general, access to education is universal and for the most part democratic in all territories within Europe at school level; at the level of higher education equitable access now exists nearly everywhere. However there is currently a high level of dissatisfaction, drop out and failure. In some cases language barriers exist and cultural influences embedded in the state systems are often at odds with the needs of many students. Although access is universal up to the ages of 15-18 variously throughout Europe, the systems are in many respects divisive.

■ By looking at the history of education systems a wide range of issues concerning access to education through time can be considered, including:

- ▶ the role of governments in supporting education and the role of private enterprises;
- ▶ social segregation or integration;
- ▶ gender issues: co-education or separate schools;
- ▶ streaming and selection by aptitude or ability for differentiated education;
- ▶ democratisation; massification; institutionalised schooling;
- ▶ length of formal schooling; lifelong learning;
- ▶ flexibility; diversity of offerings and multicultural education; inclusivity or discrimination; choice;
- ▶ education of minorities, migrants and separate linguistic groups.

■ Teacher trainers are encouraged to develop case studies on any of the above using data from their own country and from other countries to compare.

■ There are many aspects of access to education which are shared or held in common across Europe. These include: commitment to democratic values; access to museums and other resources; the importance of knowing several languages; making aims of education transparent to pupils; and ending gender discrimination. We are not providing here an exhaustive account of the changing access to education across Europe since the emergence of formal education but focusing on some key ideas which have been important and which have affected the lives of many living within Europe over a period of time. These ideas are dealt with in the teaching and learning units that follow. They are:

- ▶ gender equality
- ▶ social segregation
- ▶ length of compulsory schooling and lifelong learning



TARGET GROUP
TEACHER TRAINEES

KEY ISSUES

What barriers have existed that prevented full and equitable access to education for boys and girls?

Do barriers still exist?

What does the promotion of 'gender equality' mean?

Can education eliminate gender inequality?

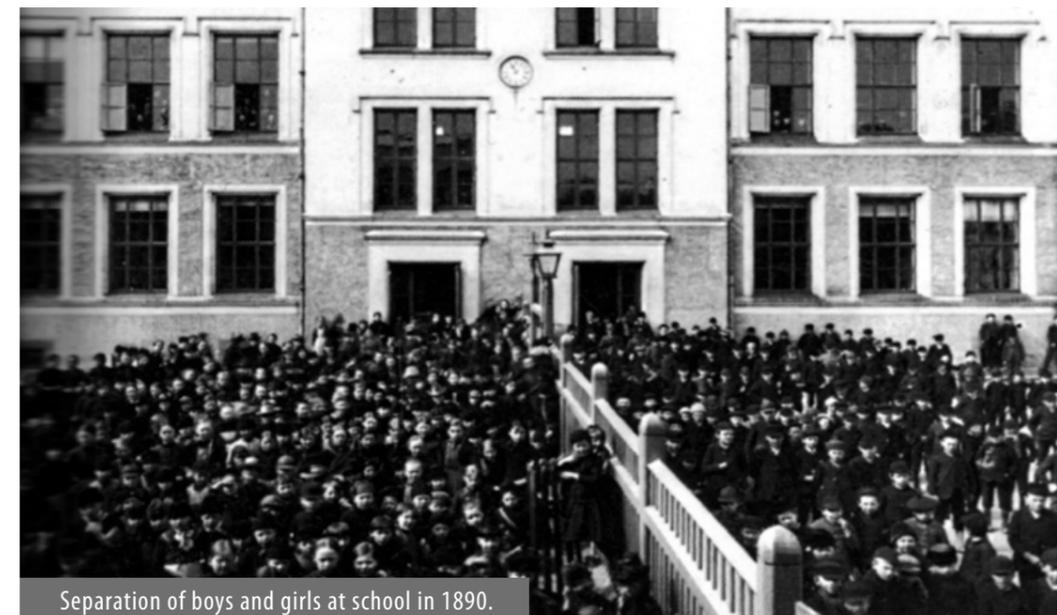
BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Everybody has the right to education. This has been recognised in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in 1948.¹ As a minimum: states must ensure that basic education is available, accessible, acceptable and adaptable for all. The right of girls to education is one of the most critical of all rights because education plays an important role in enabling girls and women to secure other rights.

For much of the time before the 21st century in Europe, gender inequality in education has been extreme. Girls have been less likely to access school, to remain in school or to achieve in education. Despite huge changes in recent times it remains important that education addresses the gender-based discrimination against women and girls that remains prevalent in many societies.

A study of the history of education in any European country will reveal the successive steps taken to include girls in, firstly, primary schools and then in secondary schools. In some cases girls and boys were taught together in the same school, although not necessarily in the same classes, or even, if in the same classes, girls sat in specially allocated areas of the classroom apart from the boys. During breaks from lessons, girls and boys assembled in different parts of the school grounds.

¹ www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/



Separation of boys and girls at school in 1890.

In most cases however, until as recently as 1980, girls were taught in separate schools and followed different curricula. Although girls' schools existed well before the early modern period in Europe their development and diversification date back to the late 18th century. This development was in large part inspired by enlightenment debates about the importance of reason and education, which concerned both men and women. From the outset, girls' schools were almost always strictly divided along social lines, a feature that continued well into the 20th century; working-class and peasant girls attended primary schools, where they received lessons in the rudiments, while middle-class and aristocratic girls received what was considered secondary education in the company of their peers. In both sorts of schools, lessons tended to emphasise women's distinct role in society, thereby contributing to maintaining them in positions of inferiority.

The expansion of girls' schooling over the past two hundred years, however, has brought a number of changes: first, the growth of primary schools for girls stimulated female literacy and opened professional opportunities for women as teachers. Second, girls' secondary schools, often under the impetus of a feminist movement, gradually aligned themselves with male standards of excellence, preparing girls for the same exams and offering opportunities to pursue higher education. By the 1980s, the distinction between girls' and boys' schools had mostly disappeared, as coeducation had become the norm throughout the Western world. The virtual disappearance of girls' schools (except in the Catholic school system) has not eliminated the impact of gendered differences in education; instead these differences have become part of what is often referred to as a hidden curriculum, where teachers unconsciously encourage the gendered patterns of behaviour and learning which were openly encouraged in the girls' schools of previous centuries.

| THEMES | TOPICS |
|--|---|
| IMPACT OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION | INTRODUCTION |
| DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION | ACCESS TO EDUCATION |
| HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE HISTORY OF ART EUROPE AND THE WORLD | REFORM OF PEDAGOGY EXCHANGE OF KNOWLEDGE, IDEAS AND ACTORS |

| |
|--|
| GENDER EQUALITY |
| SOCIAL SEGREGATION |
| LENGTH OF COMPULSORY SCHOOLING & LIFELONG LEARNING |

TEACHING, LEARNING AND ASSESSMENT OPPORTUNITIES

EXERCISE 1

EQUALITY OF ACCESS TO EDUCATION FOR GIRLS

Equality of access to education for girls is still an issue in many countries. In some cases differential access occurs in the early stages of education and in some at much later stages.

1. Describe the situation in your country in respect of access to education at all ages for girls today.
2. How does this compare with other countries?
3. Trace the changes in access for girls in your country since the beginning of the 19th century. A graph or other pictorial representation would be a good way of recording your findings.

EXERCISE 2

GIRLS AND WOMEN ARE ONE OF A NUMBER OF GROUPS THAT MAY EXPERIENCE DIFFERENTIAL ACCESS TO EDUCATION.

1. What other groups can you identify that experience disadvantage in access to education in your country?
2. What plans are in place to improve matters for disadvantaged groups?
3. How would you improve access to all levels of education?

EXERCISE 3

'IT IS RIGHT FOR EVERYONE TO RECEIVE THE SAME EDUCATION IN THE SAME INSTITUTION.'

1. What arguments can you think of for and against this assumption?



Diversity.

INTERNET RESOURCES

- [The World Atlas of Gender Equality in Education](#)
- [Report on the Gender Initiative:](#)
Gender Equality in Education, Employment and Entrepreneurship
- [Manual on human rights education for children.](#)
This programme has relevance for Europe, where equal access to education and full participation of girls in decision making processes is still not a reality
- [Universal declaration of Human Right](#)

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES SEMINAR PAPERS

- [Access and Equality: The Roots of the Norwegian Comprehensive School, Elisabeth Lonna](#)
- [Access to Education in Northern Ireland, Catherine Thompson](#)



TARGET GROUP
TEACHER TRAINEES

KEY ISSUES

To what degree is social segregation in schooling an inevitable result of socially segregated societies?

What role can schools play in leading towards a more democratic society?

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Social segregation is a major feature of the history of European education: from modern times the continent has been marked by extreme social segregation between the affluent and the disadvantaged. Schooling was differentially available to different parts of society: 'secondary colleges' reserved for a small elite who were offered lengthy studies in the humanities; and 'primary schools' for those, the vast majority, that the barrier of money confined to learning elementary lessons.

A second important mode of segregation has been between rural and urban locations; this became more important as industrialisation spread throughout Europe in the 19th century. One of the differences in schooling between rural and urban areas was the availability of teachers and equipment. In many rural areas, 'ambulatory' teachers moved from school to school with their own limited selection of equipment. These segregations have gradually diminished, but have been replaced by segregation of minorities, often migrants in some situations in Europe now.

The rise of the middle classes, from the early 20th century, albeit unevenly, has narrowed the educational cultural dichotomy. Today's education systems, instead of the two types of education offered in the early modern times (characterised above as 'secondary colleges' and 'primary schools'), have three successive stages for all: primary (or elementary); high school (or secondary school, gymnasias, etc); and college or university. The gradual process of democratisation through universal secondary education is a shared experience across Europe.

European education systems have been historically related to systems influencing social cultural systems in particular in housing and in terms of visible marks of social distinction. A common denominator is certainly the construction, in many parts of Europe, of a strong social segregation which has naturally led to a teaching segregation, between the 17th and 20th centuries. And while this segregation, as we have noted, has been gradually diminishing, it has sporadically emerged again when migrant communities are accommodated to a new country; the parallel between housing and education is evoked again.

The transition from a segregated school system towards democratic schooling which began in the 20th century can be studied in nearly every European country.

Social Segregation in schools.



TEACHING, LEARNING AND ASSESSMENT OPPORTUNITIES

EXERCISE 1

SOCIAL SEGREGATION

What forms of social segregation are there in schooling in your country?

EXERCISE 2

'ALL CHILDREN SHOULD BE EDUCATED IN THE SAME TYPE OF SCHOOLS'

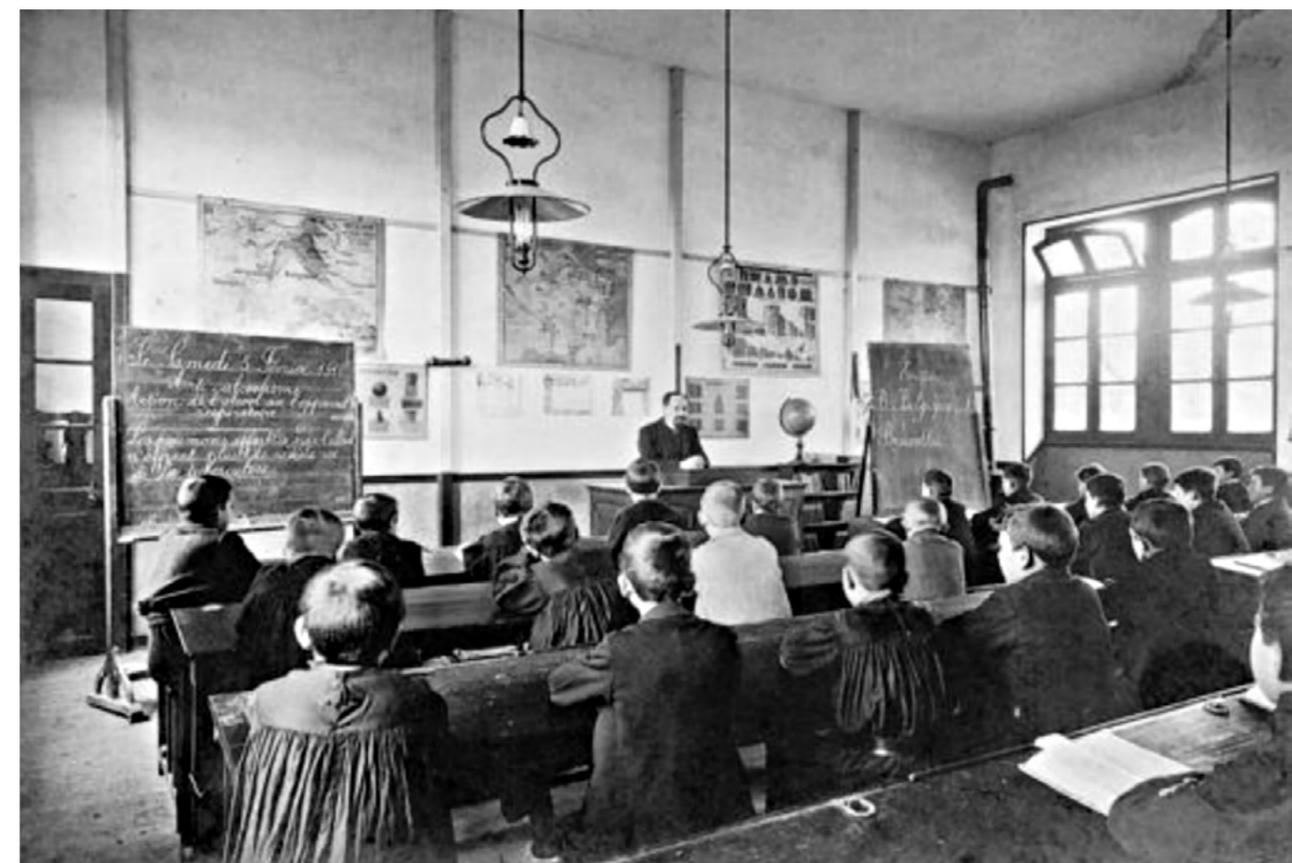
Do you agree or disagree with this statement. Give your reasons

INTERNET RESOURCES

- ➔ [Why are secondary schools socially segregated?](#)
- ➔ [Newspaper article on new schools in England.](#)

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES SEMINAR PAPERS

- ➔ **Pierre-Philippe Bugnard De Paris à Berlin :**
deux capitales pour comprendre la genèse et l'éclatement de la ségrégation sociale pédagogique des systèmes éducatifs européens (17th-20th century)



GANCEL Hippolyte, *Il y a un siècle... L'école, Rennes* © Editions Ouest France 2003, p. 15.

**TARGET GROUP**
UPPER SECONDARY**KEY ISSUES**

What is the best age to leave formal education and start work?

What arrangements should society make for people to be able to learn throughout their working life?

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

In the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries, national governments introduced much change into schools. Governments across Europe decreed that all children, boys and girls, must go to school to a certain age, which was gradually raised. The schooling was not extensive; the elementary curriculum consisted of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Religion was also compulsory in most countries. At the start of the 20th century, most children received their education in elementary school. Secondary education in most countries came at a charge, with the demand for free places far outstripping supply. The standard of staffing was variable with typically less than half of all secondary school teachers trained. In the UK charges for secondary schools were only abolished in 1944 when a common distinction between Primary and Secondary Education at the age of 11 was introduced. At this time the school leaving age was raised to 15.

Although in the 19th century churches remained the main providers of education, governments increasingly provided more schools and teachers. Children of the working classes, the peasantry, and girls made impressive gains across Western Europe in the 19th century. For example, a French law of 1882 required schooling for all boys and girls between the ages of six and thirteen. As a result, literacy rates in France for the whole population, men and women, were raised from 60 per cent in 1870 to 95 per cent in 1900.

Most countries now have their school leaving age set the same as their minimum full-time employment age, thus allowing smooth transition from education into employment, whilst a few have it set just below the age at which a person is allowed to be employed.

Lifelong Learning

"Learning and living are inseparable"; so said John Dewey, and more than a century later his insistence on this paradigm shift may yet come to fruition. The paradigm, however, presents a terminological and conceptual complexity which is far from being resolved. There are as many as eighteen similar terms which are used in political speeches and academic debates to describe the set of theories within the paradigm: continuous education, recurring education, adult education, education for all, permanent education, informal education, lifelong education, and more. All of these terms have been used to imply some measure of provision of education, whether it is vocational or for leisure purposes, after the cessation of compulsory formal schooling. Undoubtedly, each of these terms contains particular meanings which are linked to the specific socio-educational area of analysis.

While there is explicitly unanimous support for the rhetoric of this paradigm, there is a scarcity of initiatives which have been launched by various governments in relation to the multiple implications of life-long learning.

However, if having achieved, or appear to have achieved, universal democratic access to formal education, and yet being faced with dissatisfaction and drop out, it is likely that the crisis is not one of organisation or of quantity of provision but rather a crisis of paradigm parallel to those crises of paradigm that occurred in science when progress was only achieved by a shift in the way of seeing and a disbelief in the prevailing beliefs, values and technologies. Some of the current beliefs might include: 'course' based education; competition and the elevation of some over others in a preconceived 'pecking order'; 'offer'-based education (teacher-led, and with pre-conceived programmes of study); institution based; predilection for examinations and rote learning; traditional organisation of knowledge. Life-long learning or recurrent education is more likely to emphasise adaptability, cultural relativism, optimism about the future of mankind and human potential. Life-long learning becomes more likely when students at all ages become more autonomous.

TEACHING, LEARNING AND ASSESSMENT OPPORTUNITIES

EXERCISE 1

Look at the table and the newspaper report below.

- How do these data compare with the situation in your country?
- Discuss the value of staying in full time education versus starting work in today's society and explore reasons why there has been a continual raising of the school leaving age since the mid 19th century.

COMPULSORY SCHOOLING IN ENGLAND

Raising the school leaving age in England since 1870

| 1870 | 1899 | 1918 | 1947 | 1972 | 2013 | 2015 |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 10 | 12 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 |

NEWSPAPER REPORT

COMPULSORY LEARNING AGE - TEENAGERS TO STAY IN EDUCATION OR TRAINING UNTIL 18

Published: Thursday, 27 November 2008

Teenagers will continue in education or training until the age of 18 as part of a new law passed this week. The new Act will raise the education leaving age to 17 in 2013 and to 18 from 2015.

As it stands teenagers can leave school at 16 - but only around eight in ten stay on in some form of education or training. The objective behind this law is to give all teenagers across England the best possible chance of success later in life, as well as benefiting society as a whole.

Research shows that those who do stay in some form of education or training beyond 16 are less likely to commit crimes, suffer ill-health and get involved in anti-social behaviour later in life. Staying in education or training also boosts earning power. For example, young people with an advanced apprenticeship earn on average £100, 000 more in their lifetime than someone who leaves education at 16.

▶ LENGTH OF COMPULSORY SCHOOLING & LIFELONG LEARNING

Not just full-time schooling

However, the new proposals don't necessarily mean staying in school full-time. Young people will be able to choose how they participate and could stay on in full time education, for example in school or college, take an apprenticeship, or undertake part-time training if they are working or volunteering for more than 20 hours per week.

The age when young people can leave learning will be increased in two stages, to 17 from 2013 and to 18 from 2015. The first to benefit from these changes began secondary school this September (2008). The Department for Children, Schools and Families (DSCF) has produced a magazine for them – called Moving Up – which describes the choices they will be able to make in the future.

EXERCISE 2

What do you understand by the term 'lifelong learning'? Describe any activities in your environment which could constitute lifelong learning. Why do you think there is a need for life long learning in the 21st century?

EXERCISE 3

Cunningham (2005) has suggested that one of the consequences of keeping children at school for longer periods since the 19th century has been the creation of the concept of 'adolescence'. How far do you consider both 'childhood' and 'adolescence' are inventions of the social conditions which have led to compulsory schooling throughout Europe?

INTERNET RESOURCES

- ➔ [Media article](#)
- ➔ [Wiki entry contains data on leaving ages across the world](#)
- ➔ [Education and training opportunities across Europe](#)

THE REFORM OF PEDAGOGY

” Pedagogy and methodology have undergone huge transformations through history. Debate has enriched the history of education in the classroom with fruitful exchanges and interactions across Europe and at an international level.

INTRODUCTION

Penelope Harnett

University of West of England, Bristol, United Kingdom

Pedagogy is a social construct; it cannot be studied in isolation since both its definition and practice are dependent on social, political, economic and cultural contexts. Different generations have defined their own notions of pedagogy within their own contexts and beliefs.

■ Studying the history of pedagogy provides particular opportunities for raising awareness of European consciousness since it deals with both personal as well as communal beliefs and also permits studies not necessarily always associated with nation states but with the humanity of groups of people living within Europe at particular periods of time.

■ Pedagogy is a complex concept embracing a range of issues. A recent large scale curriculum/pedagogical project in the UK has attempted to provide a conceptual framework for analysing pedagogy. It argues that teachers face issues concerning educational aims, learning contexts, classroom processes and learning outcomes and that they do so in relation to curriculum, pedagogy and assessment. The project's framework provides a useful tool for discussion and for thinking about pedagogy and the curriculum (Pollard A, 2008)

■ In terms of the history of education, a similar framework may provide a useful lens to interrogate the development of pedagogy and its reform. Such a framework could support a multi- perspective analysis, situating pedagogical reforms within particular contexts which would also provide opportunities for raising questions and developing further enquiries. A working framework could contribute to a greater understanding of interactions, convergences and tensions within pedagogical developments as they occur across Europe. ▶▶▶

Key questions contributing to such a framework are:

► *Pedagogy and educational aims:*

The relationship of pedagogy with the wider purposes of education and learning. What was education for? What did people hope to achieve through education? Why did nation states become increasingly interested in education and why did religious communities influence much educational provision? What was the contrast between individual empowerment and the need for communal responsibility?

► *Pedagogy and curriculum content:*

The sort of knowledge and skills, values and attitudes to be inculcated through education. Do particular pedagogies promote certain elements more than others? Is knowledge more highly valued than skills? How much emphasis is placed on the inculcation of particular attitudes and values?

► *The importance of pedagogy and education:*

Who values education and who benefits? Is education valued equally by all members of society? How do education and pedagogy differ across class, gender, culture, ethnic and economic circumstances? To what extent is education thought worthwhile in different social, political and cultural milieu?

► *The influence of different sites of learning and resources on pedagogy:*

What is the relationship between the ethos of institutions of schooling and the pedagogy enacted within them? To what extent do buildings and available resources support or influence the practice of pedagogy?

► *Learning and teaching processes:*

What learning processes address learners' social needs? What sorts of relationships are learners encouraged to develop with each other and with their teachers? What account is taken of learners' emotional needs? Are learners' interests taken into account in learning and their enjoyment in learning promoted? In what ways does the planning of learning meet learners' levels of cognitive development? How does teaching match learners' social, emotional and cognitive needs?

► *Measuring the effects of pedagogy; accountability:*

The progression of learners' experience - how is their progress measured and accounted for?

► *The outcomes of pedagogy:*

In what ways has education prepared learners for the next stages in their lives?



A Church school in the 19th century.

Different approaches and sources of information may be used for studying the development and reform of pedagogy, including:

- the lives and influence of particular individuals living in Europe and how their ideas were developed;
- books on pedagogy;
- the resources used for teaching;
- buildings where schooling took place;
- the stories of individuals' experiences which have been passed down through oral testimony, letters, diaries and other forms.

Studying pedagogy also provides particularly rich opportunities for students to investigate the history of their locality and region and to relate their local experiences to a wider context of developments across Europe. We are not presenting an exhaustive account of pedagogical reforms, but focusing some key ideas in the development of pedagogy which have been important and which have affected the lives of many living within Europe over a period of time. These ideas are dealt with in the teaching and learning units that follow. They are:

- the influence of religion in framing pedagogy and the curriculum
- the expansion of popular education and state intervention
- changing views on learners and learning



TARGET GROUP
 TEACHER TRAINEES

KEY ISSUES

In what ways has religion influenced schooling and pedagogy across Europe?

What are the continuing effects of different religious traditions on pedagogy across Europe today?

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Early schools in medieval Europe

From the decline of the Roman Empire the church was central to maintaining scholarship and learning through its monasteries and religious congregations, cathedral schools and the universities throughout Europe. In medieval times, schools attached to monasteries or cathedrals taught children singing for their choirs and also reading and writing in Latin for future careers in the church, in administration or in legal affairs.

Latin was the universal language which enabled scholars across Europe to communicate with each other; it enabled churchmen to share their common faith throughout Europe, and facilitated administrators, lawyers and other professionals working together. There was much learning and memorisation (See images opposite) by rote and beatings were not uncommon. In December 1301 there is an account of John Newshom, an Oxford schoolmaster whose body was found in the River Cherwell. He had fallen out of a willow tree while cutting rods with which to beat his pupils and had drowned.



A teacher pointing out words for learners to repeat after him.



The master holding a bundle of sticks to strike those scholars who were not paying attention.

Latin as the language of instruction

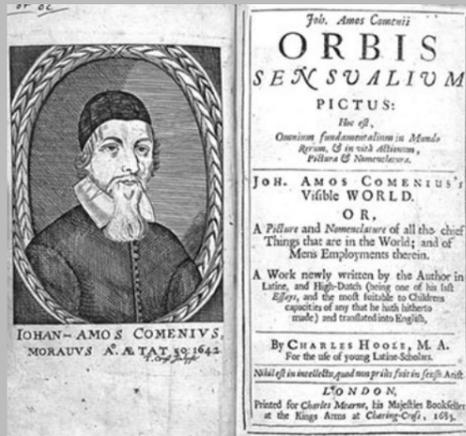
Alongside cathedral schools, Latin was also taught in the expanding numbers of grammar schools which educated children in Latin grammar as well as teaching them to read, write and to add up. Ordinary languages were taught as well and this was one of the reasons for the popularity of the new schools which began to be founded. The teaching of Latin was often by rote. Robert Ascham tutor to Princess Elizabeth before she became Queen of England in the mid-16th century commented on the evils of this: children's knowledge was "tied only to their tongue and lips and never ascended up to the brain and head, and therefore was soon spat out of the mouth again". This poem by Chaucer also illustrates this point:

"This little child" by Chaucer

This little child, his little lesson learning,
 Sat at his primer in the school, and there,
 While boys were taught the antiphons, kept turning,
 And heard the Alma redemptoris fair,
 And drew as near as ever he did dare,
 Marking the words, remembering every note,
 Until the first verse he could sing by rote.
 He knew not what this Latin meant to say,
 Being so young and of such tender age,
 But once a young school-comrade did he pray
 To expound to him the song in his language,
 Or tell him why the song was in usage;
 Asking the boy the meaning of the song,
 On his bare knees he begged him well and long.
 His fellow was an older lad than he,
 And answered thus: "This song, as I've heard say,
 Was made to praise Our Blessed Lady free,
 Her to salute and ever Her to pray
 To be our help when comes our dying day".
 I can expound to you only so far;
 I've learned the song; I know but small grammar

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Comenius. Orbis Sensualium Pictus



A defining characteristic of the scientific revolution in the 16th and 17th centuries was the emphasis based on empirical investigation: close observations and drawing conclusions which led to the creation of new knowledge. These beliefs also began to influence teaching and the development of systematic approaches to pedagogy. Comenius for example was interested in the processes of learning and criticised the pedantry and boredom of learning Latin by rote. His book Gate of Tongues Unlocked (1631) (*Janua linguarum reserata*) aimed to introduce learners to Latin through every day language and terms rather than through learning grammar by rote. He wanted to promote children's interest in their learning and included woodcuts in his *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* (1658) *The Visible World in Pictures*, (See images opposite) which was popular in Europe for two centuries and was the forerunner of the illustrated schoolbook of later times. It consisted of pictures illustrating Latin sentences, accompanied by vernacular translations.

Reformation and Counter Reformation

The upheavals of the Reformation and Counter Reformation impacted on both education and schooling. Both Protestants and Catholics had strong interests in ensuring children were brought up in the tenets of the faith and in terms of public order and social cohesion some governments also began to take an interest in education. In Protestant households the family was an important site for the education of young children. It was within the family that children learned how to behave, to curb their own desires and to grow up useful members of societies. Children needed disciplining to ensure that they observed the right conduct.

Large numbers of conduct books and catechisms were published. In England alone, between the mid-16th and mid-17th century, there were 350 different catechisms published (Cunningham, 2005: 48). Increasing numbers of schools were founded. In England between 1480-1660 about 800 new schools were founded. Schooling was encouraged by Luther in Germany who recommended the public provision of schooling in German states. In Scotland an Act of the Scottish Parliament in 1616 required that every parish should have a school and a teacher. The Lutheran Church in Sweden encouraged the learning of catechism at home and publicly interrogated children on their learning in church on Sundays. There was thus a link between certain Protestant states and schooling (Cunningham, 2005: 120).

The catechism as a means of pedagogy was important for Catholics too. In contrast to Protestant households, Cunningham (2005) argues that schools were more influential than the family in Catholic households. The Jesuits' teaching methods were set out in the *Ratio Studiorum* at the end of the 16th century. These principles were based on the continuous use of Latin in question and answer situations with little use of the vernacular. Pedagogy was based on the teacher's proelectico which was followed by repeated exercises and discussions. With a uniform system of pedagogy, the Jesuits developed a centralised system which was potentially far reaching since their colleges were strategically situated throughout Catholic Europe. During Loyola's lifetime colleges were opened at Messina, Palermo, Naples, Salamanca, Alcalá, Valladolid, Lisbon, and Vienna. Following his death many other colleges were founded including those at Ingolstadt, Cologne, Munich, Prague, Innsbruck, Douai, Bruges, Antwerp, Liege (Farell, 1970).

TEACHING, LEARNING AND ASSESSMENT OPPORTUNITIES

EXERCISE

CHURCH INFLUENCE ON EDUCATION AND SCHOOLING VARIED IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES THROUGHOUT EUROPE.

In some instances the church was the greatest provider of education; in other instances church and state worked together to educate young people and elsewhere there developed a rift between state and church provision, particularly in the 19th century. Historical enquiries focusing on the influence of the church on education in different areas of Europe and at different times could therefore be fruitful in exploring interactions and convergences as well as conflicts and tensions in Europe's shared histories.

1. How useful are the visual sources referred to in this unit in helping to understand the nature of education in schools in the middle ages?
2. What particular messages might the creators of these images have had in mind?



A Dutch school in the 17th century.



TARGET GROUP
TEACHER TRAINEES

KEY ISSUES

In what ways has the state influenced schooling and pedagogy throughout Europe in the past?

In what ways does the state continue to influence schooling and pedagogy?

In what ways does the classroom of the 19th century differ from classrooms today?

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

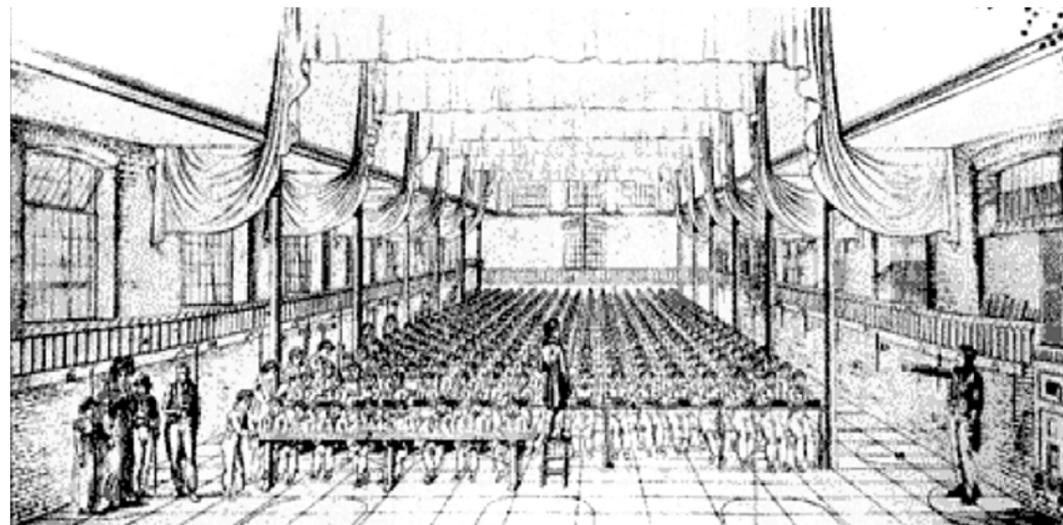
By the 19th century the state began to see the benefits of education for the development of a cohesive society and the development of a sense of national identity. Realisation of how education might support the nation state and contribute to national identity had effects on pedagogy and on schooling. A significant number of countries tried to institute a system of compulsory schooling during the 18th or early 19th century. (e.g. Prussia 1763, Austria 1774, France 1793, Denmark 1814). In terms of pedagogy, the aim was very much like that of the church - to instil the habits of obedience and orderliness of a good citizen and also to ensure children had a common cultural heritage to share and could identify with an 'imagined nation state' (Anderson, 1991).

Industrialisation and the rapid expansion of population in industrial towns created many challenges; large groups of indigent children were all closely grouped together in the streets. Whereas once they had been dispersed across rural villages and the countryside, these children were now more visible. Social control and also a genuine desire by some members of the public to help these children were all factors which encouraged the development of popular education. There was also an increasing need for literacy for people from all classes as the 19th century progressed. Literacy was needed for employment and to survive in the world and more parents were prepared to spend money to send their children to school.

It is useful to remember that there was not a systematic form of popular education with children passing from one stage to the next. Attendance at school was related to family circumstance; it could be intermittent and dependent on the schools available in the neighbourhood. Parents might not always have had enough money to pay fees or children might have been required to work for their living. There were no laws to enforce attendance, and if there were it was not really until the latter years of the 19th century that they were able to be enforced or until schooling became free. The section below describes the situation in England from the 19th century. Similar situations were found in most European countries, and valid comparisons can be made with this example.

State provision of a basic education in England

Although grants had been paid to religious societies and parishes for establishing schools in England from the early years of the 19th century, the state was slow to develop systematic provision. It was not until 1870, that the Education Act enacted the provision of schools in all parishes throughout England and there was much debate concerning the notion of what state funded education should pay for. An enquiry into the state of popular education established in 1858 and reporting in 1861 (The Newcastle Report) indicates that opinions varied on the extent to which the state should be involved in education provision and also that education provided by the state should be very basic. The Report Commissioners agreed with the following observations made by one of its assistant commissioners, Rev James Fraser who stated that an education system needed to provide a young child, "all that is necessary for him to possess in the shape of intellectual attainment, by the time he is 10 years old. If he has been properly looked after in the lower classes, he shall be able to spell correctly the words that he will ordinarily have to use; he shall read a common narrative – the paragraph in the newspaper that he cares to read – with sufficient ease to be a pleasure to himself and to convey information to listeners; if gone to live at a distance from home, he shall write his mother a letter that shall be both legible and intelligible; he knows enough of ciphering to make out, or test the correctness of, a common shop bill; if he hears talk of foreign countries he has some notions as to the part of the habitable globe in which they lie; and underlying all, and not without its influence, I trust, upon his life and conversation, he has acquaintance enough with Holy Scriptures to follow the allusions and the arguments of a plain Saxon sermon and a sufficient recollection of the truths taught him in his catechism, to know what are the duties required of him towards his Maker and Fellow man". (Maclure, 1965: 75).



The School at Borough Road, London, United Kingdom arranged according to the Lancasterian Plan.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Monitorial systems of pedagogy

Large numbers of children required a particular system of pedagogy to ensure that they were all able to learn at the same time. One of the ways in which this was achieved in the 19th century was through the monitorial system. (See images above and opposite). Some of the earliest monitorial schools were developed in England. Joseph Lancaster opened Borough Road School in London in 1798 and described at length his monitorial system of education in *Improvements in Education* (1803). The school taught reading, writing and arithmetic with the addition of needlework for girls. There was no religious instruction, but children were trained to be useful members of society. The institution was organised within ability classes of 10 or so children who were allocated a monitor. Monitors were some of the brighter or older children who attended earlier in the day to find out what lessons were to be taught and to prepare for their class. There was an elaborate system of rewards for monitors and monitors also had different roles e.g. monitors of slates; book monitors, etc.

The children were taught in a single large hall with desks in the centre. Desks at the front had sand trays and behind them were more advanced classes. Around the walls of the hall were 'stations' where different teaching materials were hung. There was a sequence of instruction whereby the beginner learned the alphabet by tracing shapes on the sand from a letter on printed card held up by the monitor. Once writing was mastered, there were rows where children practised their writing on slates; after slates came writing on cards and then in books.



The monitorial system at work in the United Kingdom.



Numeracy was taught in a similar fashion. Children progressed up the classes according to their aptitude and speed of learning. The most proficient children learned to read from books which were cut up and their pages pasted onto card. These were posted up onto posts and children would stand in a semi-circle to read them.

Lancaster believed in positive rewards and his accounts show how money was spent on a variety of rewards such as lettered purses, silver pens, toys, excursions. His system was copied elsewhere in Europe and his book, *Improvements in Education* was translated into French. In France, monitorial systems, which were funded by a government grant of 50,000 francs, sprang up in major cities. By 1820 there were 1500 monitorial schools. These schools were copied elsewhere in Europe – in Sweden there were nearly 500 schools by 1841; in Denmark nearly 300 schools established by 1831. Such schools also spread further afield in countries such as Switzerland, Russia, Canada, Spain, South America and the US (Bowen, 1981: 300).

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Accountability

Once the state became involved in paying for education, there were concerns whether taxpayers' money was being well spent. This too had consequences for the pedagogy employed. In England under the Revised Code, grants to schools were dependent on the success of children passing particular examinations. The effect of this was to considerably narrow the education offered to children since teachers effectively taught towards the tests which the children would be examined on. Rote learning, memorisation and punishments for disobedience and not paying attention were the pedagogical methods employed to ensure children passed these tests. Inspectors visited schools on an annual basis to examine children according to standards in Reading, Writing and Arithmetic.

Matthew Arnold, one of the school inspectors in England wrote in 1869, "The school examinations in view of payment by results are, as I have said, a game of mechanical contrivance in which teachers will and must more and more learn how to beat us. It is found possible, by ingenious preparation, to get children through the Revised Code examination in reading, writing and ciphering without their really knowing how to read, write and cipher.

To take the commonest instances: a book is selected at the beginning of the year for the children of a certain standard; all the year the children read this book over and over again, and no other. When the inspector comes they are presented to read in this book: they can read their sentence or two fluently enough, but they cannot read any other book fluently. Yet the letter of the law is satisfied, and the more we undertake to lay down to the very letter the requirements which shall be satisfied in order to earn grants, the more do managers and teachers conceive themselves to have the right to hold us to this letter"... (Hyndman, 1978: 31).

An example of the different standards against which children were assessed as they progressed through the school is given below (McClure 1965: 80)

| | Reading | Writing | Arithmetic |
|-------------------|---|--|---|
| Standard 1 | Narrative in monosyllables | Form on black-board or slate, from dictation, letters, capital and small manuscript | Form on black-board, from dictation, figures up to 20; name at sight figures up to 20; add and subtract figures up to 10, orally, from examples on the blackboard |
| Standard 2 | One of the narratives next in order after monosyllables in an elementary reading book used in the school. | Copy in manuscript character a line of print | A sum in simple addition or subtraction, and the multiplication table. |
| Standard 3 | A short paragraph from an elementary reading book used in the school | A sentence from the same paragraph, slowly read once, and then dictated in single words. | A sum in any simple rule as far as short division (inclusive) |
| Standard 4 | A short paragraph from a more advanced reading book used in the school. | A sentence slowly dictated once by a few words at a time, from the same book, but not from the paragraph read. | A sum in compound rules (money) |
| Standard 5 | A few lines of poetry from a reading book used in the first class of the school | A sentence slowly dictated once, by a few words at a time, from a reading book used in the first class of the school. | A sum in compound rules (common weights and measures) |
| Standard 6 | A short ordinary paragraph in a newspaper, or other modern narrative. | Another short ordinary paragraph in a newspaper, or other modern narrative, slowly dictated once by a few words at a time. | A sum in practice of bills or parcels. |

Pedagogy to support patriotism and national identity

Another feature of 19th century European schools was the formation of a pedagogy designed to form national identities and serve the state. Primers and text books provided children with national stories.¹



'Welsh not' boards to hang around the neck.

There was an increasing use of majority languages as a medium of instruction. In France for example, it was forbidden to speak the Breton language in schools and there was a consequent decline in the numbers of people who could speak the language. In Wales, Welsh speakers had the wooden 'Welsh not' hung around their neck if they spoke Welsh in school (see image opposite).

¹ For an interesting analysis of the transition in textbooks and the 'national story' during the change from communism to the post-communist era in Russia see seminar paper, Olga Pavlenko, Actualisation of historical experience in Russian textbooks of the 1990s and 2000s.

Throughout Europe there can be found museums which specialise in showing how schooling looked and felt like in the 19th century. Here you can see examples of pedagogical museums in Czech Republic, Slovenia and UK (see images below and opposite).

In many countries educators are helping children understand the nature of schooling in the 19th century using such resources as videos.



Pedagogical Museum Slovenia.



Pedagogical Museum Prague.



Lancastrian School Room at the British Schools Museum in Hitchin.

TEACHING, LEARNING AND ASSESSMENT OPPORTUNITIES

EXERCISE1

THE IDEOLOGIES OF EDUCATION

Refer to the pictures. The ideologies of education represented here, all embrace different forms of pedagogy alongside different epistemological assumptions on the nature of knowledge, curriculum content and values on what is thought worthwhile in society.

1. What aims of education does each of the pictures suggest to you?



Different purposes of education.

EXERCISE2

VICTORIAN SCHOOLING IN ENGLAND

Look in the external links for pictures and descriptions of Victorian schooling in England.

1. How does this compare with schooling in your country in the 19th century?
2. What differences are there between classrooms of the 19th century and classrooms today?

INTERNET RESOURCES

- ➔ [Education and life in the Victorian classroom](#)
- ➔ [Victorian Life: What was life like for Victorian school children?](#)
- ➔ [Musée de l'École publique](#)


TARGET GROUP
TEACHER TRAINEES
**KEY
ISSUES**

What attempts were made and are being made to resolve tensions between child centred and more traditional notions of pedagogy?

In what ways did views of children's future roles in society influence pedagogy in the past and continue to influence its practice in the present?

**BACKGROUND
INFORMATION**
Stimulating learners' interests

In the 1520s Erasmus wrote a series of books and pamphlets outlining his beliefs concerning education. He compared children to soft wax which needed to be moulded whilst they were still young and impressionable. Erasmus disapproved of physical punishment, and bemoaned the excessive beatings in schools. Instead, Erasmus suggested a method of teaching whereby children learned from encouragement with a mixture of play (Erasmus, 1985).

In his *Great Didactica* Comenius outlined a sequence of steps which could be applied to learning. He advocated that teachers should "follow in the footsteps of nature", paying attention to the mind of the child and ways in which students learned. Learning should be presented to children through the senses using pictures, models, workshops, music and other means (Comenius, 1967). This view of pedagogy provides a considerable contrast to earlier pedagogies which presented knowledge to the learner and expected learning to occur. The provision of appropriate learning resources was beginning to become more important.

Another notable 17th century thinker who drew attention to the learners' attributes was John Locke. In *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, (1693) Locke spoke of the need to treat children as individuals. "Each man's mind has some peculiarity, as well as his face, that distinguishes him from all others; and there are possibly scarce two children, who can be conducted by exactly the same method" (Locke, 1989: 216). The purpose of education was to create a good, rational adult who was capable of fulfilling his role in society. This meant being able to hold back on immediate gratification and to learn good manners. Good relationships needed to be fostered within the family and with teachers so that children could learn how to behave by modelling good examples presented to them. Above all learning should be presented in interesting ways to motivate and interest learners. Locke's book soon became widely known and was published in more than 20 editions during the 18th century as well as in French (1695) Dutch, Italian and Swedish (Axtell 1968: 17).

Childhood as an important phase of learning¹

In contrast to Locke who saw education as essentially preparation for children's future roles in society, Rousseau was more radical, basing his philosophy on the growing interests and needs of the child, not on pre-set learning outcomes determined by adults. In his preface to *Emile* (1762) he wrote, "The wisest writers devote themselves to what a man ought to know, without asking what a child is capable of learning. They are always looking for the man in the child, without considering what he is before he becomes a man" (Rousseau, 1974: 1). He asserted the right of a child to be a child and to be happy, rather than being always prepared for adulthood. Many children he pointed out would die young having spent their lives preparing for an adulthood which they would not reach.

Emile was not written in the traditional form of an educational treatise, but rather described the childhood of Emile as he grew towards adulthood in accordance with nature. Learning occurred through experience, "a child should learn from things rather than from people; he should learn by experience that stones are hard and that fire burns and not by being told these things" (Rousseau, 1974: 57-8).

¹ A summary of Hugh Cunningham's notions about different 'inventions of childhood' through history can be found at www.open.edu/openlearn/history-the-arts/history/re-inventing-childhood

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Rousseau's claims that childhood should be a happy time contrasted with earlier educational thinkers eager to ensure that children had acquired as much knowledge of the adult world as possible. "Love childhood; indulge its sports, its pleasure, and its delightful instincts... Why rob these innocents of the joys which pass too quickly, of that precious gift which they cannot abuse? Why fill with bitterness the fleeting days of early childhood, days which will no more return for them than for you?" (Rousseau, 1974: 43).

Emile provides guidance for the upbringing of children and there is evidence that many upper and middle class families did aspire to bring up their children according to the principles outlined in the book. In terms of providing a workable pedagogy for schools however, there were challenges. There were no pre-specified learning objectives and particular ways of teaching other than encouraging children to learn from their experiences. Children's unique individual development was emphasised; it was a philosophy of education which would be hard to practise with large numbers of children. Rousseau also acknowledges this but emphasises although it might be difficult to implement, it is an important goal to aspire to.

It was left to other educational thinkers to reconcile a pedagogy which took account of children's individual characteristics within forms of organised schooling. Some examples below illustrate different ways in which this developed.

Pedagogy to support the natural development of the child

Rousseau's ideas on the importance of activity and natural development were followed through by a number of influential educators. Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi's (1746-1827) school at Yverdon in Switzerland attracted visitors from throughout Europe and the States. Pestalozzi's belief was that the goal of education was the natural development of the child - a marked contrast to the memorisation and rote learning of the catechism. He stressed the importance of first hand observation of an object, before gradually moving onto learning more abstract ideas. The teacher's job was to guide the natural growth of children by selecting their experiences and then directing them towards key ideas. Here the active involvement of children in their learning could be noted. For example in his school, children could be observed learning their numbers through counting real objects and beginning to learn to read through playing with letter blocks.¹

¹ For a brief account of part of the lasting influence of Pestalozzi see: 'Teacher Education for change', (2011), Council of Europe Publications.

Friedrich Wilhelm Froebel (1782 -1852), who worked in Germany, wanted his school to be like a garden where children could develop as naturally as possible. In the kindergarten materials were provided for self-activity such as blocks in different shapes and sizes which encouraged children to observe, compare, contrast, measure and count. There were also specific materials provided for handwork to develop motor co-ordination and self-expression and guidance for the teachers on how to present these activities to children. The influence of Pestalozzi and Froebel can be seen particularly in the education and pedagogy of very young children. Maria Montessori developed their ideas in the Case dei Bambini (Children's Houses) established in Rome in the early 1900s. Here freedom and individual development were encouraged alongside support for increasing independence. Children were expected to perform everyday tasks such as dressing themselves and keeping the schoolroom clean. They were also encouraged to carry out their own tasks and to learn from their mistakes using specific physical objects which were designed to promote cognitive development. So for example in learning to read and write, a young child could feel the shape of letters by running his hands over sandpaper to feel the letters.

In England, the practices developed by Pestalozzi, Froebel and Montessori were particularly valued by early years' educators. A distinct phase of primary education was identified with very particular child centred pedagogy. The rationale underpinning this form of education is clearly explained in Report of the Education Committee led by Hadow in 1931 which states that learning should be based on activity and experiences rather than facts to be learned (Board of Education, 1931). Such views continued from the 1930s onwards in educational circles in England and were strongly in evidence in a further report on English primary schools written by Lady Plowden and her committee in 1966. What is noticeable in the Plowden recommendations is that there is a near complete absence of advice on what should be taught and any pre-specified learning objectives. Engagement in the process of education was all important and Plowden claims: "At the heart of the educational process lays the child. No advances in policy, no acquisition of new equipment have their desired effect unless they are in harmony with the nature of the child..." (CACE, 1967: 7).

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Linking education and teaching towards a concept of pedagogy

The roots of Johann Friedrich Herbart's (1776- 1841) concept of pedagogy also derived from Rousseau and were influenced by Pestalozzi. Herbart, working in Germany, made the distinction between education (*educatio*) and teaching (*instructio*) - seeing education as the shaping of character and teaching as the conveyance of fresh knowledge and skills. His concept of educational teaching thus linked concepts of pedagogical thinking with pedagogical action. Herbart saw teaching as the "central activity of education"; it is through teaching that individuals may acquire a "versatile range of interests" which permit them to acquire virtue ("the strength of moral character"). Herbart also described contrasting methods by which pedagogical theories are constructed and applied. On the one hand, empirical studies of learning and teaching develop in-depth reflections and explanations which ultimately create pedagogical theory; and in contrast speculative thinking and philosophy also provide theories which are followed by implementation in the classroom. Debates about the merits of theory and practice are still very current.

Herbart outlined a sequence of successful teaching which builds on the prior knowledge of the learner and supports learners in analysing their existing knowledge before introducing them to new concepts and thought patterns. The main focus of Herbart's philosophy is to develop interest and motivation which will sustain learners throughout their life – he was an early proponent of lifelong learning.

"It is of course a familiar precept that the teacher must try to arouse the interest of his pupils in all that he teaches. However, this precept is generally meant and understood to denote the idea that learning is the end and interest the means to attain it. I wish to reverse that relationship. Learning must serve the purpose of creating interest. Learning is transient, but interest must be life-long" (Hilgenherger, 1993: 8).

In contrast to Rousseau, Herbart's pedagogy was designed to enable children acquire distinct authoritative forms of knowledge as part of their shared socio-cultural heritage. Pedagogy which was influenced by Herbart's theories was thus teacher and curriculum centred – as opposed to Rousseau and Pestalozzi who supported more child centred approaches. Herbart's pedagogy has been criticised for being too dogmatic. In fact, Herbart was also influenced by Rousseau and he believed that education should be based through observation of the children. However, it was Herbart's subsequent followers who introduced more mechanistic and formal ways of learning through the 'object' lesson.

Children as social beings

In the US Herbart's ideas were developed further by John Dewey who advocated that teachers should take into account children's interests and stages of development. However, like Herbart, Dewey argued that learning needed to be well planned and should occur in a manner to encourage interactive and democratic learners actively engaged with their learning. Knowledge was important and it was up to the teacher to introduce fresh knowledge and experiences to children in ways which were meaningful for them. Dewey was critical of 'individualistic methods' which encouraged children to compete against each other and to compare their achievements with others. As a consequence Dewey argues, "the weaker gradually lose their sense of capacity and accept a position of continuous and persistent inferiority", while, "the stronger grow to glory, not in their strength, but in the fact that they are stronger" (Dewey, 1897: 64-65). Thus Dewey advocates co-operative learning situations and emphasises the importance of socialisation and the social nature of working.

Development psychology

Development psychology also has many roots in Rousseau's education philosophy. Piaget for example, argues for the distinctive phase of childhood and based his conclusions for children's stages of development on empirical studies where he observed how children reacted to different experiences and learning encounters. Both Rousseau in France and Piaget in Switzerland emphasised the importance of focusing on observations of the child but in contrast to Piaget's concern with empirical study, Rousseau's conceptions of childhood are based on more artistic/literary traditions. Whilst Piaget did not indicate a theory of instruction, his ideas were taken up by many curriculum developers and pedagogues to create sequential stages for learning moving from concrete operations to more abstract and symbolic modes of thought. More recently however Piaget's conclusions have been questioned and researchers have found evidence that even very young children can solve complex tasks, provided tasks are presented in an appropriate form to them (Donaldson: 1978). Piaget's conclusions have also been reviewed in the light of researchers focusing on the social nature of learning and how children develop their understanding through a range of social interactions. Both Bruner, working in the USA (Bruner, 1966), and Vygotsky in Russia (Vygotsky, 1978)¹ have made important contributions. There is a continuing debate about the use of child-centred or teacher-led methods in schools today. The data from the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) have pointed sharply to the efficacy of teacher directed learning in achieving results.

¹ See particularly www.psy.cmu.edu/~sieglervygotsky78.pdf

TEACHING, LEARNING AND ASSESSMENT OPPORTUNITIES

EXERCISE 1

DEVELOPMENTS IN PEDAGOGY AND EDUCATION

A possible framework has been suggested for analysing developments in pedagogy and education, to enable different events and developments across time and across different locations within Europe to be compared and contrasted. A variety of sources of information has been used as evidence to support the analysis and to develop a critical awareness of the past. Such resources may be available nationally, regionally and locally and thus may engage learners in the history of education at different levels. They also draw on a range of perspectives - social, cultural, economic, political and so on... Our shared heritage across Europe becomes most evident when looking at evidence presented by material culture.

1. Using the framework suggested prepare an analysis of the changes and reforms in pedagogies in at least two different European countries.
2. In what ways have developments been convergent?
3. In what ways have developments been mutually exclusive?

EXERCISE 2

ARRANGE TO INTERVIEW YOUR PARENTS AND GRANDPARENTS (OR ANY OTHER OLDER ADULTS).

1. Ask them to describe the key things they remember about the nature of the methods and pedagogy they remember about their schooling.
2. How different is this from the pedagogy used in your own schooling?
3. Or from the pedagogy you are learning to use when you qualify as teachers today?

EXERCISE 3

EDUCATION IN SERBIA FROM 1887 TO 1930S

1. A set of pictures in the resource section gives insight into the nature of education in Serbia from 1887 to the mid 1930s. Using only these pictures as a source, think about the main philosophy of education portrayed.
2. What sort of pedagogy is implied by this set of sources?



Pedagogical Museum, St Clair, France.

INTERNET RESOURCES

- ➔ [Summary of Hugh Cunningham's notions about different 'inventions of childhood' through history](#)
- ➔ [For a brief account of part of the lasting influence of Pestalozzi see: 'Teacher Education for change', \(2011\), Council of Europe Publications.](#)

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES SEMINAR PAPERS

- ➔ **Reform of Education**
For a discussion of the paradigms of child-centred education and teacher-directed education see seminar paper: Maria Jose Garcia Ruiz, Reflections on the reform of pedagogy.
- ➔ **La réforme pédagogique**
For an account of the reform of pedagogy from a Swiss perspective see: seminar paper: Pierre-Philippe Bugnard, L'invention du système « Classe » XV^e-XX^e siècle



**EDUCATION
 IN SERBIA
 FROM 1887
 TO 1930S**



THE EXCHANGE OF KNOWLEDGE, IDEAS AND ACTORS

” If the great education systems are essentially linked in their form and content with the nation state, the history of education in Europe is also marked by different levels of intensity depending on the period, by an intensive exchange of knowledge, ideas and actors. Such exchanges led to change. The birth of universal centres of learning, universities, was a process of particularly European origin and a common heritage was developed at universities, the original academic institutions. Currently, European higher education is engaged in a period of reform which started with the Massification of higher education in the 1960s and is continuing today with the Bologna Process¹ of reform.

¹ For detail on the Bologna Process see <http://www.ehea.info>

EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGES AND SHARED HISTORIES

Jean-Michel Leclercq, Education Consultant, France²

The exchange of ideas, knowledge, experiences and people in the field of education has gone on for a long time. All these types of exchanges imply that dialogue is taking place across cultures; dividing lines are not drawn. In the medieval period exchanges were focussed on the world of universities. Universities could be thought of as international institutions and as the name conveys as representing both unity and diversity.

■ During one long period from the renaissance to the end of the 19th century there were slow changes in the way children were taught in elementary schools. In this stage of education many changes were deemed unnecessary by the practitioners in the classrooms and there was little sharing of ideas between the universities and the schools. However, despite their uncertain outcomes, such contacts as there were usually became the prelude to shared stories of innovation through the movement of the 'new education' in most countries in Europe and North America in the late 19th century to the beginning of World War II. ▶▶▶

² See seminar paper: Jean-Michele Leclercq Educational exchanges and shared histories.

■ After the Second World War, major reforms of education systems were required to meet the changing society and economy. Comparison of educational systems became easier after the Second World War. Before then there was a dearth of statistical evidence. The rise of international institutions with an interest in comparing education occurred and their conclusions helped to guide education in most territories of Europe. However, the interpretations of international evidence varied from state to state and indeed amongst the different players in education: the teachers, the academics and the government decision makers.

■ The period after Second World War also saw development of exchanges of education stakeholders. This development began in 1945 but after 1989 it mushroomed into new areas including for instance those with well-defined goals such as a contribution to European integration. In fact, as illustrated by the initiatives taken to make history textbooks bi-or multi-national, shared histories can be constructed and perhaps are more focused on the future than the past.

■ Our exploration of this topic cannot be exhaustive. Rather we have chosen to focus on some key ideas in the exchange of ideas which have been important and which have affected the lives of many living within Europe over a period of time. These ideas are dealt with in the teaching units that follow. They are:

- ▶ early universities, places of learning and a common educational canon;
- ▶ globalisation and education.





TARGET GROUP TEACHER TRAINEES

EARLY UNIVERSITIES

KEY ISSUES

How international were the early universities?

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The earliest universities were founded in the Middle Ages and their roots can be considered as pan-European. For most people in the Middle Ages, reality was mostly local, but for an elite reality was European. The curriculum studied at the early universities was the same throughout Europe and was transdisciplinary or 'universal'. As well as specific knowledge based competencies, universities developed generic or transversal competences such as analytical ability, communication skills, research skills, decision making abilities and so forth (Gonzales and Wagner 2005). The great centres of learning were places that encouraged "a study of the universe in a universe of studies" (Alum 2010). People read in a common language, Latin, not in their local languages, and the universities managed to integrate the world in an atmosphere of learning without borders or dividing lines. The degrees awarded were recognised by all other European universities which made it possible for students to study at any university in Europe.

There was universality of studies and universality of geography and cultures. Scholars and teachers were mobile so at the same time there was great diversity within the unity: diversity of structures, of origin of teachers and students, and locality and place of learning, and gradually of outlook and views developed in each university. Both students and lecturers travelled from one university to another and education was based on a constant interaction between academic staff and students. Scholars undertook the peregrinatio academica moving from one seat of learning to another in pilgrimage. Universities were defined by the 'universality' and commitment to open-mindedness and openness to the world. Importantly though, the individual seats of learning differed and significant developments took place whenever a university became well-known for certain fields of learning. The towns that hosted important universities became known as specialist centres and special places.

In the 11th and 12th centuries early universities such as Paris, Bologna and Oxford came into existence through the spontaneous association of teachers and students. Broadly two early models developed: the Bologna model where students chose their teachers and provided for them and the Paris model where the university was supervised by a corporation of teachers. Numerous universities were founded in the 13th century, some autonomous and others as a result of migrations from existing universities. In some cases students and teachers left their own university to establish another in a new place. This was the case of Cambridge which was formed by a migration of Oxford academics, Orleans from Paris and Florence and others from Bologna. In other cases new universities were founded by governments or the church. Naples and Salamanca are respectively examples.

In the 14th and 15th centuries this process continued and the geographical spread of universities expanded to include northern Europe (Scandinavia), south-eastern and central Europe. Both urbanisation and the growing power of feudal monarchies strengthened the desire of towns to adopt their own university. Universities in this period succeeded in fulfilling their bridging function despite the emergence of schisms in politics and religion. The main plank of this European bridge was the studia humanitatis, and dialogue was the principle; dialogue with partners in intellectual conversation, and dialogue with the past.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The expansion of universities as an institution is crucial in showing the gradual unification of Late Medieval Europe's intellectual life paving the way for the coming of the Renaissance and, subsequently, the Republic of Letters of the Early Modern Era. Universities constituted themselves into a republic of letters whose members exchanged thousands of letters across confessional and political boundaries.

A consideration of certain places as the core for explaining aspects of the history of education could be a good way of thinking of Europe as a space where exchanges of knowledge, interactions of ideas and actors have taken place and contributed to the development of a European culture.¹

An interesting example is the Academy of Cracow in Poland. Established with papal consent by the Polish king Casimir the Great, the Academy followed Western teaching models offering courses on liberal arts, medicine, Canon and Roman law, astronomy and theology. All of Poland's 14th and 15th century intellectual elite and many foreigners from Lithuania, Russia, Hungary, Bohemia and Germany (foreign students made up as many as 40%) were educated here. Nicolas Copernicus is a famous example. The language of instruction was Latin².

Some other major examples worthy of study are: Cordoba in the 10th to 12th century; Florence in the 15th century; Genève and Leiden in the 16th century; and Zurich in the 17th century. Some information about Cordoba and Florence is given here.

Cordoba in the 10th to 12th century

Throughout the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries, Islamic Córdoba, the capital of the Caliphate, stood up as one of the most brilliant cultural centres of that time and age.

Thanks to Cordoba's educational centres, many of the classic works, previously preserved in the Eastern Mediterranean cities, reached the rest of Europe. Averroes was among the most important Islamic intellectual figures of the epoch. He was known as the 'commentator' in Christian Europe because he translated and disseminated the works of classic philosophers. Averroes, in his Commentary on Aristotle (1180) elaborates, phrase by phrase, on the Aristotelian corpus. He also commented upon Plato's classic work, *The Republic*.

¹ For a fuller account of the development of a shared European canon see seminar paper: Dr Carlo Cappa Education: places, conversations, thoughts for a topography of ideas' movements.

² A brief history of Polish education is given in the seminar paper: Piotr Podemski, Exchanges of knowledge, ideas and actors: the Polish example.

Avicenna, who was a physician, a philosopher and a scientist, wrote about 450 works about medicine and philosophy. Avicenna is considered the father of modern medicine as a result of his books, *The Canon of Medicine* and *The Book of Healing* where he reported the medical breakthroughs of his time and age.

The poet Ibn Abd Rabbi, the historian Al Razi and the mathematician Mayriti also excelled in their respective fields of scholarship. Their works highly influenced the cultural world of their age.

The School of Translators in Toledo, a scholarly centre which was founded by the Christian King Alfonso X, contributed greatly to the development of the scholarly enrichment of the Christian world by Arab culture. Throughout the 12th and 13th centuries, many scientific works from the Arab world were translated from Arabic and Hebrew into the Latin and Romance languages.

Florence in the 15th century

The cultural awakening which we now call the Renaissance began in Italy. Its central background was the landscape of Tuscany and the city of Florence. Italy retained many relics of classical antiquity, works by Greeks and Romans regarded as the summit of human achievement. Scholars from Byzantium such as Vissarion and Lascaris taught Greek and founded academies in Florence.

The philosophy of the Renaissance was known as Humanism; whereas the Middle Ages had put God and the transcendental at the centre of their thinking, the Renaissance focused attention on humanity and this world. The change affected scholarship. The study of classical texts now shifted from linguistic reasons to study of classical values. Human nature took on an importance that was both primordial and optimistic; mankind was thought by nature to be good. Humanism spread the idea of individual freedom. The relationship between humanity and nature was reflected in interest in science and the quest for universal knowledge. Such knowledge was no longer to be the prerogative of a limited number of intellectuals, but with the help of printing could now be shared with a wider public.

Humanists called for reforms of the church, but at the same time new forms of spiritual life emerged. A century earlier the Dutch scholar, Erasmus, who regarded the whole of Europe as his home pleaded for a more personal religion. He advocated tolerance and pressed for the use of living languages so as to bring Christianity within reach of ordinary people.

Adapted from Delouche, (1992) 'Illustrated History of Europe' Hachette, Paris.

TEACHING, LEARNING AND ASSESSMENT OPPORTUNITIES

EXERCISE 1

THE IMPORTANCE OF PLACE

An approach that has its focus on the importance of places, meant as the sites in which history of education has had its developments, will yield rewards. Places themselves of course are not thought of as important, but are considered as foci for a particularly common educational idea or development and as strong generative working tools for teacher's trainers. The central reference to places like towns, but also to some regions or some states, according to the period, could be important to show the relations between different traditions, different authors and different institutions. This could be useful because places are both in a national framework, and the birthplaces of ideas addressed to a universal dimension, a root essential for understanding Europe and also its dialogue with other cultures.



- Using the map, show how universities expanded all over Europe. You will have to trace the dates of the foundation of each university.
- The expansion of universities followed a pattern in which certain key places offered models that were copied and adapted in new places. Tracing the links between universities and showing these on the map would be an extension of the above exercise.
- Develop your map so that it could be used as a teaching resource demonstrating how different regions of Europe aspired to the common educational ideals and what attempts they made to actually implement them.
- Students could each select a key 'place' of learning and research the specific features of the teaching and learning offered at the university. Comparing notes with other students, they can then go on to explore what aspects of early universities could be considered as shared across Europe.

EXERCISE 2

EUROPEAN MODEL OF HIGHER EDUCATION

It has been argued that the European model of higher education has always pursued wider aims than the imparting of knowledge and skills within a specific discipline. As well as developing generic competences, such wider aims have included fostering democracy, respect for human rights and international understanding and co-operation.

- From your study of the development of European universities how true would you say the above statement is?
- Give examples which support the statement and/or which refute the statement.

EXERCISE 3

ENGLISH IS WIDELY USED TODAY AS AN ACADEMIC LINGUA FRANCA.

- How important do you consider it is for learning to take place in a common language or in a student's native language?

EXERCISE 4

TO WHAT EXTENT DO UNIVERSITIES REPRESENT A SHARED HERITAGE OF EUROPEAN CULTURAL AND INSTITUTIONAL IDENTITY?

- How much do you consider European universities have contributed to a shared culture in Europe in the past?
- In your opinion is there more or less sharing of culture today than in the past?

INTERNET RESOURCES

- [The institute for borderless education](#)

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- Sanz N and Bergan S (2006) *The Heritage of European Universities* Council of Europe Publishing, Strasbourg
- Alam E (2010) *Higher education "as" free dialogue: pedagogy in a global age* Council of Europe higher educational series 16. Strasbourg
- Gonzales and Wagener (2005) *TUNING Educational Structures in Europe*. Bilbao.
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TARGET GROUP
 TEACHER TRAINEES

KEY ISSUE

What has been the effect of globalisation on education?

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Globalisation implies the exchange of goods, services, capital, labour, knowledge and information between countries; it is a process that leads to greater interdependence between countries. Globalisation is making the world more permeable to the exchange of ideas and making us more aware of changes wherever and whenever they occur. It is a dynamic, organic concept. It is a process that demands of pupils and their teachers the capacity to accommodate change within the way in which they view the world; it demands the development of critical thinking skills. Globalisation places demands on teachers' abilities to deal with sensitive matters; in particular the transmission of appropriate values and the impact of rapid access to a wide range of information.

In the 21st century education has experienced a globalisation process which has caused education systems to become more similar to each other. We may argue that this similarity is due, more specifically, to the structural aspects of these systems without extending as such to the matter of pedagogies, an aspect within which there remains a traditional and vigorous debate between the alternative paradigms of formal and progressive pedagogy. In the matter of the structural aspects of education systems, the phenomenon of the globalisation of the bureaucratic school organisation, structured by age groups, in which progress is marked by promotion between levels and qualification is apparent.

In the area of pedagogy, we may highlight two differentiated paradigms, shaped by formal pedagogies on the one hand and by progressive pedagogies on the other. Formal pedagogy is made up of "pedagogical theories which support direct instruction, authoritarian discipline in the classroom; promotion between classes based on courses and evaluation; the existence of defined subjects which are taught separately, and recitation and exercises" (Spring 2008a). Progressive pedagogy is "those theories which emphasise learning by doing; instruction based on the interests and activities of the student; the informal, self-regulated organisation of the classroom; group work; and an integrated curriculum in which a learning activity teaches a set of subjects such as reading, science, history, mathematics and geography" (Spring 2008b). Formalist education models are usually linked to education's function of social control in that they attempt to perpetuate and reproduce the virtues, knowledge and the cultural and spiritual legacy of tradition. On the other hand, the models of progressive education are associated with education's function of social change in that their objective is to prepare students to actively influence and modify the direction of economic, political and social systems.

Throughout different decades there have been attempts to break with the formal paradigm in education. In this sense, different forms of progressive education were expressed in models which disagreed with formal schooling and its supposed service to the Nation State and industry. Thus, in South America, Paulo Freire argued in favour of the use of dialogical methods in order to enable people to be liberated from the ideology of nation-State control and industrialisation, and to help create new economic, political and social systems.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

While there is certainly a theoretical link between different pedagogical models and the specific social functions of education, the historical reality shows alternative use of the different pedagogical models by the same country with completely identical economic, political and social aims. This suggests that, in essence, alternative pedagogical paradigms are not linked to political ideologies. As an example, we may mention the use of progressive pedagogies in the USSR after the 1917 Revolution which were destined to strengthen the 'Russification' and the workers' awareness, in the polytechnic school, and the later use of formal pedagogies which were strongly standardised and of great discipline in the same country, in the Stalinist school, conceived to achieve the very same objectives.

It is noteworthy that the dialectic between formal and progressive pedagogy still exists in these first years of the 21st century. Despite the fact that western political tendencies in the so called by some academics recent 'post-modern' times seem to favour and encourage innovative and reformist educational policies, the pedagogical practices followed by some countries like Finland and South Korea defend the value of the educational attributes of formal pedagogy. Finland possesses a comprehensive school led by conservative teachers who develop traditional teaching methods. In South Korea, education is marked by the legacy of Confucianism which, in educational terms, shows characteristics typical of the formal educational paradigm, such as the strong status of the teacher, school work based on content and examinations (rather than on processes) and emphasis on memorising. These two successful countries have shown that educational tradition has proved that it possesses valid elements which must not be modified by new-founded educational paradigms or by transitory pedagogical fads.

In sum, it can be stated that, in the first years of the 21st century, the debate between the alternative paradigms of formalist and progressive pedagogy continues as vigorously as some decades ago. Some expert academics seem to advocate the progressive pedagogy principles (Crook, 2011); others seem to extol the virtues implicit in the principles and instruments of the formalist pedagogy (García Ruiz, 2010). Historically there have been abuses in the pedagogical practice of both types of pedagogical approaches. I can cite the examples of the 'Tyndale school scandal', as an abuse of the progressive pedagogy approach in Britain, and also the film of 'The bad education' of the Spanish director Pedro Almodovar, as an example of the abuse in the practices of the formalist pedagogy during the Franco dictatorship.

The Pedagogical Paradigm, in its progressive version, is being particularly emphasised by the Bologna Process. Indeed, the Trends V report of the European Universities Association, which informs the Bologna Process in a significant way, states that "the most significant

legacy of the Process will be a change of educational paradigm across the continent" (Crosier, Purser and Smidt, 2007: 7). These authors talk about a "metamorphosis of European Higher Education" due to the Bologna Process (Sursock & Smidt, 2010: 15). Thus, starting from the London Communiqué of 2007, this and latter documents pertaining to the Bologna Process¹ insist "the transition towards student-centred higher education and away from teacher driven provision" (AA.VV., 2007: 15), even if, from a theoretical point of view, it is far from clear which of the pedagogical paradigms (formalist or progressive) is best. And even if there are sound examples of the success and the more rigour of the formal pedagogy paradigms shown by countries such as Finland and South Korea.

The Bologna process is an excellent basis for co-operation between countries of Europe and indeed between Europe and the rest of the world. Such co-operation demands dialogue and the sharing of ideas, inputs and outcomes. Without this sharing the Bologna process runs the risk of simply endorsing structural reform without a purpose. Reforming the curricula of higher education should be part of the Bologna process.

When the Erasmus programme began in 1987 the aim was to increase student mobility from 1% to 10%. Student mobility increases intercultural dialogue and if part of the Bologna process mission is to "learn to live together without dividing lines", its adoption now of the European Students Union benchmark of 20% student mobility is a move in the right direction. Today's emphasis on European mobility can be compared with the mobility of students in the Middle Ages.²

One of the original six objectives³ of the Bologna Process and the harmonisation of the European Higher Education system was the establishment of a system of transferable credits. The European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS) which makes teaching and learning in higher education more transparent across Europe and facilitates the recognition of all studies has now been established. The system allows for the transfer of learning experiences between different institutions, greater student mobility and more flexible routes to gain degrees. It also aids curriculum design and quality assurance.⁴

The classification by countries which has emerged from the different PISA studies⁵ undertaken to date has led to an analysis of the prevailing pedagogical paradigms in those countries most favoured by PISA and which are now considered to be efficient educational systems and reference laboratories, such as Finland, South Korea or Australia.

1 For detail on the Bologna Process see <http://www.ehea.info>

2 See Topic 3, unit 1 Early universities, places of learning and a common educational canon

3 http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/highereducation/ehea2010/bolognapedestrians_en.asp

4 See http://ec.europa.eu/education/lifelong-learning-policy/ects_en.htm

5 See <http://www.oecd.org/pisa/>

TEACHING, LEARNING AND ASSESSMENT OPPORTUNITIES

EXERCISE 1

GLOBALISATION

Globalisation gives individuals new opportunities to be active citizens. Pupils are well informed about current global events and recent global history through their appreciation of media commentaries.

1. Topical news items can be used to check pupils' understanding of the effects of globalisation and pupils can debate topics such as 'What has globalisation done for us?'

EXERCISE 2

EXAMINE A CURRICULUM FOR ANY PART OF YOUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

1. Describe how, if at all, your chosen curriculum has been affected by globalisation.
2. What changes would you make to your chosen curriculum to take account of your understanding of globalisation?

EXERCISE 3

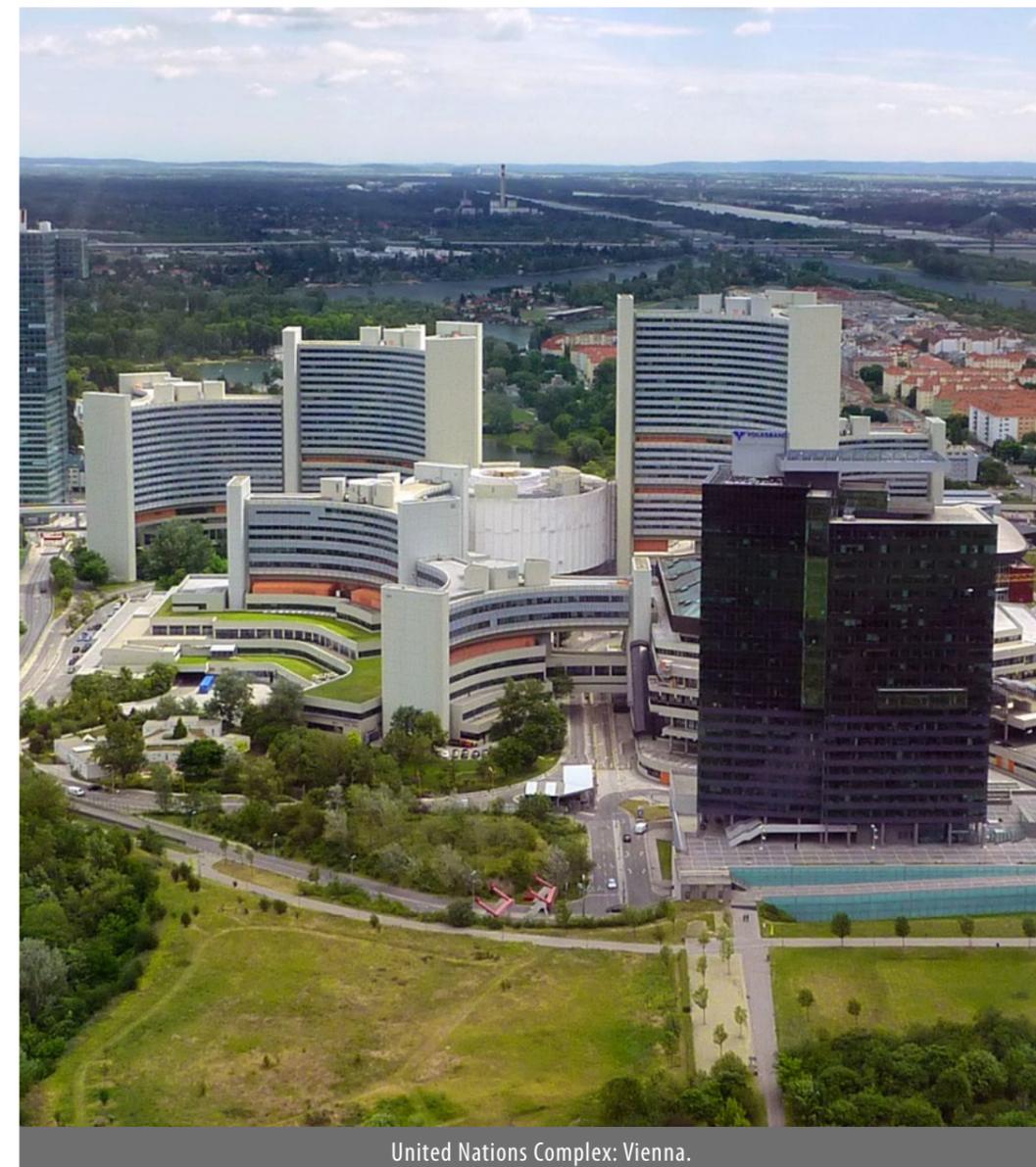
DISCUSSION BETWEEN ADVOCATES OF A 'TRADITIONAL' PEDAGOGY AND THOSE OF A 'PROGRESSIVE' PEDAGOGY CONTINUE TO HAVE RELEVANCE TODAY.

1. What do you consider the most appropriate pedagogy in the global age?
2. Why?

INTERNET RESOURCES

Detail on the Bologna Process

- ➔ [The European Higher Education Area \(EHEA\)](#)
- ➔ [Bologna for Pedestrians](#)
- ➔ [European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System \(ECTS\)](#)
- ➔ [Information on PISA](#)
- ➔ [The European Wergeland Centre \(EWC\), a European Resource Centre on Education for Intercultural Understanding, Human Rights and Democratic Citizenship with a mission to build bridges between policy, research and practice.](#)



United Nations Complex: Vienna.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- ➔ **Spring J (2008) Education and Globalisation**
London, Routledge
- ➔ **See also Bibliography**

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION SEMINAR PAPERS

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Catherine Thompson

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Markus Wriedt

SÉGRÉGATION SOCIALE PÉDAGOGIQUE

Professeur Pierre-Philippe Bugnard

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DE PARIS À BERLIN :

DEUX CAPITALES POUR COMPRENDRE
LA GENÈSE ET L'ÉCLATEMENT
DE LA SÉGRÉGATION SOCIALE
PÉDAGOGIQUE DES SYSTÈMES ÉDUCATIFS
EUROPÉENS (XVII^e - XX^e SIÈCLE)

C'est un trait majeur de l'histoire de l'éducation européenne : dès les Temps modernes et jusqu'à une époque récente, le Vieux continent a été marqué par une ségrégation sociale extrêmement vive entre classes aisées et classes défavorisées. Celle-ci s'est doublée d'une ségrégation pédagogique tout aussi marquée, en deux ordres : l'ordre du secondaire des collèges réservés à une mince élite promise aux études longues, par les humanités ; l'ordre du primaire des petites écoles réservées à tous ceux, l'immense majorité, que la barrière de l'argent confinait aux apprentissages élémentaires de la leçon de choses.

■ Ces ségrégations se sont peu à peu estompées, tout en se renouvelant dans le contexte migratoire contemporain. L'essor des classes moyennes, à partir du début du XX^e siècle, certes inégalement, a amenuisé la dichotomie culturelle éducative, sinon économique et sociale, entre classes aisées et classes modestes. Et c'est ce qui nous intéresse ici, le système éducatif en deux ordres ségrégués a laissé place à un système en trois degrés successifs pour tous – l'école, le collège, le lycée – ouvrant à la démocratisation des études par la secondarisation généralisée.

■ Or il se trouve que l'espace urbain monumental a laissé une trace visible, propice à un enseignement visuel, de ces anciennes lignes de partage et de leur phase d'éclatement.

■ De cette manière, si l'on recherche les grands dénominateurs communs à l'histoire de l'éducation européenne, on peut partir du postulat suivant :

■ « Les systèmes éducatifs sont liés aux systèmes sociaux¹ qui influent sur les systèmes culturels, en particulier sur les formes ségrégatives pédagogiques et leurs programmes respectifs. »



¹ Vus ici sous l'angle des manières de se comporter, dans l'habitat, ainsi que sous l'angle des marques visibles de distinction sociale.

■ Un des dénominateurs communs est certainement celui de la construction, dans maintes régions d'Europe, d'une ségrégation sociale forte qui a tout naturellement engendré une ségrégation sociale pédagogique – entre les XVII^e et XX^e siècles –, qui a finalement éclaté dans la deuxième moitié du XX^e siècle.

■ Comment révéler une telle histoire longue, expliquant les systèmes éducatifs actuels ? Comment rendre ce clivage déterminant, à l'échelle européenne, et son éclatement jusqu'aux systèmes pratiqués aujourd'hui, enseignable ?

■ C'est à une meilleure compréhension des différences et des similitudes entre les systèmes actuels qui est visée ici, en passant par l'examen d'une caractéristique centrale de l'histoire éducative européenne : le passage d'une école ségréguée entre une mince élite promise aux études et aux situations sociales élevées, à une école tendant vers la démocratisation des études et donc la possibilité d'une égalité des chances. En dépit des difficultés rencontrées pour réaliser cet idéal lancé au début du XX^e siècle, cela reste un objectif important de l'école démocratique européenne.

■ In fine, avec l'aide des enseignants, eux-mêmes orientés par leurs formateurs à qui s'adresse directement ces ressources, nos classes pourraient prendre conscience – par l'observation et l'examen de ses marques visibles – d'un aspect majeur de l'histoire éducative et sociale moderne de l'Europe (du XVII^e siècle à la deuxième moitié du XX^e siècle). Ce qui est proposé ici est donc bien un dispositif donnant à voir la genèse de la ségrégation sociale pédagogique et son évolution vers une école en principe sans clivages.

■ Comment ? En prenant deux capitales emblématiques d'une telle monumentalité – Paris et Berlin – et ainsi, à partir de ce double archétype, laisser chacun trouver ensuite dans sa propre ville, sa région, son pays d'origine ou de résidence, les traces, l'héritage, d'une telle histoire ou au contraire, par analogie, les raisons d'une autre histoire.

■ Ce serait procéder à une compétence de transfert : la compréhension du passage de l'école par ordres caractéristiques de l'ancienne Europe, à l'école par degrés propres aux systèmes éducatifs contemporains, à partir de deux sites emblématiques, pour une réification là où l'on vit. Voir comment, par les systèmes éducatifs, l'Europe est passée d'une société dont l'école épouse les clivages à une société où les clivages sont bousculés par l'école.

■ En recourant largement aux monumentalités de l'architecture urbaine, un tel dispositif répond par ailleurs directement à l'objectif du projet, exprimé dans le contexte du thème 3 de mobiliser les ressources de l'art ou de l'aménagement du territoire pour mesurer l'évolution du système des valeurs jusqu'à l'installation des grands systèmes éducatifs européens actuels.

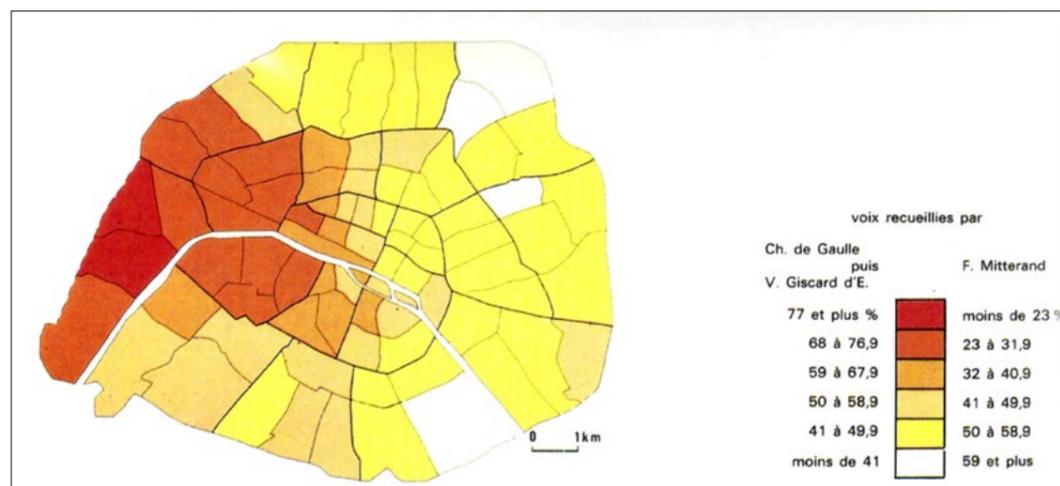
■ L'enjeu est bien de montrer une histoire perceptible dans l'urbanisme (même à Berlin, malgré les destructions de 1945), en particulier monumental, à condition de se limiter aux principes qui ont présidé à son aménagement.

■ Des textes et des témoignages complètent l'aspect de ségrégation pédagogique, entre plans d'études d'humanités classiques de l'ordre du secondaire et programmes des leçons de chose de l'ordre du primaire.

■ Le plan général de la communication est le suivant : Un tableau des éléments constitutifs des quatre grands types européens de systèmes éducatifs permet de déterminer les traces laissées par l'ancienne école organisée en deux ordres ségrégués, jusqu'aux situations contemporaines.

■ L'examen des archétypes parisien et berlinois, constituant des ressources de référence et présentés à partir du creuset social médiéval jusqu'aux ségrégations sociales modernes et contemporaines, peut servir à tirer des analogies avec une histoire propre à chaque élève, pour son lieu d'origine ou pour son lieu de résidence, à chaque classe... à toute personne désireuse d'adopter une telle démarche d'enquête. Quelques analogies tirées de la ville de résidence de l'auteur – Fribourg en Suisse – sont proposées, en exemples.

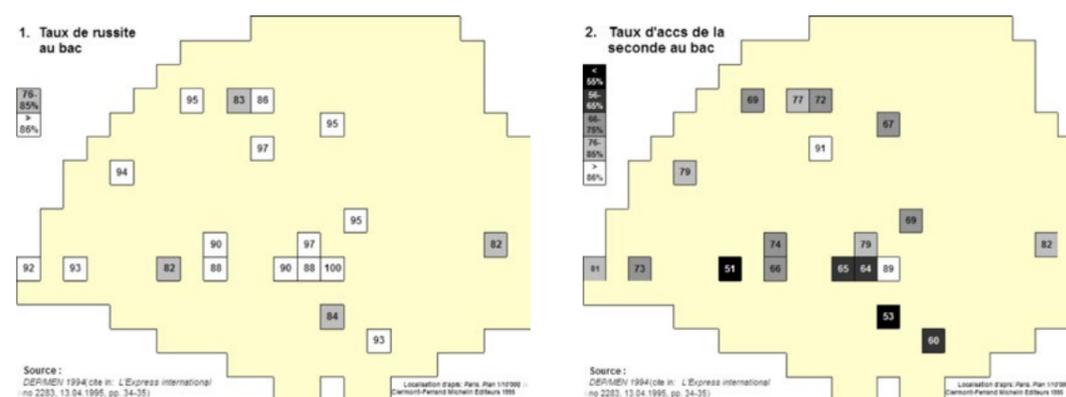
■ On passe donc ensuite de Paris à Berlin, en alternant ségrégations sociale et pédagogique, exemplifiées dans leurs cadres urbain monumental et dans les plans d'études correspondant à chacun des deux ordres pédagogiques historiques, du primaire et du secondaire. ►►

L'élection présidentielle du 10 mai 1981 à Paris¹Autre indice d'une telle ségrégation, sa dimension pédagogique. Concentration des lycées d'excellence dans les beaux quartiers (fin du XX^e s.)

La quête effrénée d'une résidence légale ouvrant à la fréquentation des établissements les plus réputés est restée un trait caractéristique du système éducatif français.

Or la géographie des lycées d'excellence (conduisant aux hautes écoles avec plus de 82% de taux de réussite au baccalauréat) reflète toujours la ségrégation est/ouest historique, tout en ayant gardé la vieille implantation sectorielle du Quartier latin.²

Paris. Géographie des lycées (1995) Lycées classiques d'excellence (Taux de réussite au bac > 82%)



1 *Atlas des parisiens*, Paris Masson 1984, in : BEAUJEU-GARNIER Jacqueline, *Nouvelle histoire de Paris* (...). Paris © Hachette 1993, p. 50.
2 ROULEAU Bernard, « Les établissements d'enseignement en 1889 », carte in: PITTE Jean-Robert (dir.), *Paris. Histoire d'une ville*, Paris Les Atlas Hachette 1993, p. 137.

Arrivés au pouvoir (1879), les républicains procèdent aux créations rendues d'autant plus nécessaires qu'il faut désormais développer l'enseignement féminin, à tous les niveaux. Le nombre de lycées est multiplié par trois entre 1879 et 1914, avec une répartition géographique qui répond finalement à la ségrégation sociale parisienne historique en la scellant dans sa dimension pédagogique pour tout le XX^e siècle.

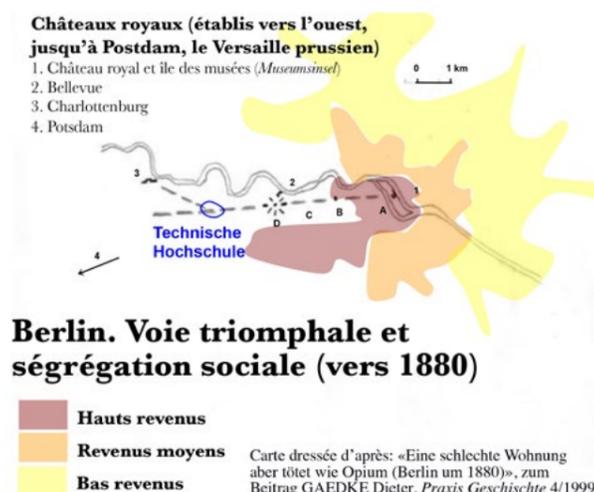
L'EXEMPLE BERLINOIS

INDICES DE LA SÉGRÉGATION SOCIALE BERLINOISE (FIN DU XIX^e SIÈCLE)

Dans le Berlin des années 1880, plus on s'éloigne du centre-ouest de la ville, c'est-à-dire des beaux quartiers de l'aristocratie et de la haute bourgeoisie, pour aller vers les quartiers ouvriers et populaires de l'est et de la périphérie, plus les revenus et l'espérance de vie sont bas. Il faut donc comprendre comment les grandes capitales monarchiques de l'Europe se sont littéralement partagées entre deux humanités occupant chacune leur propre zone de résidence et d'habitat, chacune dotées d'une monumentalité emblématique d'une ségrégation sociale qui s'opère par quartiers.

LA SÉGRÉGATION SOCIALE SE FAIT PÉDAGOGIQUE

Récupérées par la bourgeoisie, les valeurs de l'Antiquité se sont incarnées dans l'architecture officielle des beaux quartiers en même temps que dans les plans d'études de l'ordre du secondaire où se pratique une pédagogie du latin, réservée à ceux qui sont promis de naissance aux carrières nobles. Ainsi, la ségrégation sociale, en s'élargissant à la pédagogie, s'inscrit autant dans la monumentalité urbaine, par des marques visibles, que dans les programmes d'humanités classiques. De leur côté, les masses populaires, de plus en plus alphabétisées, au cours du XIX^e siècle dans la plupart des pays européens, restent confinées à l'ordre du primaire



Berlin. Voie triomphale et ségrégation sociale (vers 1880)

réservé à ceux qu'on ne pousse pas plus loin, selon la formule. Telles ont été les marques d'une ségrégation sociale devenue pédagogique et dont les caractéristiques peuvent ainsi se repérer, dans la chaire vive de nos grandes capitales. Nous prendrons ici Berlin et Paris, deux grandes capitales qui ont mieux qu'aucune autre suivi une telle histoire et conservé dans leurs murs les traces de la ségrégation sociale pédagogique des XIX^e et XX^e siècles...



■ L'habitat illustre déjà les conditions extrêmement différentes des classes sociales correspondant aux deux ordres pédagogiques respectifs, hermétiques, correspondant à «deux humanités» vivant dans des univers opposés, comme on le verra plus loin, dans leur vie quotidienne comme dans leur éducation. Salon dont le décor emprunte à deux époques de référence, pour la bourgeoisie, l'Antiquité et le Moyen Age, alors très à la mode, d'un côté. Chambre unique avec l'espoir d'améliorer sa condition par l'école gratuite et obligatoire et l'apprentissage de la lecture, de l'autre.



Grossbürgerliches Herrenzimmer.



Arbeiterwohnung im Dachgeschoss.

BERLIN. MISÈRE DANS LES CASERNES LOCATIVES DES QUARTIERS POPULAIRES DE L'EST BERLINOIS AVANT LA SECONDE GUERRE MONDIALE...



■ Telles étaient les conditions dans lesquelles vivait une grande partie de la population urbaine, encore dans les années 1920. Les deux photos couleurs montrent l'état actuel des casernes locatives construites alors pour améliorer la condition des logements ouvriers.

... EN CONTRASTE AVEC LE STANDING BOURGEOIS DES BEAUX QUARTIERS DE L'OUEST DE LA CAPITALE IMPÉRIALE

Unter den Linden à la fin du XIX^e siècle.

Potsdamerplatz en 1900.

UN ASPECT PARTICULIER DE LA SÉGRÉGATION SOCIALE PÉDAGOGIQUE BERLINOISE AU TOURNANT DU XX^e SIÈCLE.

■ L'empereur Guillaume II cherche à édifier les classes ouvrières aux valeurs nationales en les invitant à passer dans les beaux quartiers de l'ouest berlinois... sans succès !

■ La famille impériale des Hohenzollern sont mis en scène tout au long des 750 m de la Lennéstrasse (conduisant au *Siegessäule*) par une galerie des grands ancêtres qui ont fait la Prusse, statufiés en pied à l'antique, chacun dominant deux personnages secondaires, simplement représentés en buste.

■ Trente-deux groupes de monuments en tout qui devaient, selon l'Empereur profondément imbu de sa mission artistique et pédagogique, « Donner aux classes inférieures, après la peine et le travail, la possibilité de s'orienter de nouveau vers des idéaux. »

■ Le peuple de la périphérie urbaine, le prolétariat de l'est, mais aussi les populations de l'Empire incitées à faire le pèlerinage de la capitale-musée, sont invités à franchir la barrière des beaux quartiers pour se frotter aux valeurs historicisantes et aristocratiques prescrites par le prince.

■ Mais les familles ouvrières ne se déplacèrent pas et la Lennéstrasse fut l'objet des sarcasmes des journaux populaires. ►►

Berlin. Lennéstrasse conduisant
au Siegessäule (1901).

Berlin, 2003.



Au centre de Berlin : Schlossbrücke (1870) De g. à dr.: Zeughaus, Neues Museum, Altes Museum, Schloß...

LA PRÉSENCE MONUMENTALE DES VALEURS ARISTOCRATIQUES EMPRUNTÉES À L'ANTIQUITÉ DANS LE CENTRE DES CAPITALES MONARCHIQUES.

Le centre des villes, et plus encore des capitales sièges des monarchies, est doté entre le XVII^e et le XIX^e siècle d'une monumentalité imposante, empruntée aux styles de l'Antiquité (Égypte, Grèce, Rome), référence à des empires et des valeurs que les nations européennes adoptent pour justifier leur domination sur leur empires coloniaux qu'elles sont en train de conquérir.

Ce sont aussi les styles emblématiques des bourgeois-gentilhommes qui ont accaparé le pouvoir après avoir surpassé les vieilles aristocraties, non sans récupérer leurs valeurs. On retrouve ces mêmes valeurs dans les plans d'études des humanités classiques, autour de l'étude du latin et du grec, langues de l'élite d'une civilisation appelées à dominer les « peuples sauvages ». Une nouvelle bourgeoisie désormais conquérante du monde a placé dans le diplôme qui lui réserve, par de longues et coûteuses années d'étude, l'accès aux professions les plus lucratives : le baccalauréat (créé au début du XIX^e siècle par un empereur non aristocrate mais récupérateur des valeurs de l'aristocratie).

BERLIN, COMME PARIS OU D'AUTRES GRANDES CAPITALES EUROPÉENNES, SE DOTE D'UNE PERSPECTIVE TRIOMPHALE VERS L'OUEST, JALONNÉE D'EMBLÈMES EMPRUNTÉS À L'ANTIQUITÉ

La question de l'extension des beaux quartiers vers l'ouest, autour d'une perspective triomphale conduisant à la série des châteaux royaux – en particulier à Paris et à Berlin –, n'est pas abordée ici. Elle tient essentiellement aux mœurs modernes de cours, à la quête du soleil de fin d'après-midi, au cœur des nouvelles aires de loisirs aristocratiques aménagées vers le couchant¹



Berlin: parade sur la place de l'Opéra. Tableau de Franz Krüger (1830).

BERLIN (VERS 1880) VOIE TRIOMPHALE, BEAUX QUARTIERS, QUARTIERS POPULAIRES ET REVENUS

1. Unter den Linden

L'avenue tracée au XVII^e s. part du château primitif des Hohenzollern et du *Dom* adjacent (la « cathédrale » protestante de la ville, mausolée royal), en direction de l'ouest. Elle est peu à peu dotée, de la fin du XVII^e au début du XX^e siècle des attributs du pouvoir monarchique : arsenal, garde, opéra, théâtre, université royale (Humboldt), musées, palais aristocratiques, statues des princes... ►►

¹ Voir : BUGNARD P.-Ph. *Le Temps des espaces pédagogiques. De la cathédrale orientée à la capitale occidentale.* Nancy : Presses Universitaires de Nancy 2006 (rééd. 2013).

2. Porte de Brandebourg

Arc de triomphe inspiré des Propylées de l'Acropole et séparant *Unter den Linden* -les Champs Élysées berlinois- de *Tiergarten* -ancienne forêt de chasse aménagée en parc des beaux quartiers ouest-.

3. Tiergarten

Anciennes chasses royales aménagées en jardins publics autour de l'axe triomphal conduisant aux résidences royales vers l'ouest.

4. Siegssäule (Colonne de la Victoire)

À l'origine, sur la place du château royal, cette colonne triomphale célébrait les victoires prussiennes dans les guerres d'unité nationale contre le Danemark, l'Autriche et la France. Elle fut déplacée par Hitler au centre du rond-point de la *Grosser Stern*, entourée des statues des artisans de la victoire de 1870 contre la France (Bismarck, Moltke).

LES GYMNASIEN VERS 1900 : L'ORDRE DUAL

■ Le *Gymnasium* est la seule voie conduisant à l'université qui, à son tour, conditionne l'accès aux carrières anoblissantes : haute fonction publique, Église, professions libérales, enseignement secondaire et supérieur.

■ Vers 1900, près de 75% des *Abituranten* se destinent à la haute administration et aux professions libérales, 12 % s'orientent vers le génie, le commerce et l'industrie, activités toujours aussi dédaignées, sinon, dans les milieux catholiques, méprisées (selon la célèbre thèse que Max Weber a consacré à l'éthique protestante).

■ Le secondaire allemand, vers 1910, se présente donc en structure duale :

1. Les *Gymnasien*: une grosse moitié des effectifs du secondaire, 35% des diplômes délivrés (recrutement surtout dans les familles catholiques selon Max Weber).
2. Les écoles secondaires modernes, non pas moins prestigieuses mais fréquentées plutôt par les familles de tradition protestante :
 - les écoles intermédiaires (*Mittelschulen*), dispensant un enseignement post-primaire.
 - les *Realschulen*, écoles secondaires non classiques, avec diplôme après six ans d'études.
 - les *Realgymnasien*, qui font une place moins importante aux études classiques au profit des langues vivantes et des sciences naturelles. Ce type de gymnase mi-classique mi-moderne recrute parmi les familles de la classe moyenne (*Mittelstand*), surtout protestantes. Leurs élèves s'orientent ensuite vers les carrières de l'industrie, du commerce, de la technologie et de la fonction publique.

BERLIN TECHNISCHE UNIVERSITÄT (1884)

■ De style classique monumental, le plus grand polytechnicum d'Allemagne affiche le prestige de la filière des sciences et des techniques au cœur de *Tiergarten*, sur l'axe des beaux quartiers ouest de Berlin (bâtiments détruits en 1945).

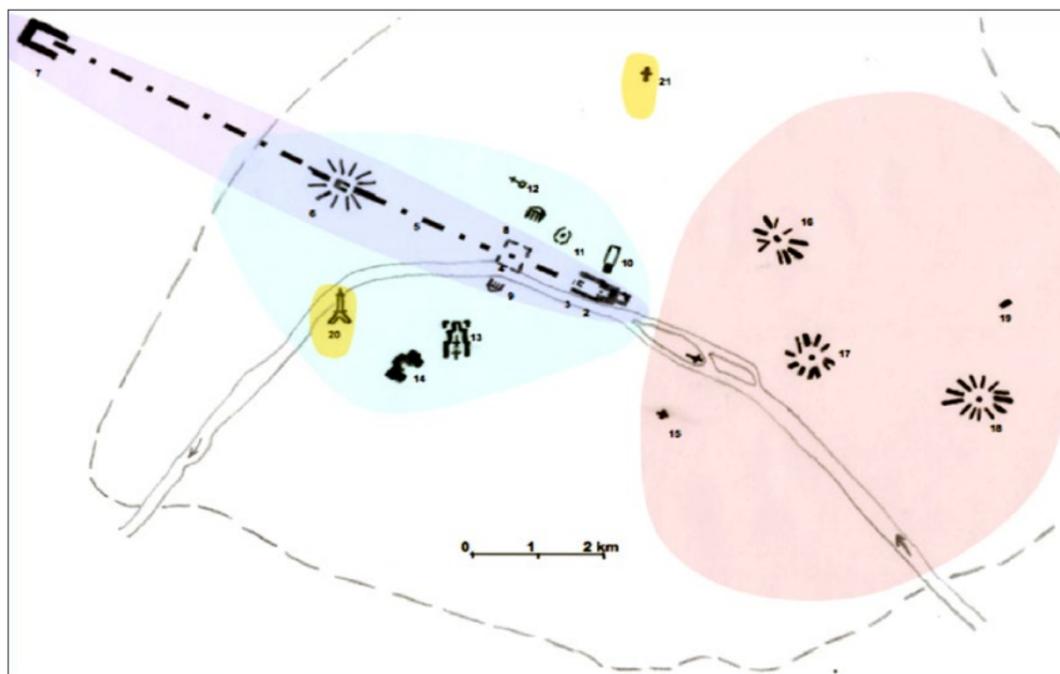


La Prusse. Art et Architecture (STREIDT Gert ; FEIERABEND Peter, dir.).



CARTE DE LA BIPOLARISATION
MONUMENTALE PARISIENNE 1

| La Voie triomphale (Neutralisée : appellations et styles non français) | L'Ouest (Monarcho-impérial-militaire) | L'Est (Républicain-laïc-libéral) | Les intrus |
|--|--|---|--|
| 1 Louvre 2 Pyramide 3 Arc de Triomphe du Carrousel 4 Place de la Concorde /Obélisque 5 Champs-élysées 6 Place de l'étoile / Arc de Triomphe 7 Grande Arche de la Défense 8 Eglise de la Madeleine 9 Palais Bourbon | 10 Palais royal 11 Place Vendôme (Louis XIV) 12 Chapelle expiatoire Louis XVI 13 Invalides 14 école militaire | 15 Panthéon 16 Place de la République 17 Place de la Bastille 18 Place de la Nation 19 Mur des Fédérés | 20 Tour Eiffel 21 Basilique du Sacré-Coeur |



UNE PERSPECTIVE TRIOMPHALE OUEST NEUTRALISÉE...

« Dans ce bric-à-brac ostentatoire, copié, inspiré, sinon franchement importé de l'Antiquité gréco-romaine ou égyptienne, nulle référence matérielle à des objets métropolitains. » Telle est l'appréciation du préhistorien Jean-Paul Demoule qui couvre le chapitre sur Lascaux dans Les Lieux de mémoire français par un constat que ne ferait pas forcément un touriste...

1 BUGNARD Pierre - Philippe, *Le Temps des espaces pédagogiques. De la cathédrale orientée à la capitale occidentée*. Nancy Presses Universitaires de Nancy 2007, p. 28.

Comment expliquer en effet que sur cet immense axe triomphal tout soit emprunté à l'Antiquité, que rien ne soit français ? De la Pyramide du Grand Louvre à l'Arche de la Défense, en passant par les monuments (Arc de triomphe du Carrousel, Obélisque, Arc de Triomphe de l'Étoile) ou par les dénominations de places et de

rues (Tuileries, Concorde, Champs-Élysées, Étoile...) qui n'évoquent ni les valeurs de la monarchie, ni celles de la république... ni celles de la droite ni celles de la gauche... comme si cet axe monumental était neutralisé sémantiquement, conçu pour n'incarner aucune valeur sociale ni politique ? Avec des dénominations évoquant les temps révolus d'empires que l'on cherche à imiter par une politique de conquête forte d'une large adhésion, au-delà des clivages nationaux.

Ainsi, au cœur de beaux quartiers aisés de la capitale française, s'étend une voie triomphale qui n'est dédiée à aucun roi, à aucune république... au cœur des beaux quartiers de l'ouest consacrés à la monarchie ou à l'empire (Invalides, places royales...), pendant des monuments érigés par la république dans les quartiers prolétaires de l'est (Panthéon, Places de la Bastille, de la République, de la Nation...) !



Un gigantesque plan d'études urbain enseignant et assignant... « ... deux tours se parlent à des distances dans ce désert ! ».



UN GIGANTESQUE PLAN D'ÉTUDES
PLASTIQUE DOTÉ DE DEUX INTRUS...

... avec des manifestants respectant scrupuleusement les significations de ses deux pôles symboliques !

La Tour Eiffel n'a rien à faire au cœur des beaux quartiers de l'ouest; la Basilique du Sacré-Cœur rien non plus à l'orée des quartiers populaires de l'est.

Leur position paradoxale démontre a contrario la pertinence du plan urbain en deux pôles de représentations symboliques.

Si les villes ont gardé une telle empreinte de la ségrégation sociale moderne, c'est bien que celle-ci constituait un phénomène historique majeur. Les contemporains eux-mêmes en donnaient une image saisissante (ici en 1845)...

La ville, plus exactement la métropole urbaine, devient le lieu par excellence de la ségrégation sociale, l'espace où cohabitent « deux nations » (riches et pauvres) que Disraeli présente déjà comme étrangères l'une à l'autre en tout :

« Deux nations entre lesquelles il n'existe ni relations, ni sympathies, qui ignorent si complètement leurs habitudes, leurs pensées et leurs sentiments respectifs que si elles vivaient sous des zones différentes, ou qu'elles habitassent des planètes différentes; des nations qui sont formées par une éducation différente, nourries d'aliments différents, et régies par des lois différentes. »¹

Et voilà comment l'histoire sociale la présente (1974)...

« Les villes d'Ancien Régime mêlaient les classes et les activités. Désormais la différence et l'inégalité des catégories sociales s'inscrivent aussi dans la topographie des villes: aux beaux quartiers, réservés à la bourgeoisie, s'opposent les quartiers populaires (...). Les villes modernes juxtaposent deux humanités qui se côtoient sans se rencontrer, qui vivent dans des univers totalement séparés. »²

1 DISRAELI Benjamin, *Sybil*, livre I, chap. 5, 1845. Cité in: NAVAILLES Jean-Pierre, *Londres victorien. Un monde cloisonné*, Seyssel Champ Vallon 1996, p. 140.

2 RÉMOND René, *Introduction à l'histoire de notre temps*. 2. Le XIX^e siècle. Paris : Seuil 1974, p. 166

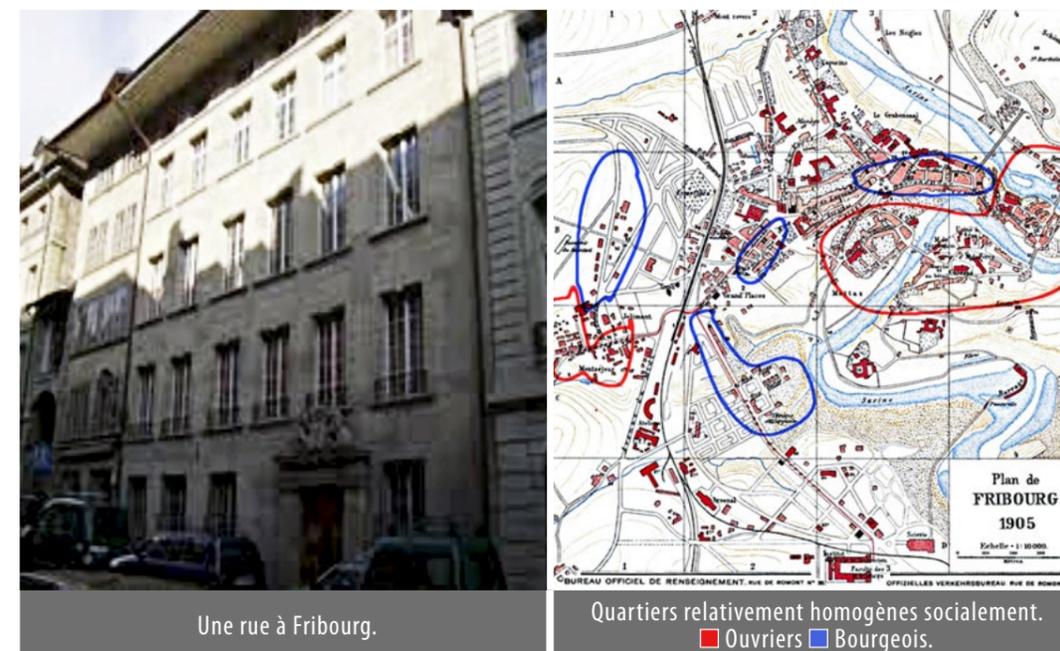
LE CAS D'UNE PETITE VILLE
DU CENTRE DE L'EUROPE :
FRIBOURG (SUISSE)

La Grand-Rue (dénommée aussi : *Reichengasse*, la « Rue des riches »!) avec ses résidences nobles et patriciennes – repérables à leurs frontons classiques et leurs grilles de protection –, alternent avec les maisons des simples habitants, commerçants ou artisans.

Les quartiers ouvriers sont relégués à l'écart, dans la Basse-Ville ou dans les anciennes carrières, à l'arrière de la ville.

N'importe quelle classe d'élèves en Europe peut établir la ségrégation sociale dans sa propre ville, ou la ville la plus proche, comme pour Paris, Berlin ou... Fribourg.

Et ici, à Fribourg, avec quelques documents révélateurs de la force de cette double ségrégation, tant sociale que pédagogique...



Une rue à Fribourg.

Quartiers relativement homogènes socialement.
■ Ouvriers ■ Bourgeois.



FRIBOURG SUISSE

1. La ségrégation sociale à travers le récit d'une émeute ouvrière (1890)

» « La Place de l'Hôtel de Ville est bientôt envahie par une foule hostile accourue des bas-fonds de la ville (...). Aux jours de révolution on voit monter à la surface une lie dont on ne soupçonnait pas l'existence. Les repris de justice aux faces patibulaires et les apaches sortis de leurs retraites obscures se mêlent aux honnêtes gens. »¹

■ Nous retrouvons les deux humanités définies tant par les contemporains que par les historiens et qu'on vient de repérer entre l'Est et l'Ouest parisiens ou berlinois, confinées dans leurs quartiers, ne se côtoyant que pour le travail dans un urbanisme dit à « espaces spécialisés ». On mesure les effets d'une telle ségrégation. Ces deux populations s'ignorent (« ... on n'en soupçonnait pas l'existence »), elles ne se rencontrent guère (sinon « aux jours de révolution », pour s'affronter). Elles vivent en état de guerre civile latente. Quels sont donc leurs systèmes éducatifs respectifs ?

2. Une pédagogie du latin hautaine face à la pédagogie du primaire...

Les valeurs classiques qui peuplent les plans d'études d'humanités que la bourgeoisie reprend de l'aristocratie à laquelle elle cherche à s'identifier, sont les mêmes que celles qu'expriment les plans d'études urbains : la référence à l'Antiquité par les styles classiques se retrouve dans l'ambition de former par le latin, le grec, les grands textes de l'histoire et de la philosophie gréco-romaine. De former à une culture conférant une supériorité intellectuelle légitimant la domination politique et économique coloniale sur les peuples « sauvages ». Et une supériorité aussi sur tous ceux qui ne peuvent faire leurs humanités, les « primaires » que l'on ne pousse pas plus loin, confinés dans la culture de leur ordre pédagogique par la barrière de l'argent. L'expression de cette supériorité se retrouve dans toutes les régions d'Europe au tournant du XX^e siècle, comme ici, à Fribourg en Suisse.

» « (Comparer son propre idiome) avec les plus belles langues que les hommes aient jamais parlées; (...) sortir de la barbarie; (...) la langue latine, c'est la langue de la civilisation. »

» « La pédagogie (...) elle ne donnera ni la largeur de vue, ni la sûreté de jugement, ni enfin la maîtrise de soi qui résultent des humanités. (...) Ce qui l'a provoquée en la rendant nécessaire, c'est, ensuite des développements de l'école primaire, l'emploi de plus en plus fréquent de maîtres n'ayant fait ni les humanités, ni la philosophie: ceux-là en avaient sans doute besoin. »²

1 PHILIPONA Pie, *Georges Python 1856-1927. Les grands catholiques des XIX^e et XX^e siècles*, Dijon Publications « Lumières » 1927, p. 97

2 Le recteur Jean-Baptiste Jaccoud, 1914

» « Sans la connaissance du grec et du latin, il n'y a pas d'instruction véritable. Il y a instruction publique, gratuite et obligatoire, c'est-à-dire rien. (Le latin est une école de pensée réservée à l'aristocratie de l'esprit) et la civilisation se désagrège pour l'avoir oublié. (...) Les primaires (ceux qui n'ont pas fait leurs humanités), peuvent être de fort braves gens et se rendre fort utiles. Il en faut même beaucoup. »³

■ Pour l'Exposition nationale suisse de Berne de 1914, le recteur Jaccoud rédige en quatre mois une somptueuse notice sur le plus grand collège catholique de Suisse (1000 élèves en 1920). Face aux dangers du monde moderne, le livre de Jaccoud prend la forme d'une véritable défense des humanités classiques dont les jésuites proscrits depuis 1848 ont transmis la tradition à Fribourg.

TOUT COMME EN EUROPE.
ÉLITISME ET PÉDAGOGIE
DU LATIN EN EUROPE
AU TOURNANT DU XX^e SIÈCLE

» « Les bourgeois se sont reniés en imitant et en s'appropriant les comportements de la noblesse dans l'espoir d'y accéder (...). Ils ont construit des châteaux, envoyé leurs fils dans les écoles et universités d'élite, adopté des poses et des styles de vie aristocratiques (...). Ils se sont laissé prendre au piège d'un système culturel et éducatif renforçant et reproduisant l'Ancien Régime. »

» « Cette langue homogénéisée devenait non seulement un code d'identification intra-muros mais aussi un signe de distinction et d'influence même au-delà des frontières nationales. (...) L'orientation pédagogique (vers la filière du latin) constituait la principale méthode de sélection et de ségrégation. »

» « Les classiques, notamment l'histoire de la Rome antique, convenaient à merveille pour inculquer aux futurs administrateurs coloniaux et impériaux les préceptes et les méthodes nécessaires pour gouverner les peuples rétifs des Indes et de l'Afrique lointaines – ces peuples qui, selon Rudyard Kipling et les missionnaires, étaient « moitié nus et moitié enfants ». Il s'agit bien alors « D'exalter l'aventure et le défi qu'offraient non pas le monde des affaires mais l'Empire, le service de l'État, l'armée et la marine. »⁴ ►►►

3 Savary Léon (écrivain, publiciste), *Le Collège Saint-Michel, Paris – Neuchâtel : Institutions et traditions de la Suisse romande* (1932), p. 36

4 MAYER Arno, *La persistance de l'Ancien Régime. L'Europe de 1848 à la Grande Guerre*, 1983

” « Le programme des lycées n'était ni l'expression ni l'outil de la domination de la grande bourgeoisie ou des entrepreneurs. Il célébrait plutôt, tout comme la culture officielle de la Troisième République, la pérennité des valeurs d'une autre époque, où le raffinement intellectuel témoignait d'une appartenance à une élite de loisir qui préservait tel qu'il était le monde qui l'entourait plutôt que de le transformer. »

” « Le barrage de sélection du *Gymnasium* (reste) le bastion des classes contre les masses. »

ASPECTS DE LA CULTURE DE L'ORDRE DU PRIMAIRE

La leçon de choses, c'est en particulier le lieu d'exercice de l'enseignement intuitif, selon Daniel Hameline. Elle constitue « une austère opération de dénomination » qui dépasse l'approche sensorielle de l'environnement. Instruire consiste ici à s'appuyer sur des données matérialisées dont le niveau de compréhension est réputé mesurable, autour d'un savoir-faire fondamental, et donc forcément proches des réalités quotidiennes, réelles ou idéalisées.

■ Il est en effet infiniment plus difficile, voire impossible, pour un instituteur dont la formation est encore relativement sommaire, d'éduquer à la culture générale ou aux humanités et d'en faire croître les valeurs en chaque élève. La leçon de choses permet tout simplement de

” « Fonder l'enseignement sur les bases naturelles de la prime expérience des enfants, que l'on répute sensorielle et qui est censée devoir éprouver les choses avant de se voir submergée par les mots. »

■ Mais de l'expérience à la nomenclature, l'effort de dénomination est forcément circonscrit aux savoirs positifs de la leçon militante distillée en séries d'apartés dialogués.

■ La grammaire, l'histoire... scolaires ont ainsi pour finalité l'orthographe, la chronologie... savoirs relevant de la vie et de la culture courantes, savoirs nécessaires, mais sans la finalité de faire comprendre le fonctionnement de la langue ou « la malice des temps ». ¹

¹ HAMELINE Daniel, « La République éduquera-t-elle encore? », in: *Education permanente* n° 121/1994-4, p. 91.



GANCEL Hippolyte, *Il y a un siècle... L'école*. Rennes.

LE TOUR DE LA FRANCE PAR DEUX ENFANTS. DEVOIR ET PATRIE - LIVRE DE LECTURE COURANTE. AVEC 200 GRAVURES INSTRUCTIVES POUR LES LEÇONS DE CHOSES

■ Ce véritable best-seller de l'école républicaine signé du pseudonyme G. Bruno (en référence au philosophe dominicain brûlé vif par l'Inquisition en 1600) cache une femme, Mme Guyau. Il raconte l'histoire de deux jeunes orphelins lorrains, André et Julien, qui ont quitté leur village occupé par les prussiens pour rejoindre leur patrie. ²

■ Manuel d'histoire-géographie, traité d'agriculture, précis de sciences naturelles et de morale, ce livre de lecture propose des leçons de choses illustrées glorifiant la patrie, louant les progrès de l'instruction, dotant de la culture de l'ordre du primaire « ceux qu'on ne poussera pas plus loin ! ».

■ Ici, nulle trace des valeurs de l'ordre du secondaire : pas de latin, pas d'humanités...

■ Simplement les valeurs prosaïques nécessaires aux « enfants du peuple », à ceux qui, de par leur condition sociale, ne peuvent envisager les longues années d'études durant lesquelles ils seraient bien incapables de contribuer à l'entretien de leur famille nombreuse.

■ Dans la société traditionnelle, dont les valeurs perdurent très en avant dans le XX^e siècle, tout est hiérarchique: les rapports au Ciel, à la famille... les classes sociales les races... Les ségrégations (sociales, pédagogiques, raciales...) sont donc légitimes et imprègnent la culture scolaire.

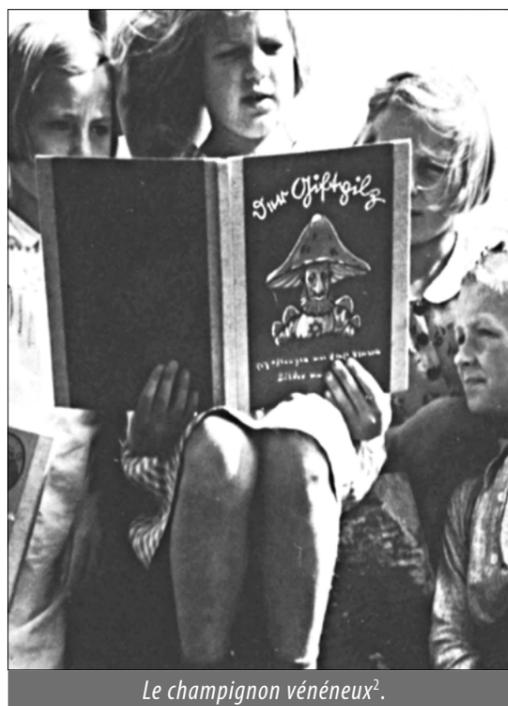


² Edité de 1877 à 1977 (3 millions d'expl. de 1877 à 1887, 6 millions en 1901, 8,5 millions en tout)



LES QUATRE RACES D'HOMMES. — La race blanche, la plus parfaite des races humaines, habite surtout l'Europe, l'ouest de l'Asie, le nord de l'Afrique et l'Amérique. Elle se reconnaît à sa tête ovale, à une bouche peu fendue, à des lèvres peu épaisses. D'ailleurs son teint peut varier. — La race jaune occupe principalement l'Asie orientale, la Chine et le Japon : visage plat, pommettes saillantes, nez aplati, paupières bridées, yeux en amandes, peu de cheveux et peu de barbe. — La race rouge, qui habitait autrefois toute l'Amérique, a une peau rougeâtre, les yeux enfoncés, le nez long et arqué, le front très-fuyant. — La race noire, qui occupe surtout l'Afrique et le sud de l'Océanie, a la peau très-noire, les cheveux crépus, le nez écrasé, les lèvres épaisses, les bras très-longs.

« Les quatre races d'hommes »¹.



Le champignon vénéneux².

1 p. 186 de l'édition de 1977, en tous points semblable à celle de 1907, par exemple.
2 FRITZSCH Robert, *Nürnberg unterm Hakenkreuz*. Düsseldorf © Droste Verlag, pp. 89-90



« Juifs indésirables ».

Partout en Europe, la culture de l'ordre du primaire risque d'amener, comme celle des humanités classiques, à un sentiment de supériorité aux conséquences tragiques... C'est à cela que peut conduire la culture lorsqu'elle n'est pas fondée sur un examen critique des choses.

UN LIVRE DE LECTURE POUR LES ÉCOLES DE NUREMBERG DANS LES ANNÉES 1930

Manuel de lecture pour le primaire (100'000 exemplaires en 1938) Par leurs livres de lecture, les jeunes générations sont immergées dans une culture antisémite, dès la petite école. Ici, un groupe d'élèves pose pour l'éditeur de manière à rendre évident et familier un thème de lecture pour tous centré sur l'antisémitisme. Tous, élèves, professeurs, parents... sont alors en droit de penser, en fonction de la loi d'airain de la leçon de choses : « Puisque c'est dans le livre de lecture, donc c'est vrai ! »

MAIS COMMENT EST DONC NÉE L'ÉCOLE EN DEUX ORDRES ?

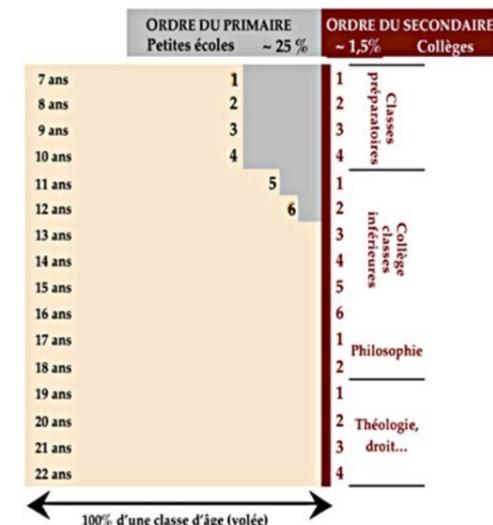
Dans les villes plus particulièrement, dès le tournant du XVIII^e siècle, les collèges installent des classes préparatoires primaires, ce qui fait que les élèves sont distingués entre ceux qui font le collège et ceux qui en restent aux petites écoles.³

LA GENÈSE DE LA SÉGRÉGATION SOCIALE PÉDAGOGIQUE : LE CAS FRANÇAIS (XVII^e-XVIII^e SIÈCLES)

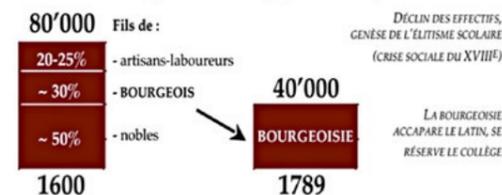
« Ordre ». Le XVIII^e s. opère l'installation - achevée au XIX^e - d'un système d'enseignement en deux « ordres » ségrégués, en deux filières et deux cultures propres : **l'école pour le peuple** avec ses classes primaires et ses connaissances procédurales élémentaires (culture de la leçon de choses), un personnel éducatif* qui en est le produit, d'un côté ; **l'école pour l'élite sociale** avec ses lycées urbains héritiers des collèges d'Ancien Régime et leurs savoirs désintéressés (culture des humanités) ouvrant aux carrières nobles, avec un personnel éducatif propre qui ne déroge pas du secondaire, de l'autre. * Les meilleurs élèves du primaire supérieur deviennent instituteurs, les meilleurs instituteurs professeurs d'école normale, les meilleurs d'entre eux entrent à l'École normale supérieure, pépinière de professeurs de professeurs d'écoles normales. ►►►

3 Tableaux réalisés d'après : NIQUE Christian ; LELIEVRE Claude, *Histoire biographique de l'enseignement en France*, Retz 1990, 52-56. DE DAINVILLE François, *L'éducation des jésuites, XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles*, Éditions de Minuit 1978, 81-149. PROST Antoine, *Éducation, société et politique : une histoire de l'enseignement en France de 1945 à nos jours*, Paris Seuil 1992

1. Effectifs scolaires par classes d'âge, 1^{ère} moitié du XVIII^e s.



2. Effectifs et composition sociologique des collèges, 1600 / 1789



LA BOURGEOISIE ACCAPARE L'ORDRE DU SECONDAIRE

Le collège est jusqu'à la première moitié du XVIII^e siècle une institution sinon égalitaire, du moins permettant une relative évasion sociale : du rejeton de la grande noblesse au fils du laboureur, tout un chacun peut entrer au collège, sans distinction de condition ni de fortune, pourvu qu'il se soumette à la même discipline.

■ Vers 1600, la stratification sociale des collèges est généralement la suivante : 50% de fils de « gens de condition » (noblesse, magistrature), 25 à 35 % de fils de professions libérales (marchands, médecins, apothicaires, notaires, petits officiers), le reste, soit 15 à 25%, des fils d'artisans ou de laboureurs.

■ Mais dans la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle, les élèves des milieux les plus aisés (noblesse, magistrature, grand négoce...) se prennent à désertier les bancs des collèges. La bourgeoisie restée fidèle à l'institution qui lui permettait de fréquenter l'aristocratie continue à rechercher l'éducation favorisant l'ascension sociale. Le collège devient un apanage de la bourgeoisie qui récupère à son profit, au titre de culture identitaire, les humanités des plans d'études aristocratiques afin d'en faire une filière d'excellence au destin prometteur.¹

FORMES DE L'ÉCOLE PAR ORDRES (DEUXIÈME MOITIÉ DU XVIII^e, HORS UNIVERSITÉS)

- **Petites écoles** : population la moins aisée
- **Collèges** : bourgeoisie
- **Académies** : noblesse
- **Préceptorat** : princes

... en fonction du principe de la ségrégation sociale pédagogique :
« À chaque condition sociale, son type d'éducation et d'établissement »

¹ D'après : DE DAINVILLE François, *L'éducation des jésuites, XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles*, Paris Éditions de Minuit 1978, ouvrage reprenant l'ensemble des articles publiés par le Père historien sur l'histoire de l'éducation, et notamment deux articles concernant la sociologie des élèves édités dans la revue *Population* en 1955 et 1957.

VERS LA FIN DE LA SÉGRÉGATION SOCIALE PÉDAGOGIQUE

■ « Mérite » contre « naissance » et premiers projets d'« école unique » : de l'école en deux ordres réservés à l'école en trois degrés pour tous (1919-1960)²

■ Jusqu'aux années 1950 en Europe, l'organisation scolaire reste donc bâtie sur deux ordres d'enseignement cloisonnés : l'enseignement secondaire (avec son propre cycle élémentaire, payant), l'enseignement primaire (avec son primaire supérieur, ses écoles normales, ses écoles normales supérieures). Les enfants d'origine populaire ne peuvent donc en principe qu'aspérer au certificat d'études primaires, voire à « prim sup » tandis que les fils de la bourgeoisie, en entrant au lycée, en particulier en ville, dans une filière primaire séparée payante, sont promis par le baccalauréat aux études supérieures conduisant aux professions lucratives.

■ Au lendemain de la Grande Guerre, la question cruciale de l'effacement de cette dualité est posée avec le projet d'une école ou collège dit « unique », l'idée d'un cursus identique pour tous jusqu'à la fin de la scolarité obligatoire, la sélection pouvant dès lors s'opérer sur la base d'une orientation scolaire, à l'âge des projets professionnels personnels et non plus sous l'emprise d'une vocation liée à une condition sociale.

■ En France, l'un des premiers à dénoncer la corrélation entre structure de la société et système éducatif –la ségrégation sociale pédagogique–, est l'ancien directeur de l'Instruction primaire au ministère Ferry, Ferdinand Buisson, prix Nobel de la paix (1927). L'auteur du célèbre *Dictionnaire de pédagogie* a bien compris que la société est divisée en deux classes –« ceux qui possèdent sans travailler et ceux qui travaillent sans posséder »–, clivage que l'école tend à perpétuer. Aussi propose-t-il en 1910 une loi instaurant une école qui brasserait les élèves de tous les milieux dans un premier cycle commun : la grande idée de « l'école unique » resurgit des plans scolaires de la Révolution. De quoi fonder la sélection non plus sur la fortune, mais sur le talent ou la capacité au travail, c'est-à-dire sur le mérite. Et c'est dans cette perspective qu'apparaît pour la première fois le terme de « démocratisation (des études) », en 1919 : il s'agit bien alors de démocratisation de la sélection et non d'égalité sociale : faire en sorte que l'accès à l'enseignement secondaire et donc aux filières « nobles » soit fondé sur la valeur propre des individus, non plus sur l'origine sociale et l'argent, afin d'assurer ce qu'on va alors appeler « l'égalité des chances » ! ▶▶▶

² D'après : PROST Antoine, « L'enseignement s'est-il démocratisé ? » in: *Mille ans d'école, de Charlemagne à Claude Allègre*, Paris, Société d'éditions scientifiques « Les collections de L'Histoire » n°6 hors série de *L'Histoire*, octobre 1999, pp. 76-82. NIQUE Christian & LELIEVRE Claude, « Vers l'école unique ? » in: *Histoire biographique de l'enseignement en France*, Paris, Retz « Références pédagogiques » 1990, pp. 254-294.

L'INVENTION DU SYSTÈME «CLASSE» (XV^e - XX^e SIÈCLE)

Professeur Pierre-Philippe Bugnard
Université de Fribourg
Suisse

Et si cette « classe » apparemment si familière, que tout le monde a fréquenté durant sa propre scolarité, recelait les strates oubliées d'une genèse dont l'origine s'est obscurcie mais dont nous aurions hérité les effets ?

■ L'idée est de rechercher ce qui a conduit, au cours des siècles, à regrouper des élèves de même âge, à les ranger dans un même local à l'écoute d'un seul maître pour faire en même temps la même chose (entendre la même explication, exécuter le même exercice, passer le même examen... simultanément, de façon à être promu ou redoublant, à la fin de l'année...). D'où vient donc ce système qu'on appelle « classe », qui l'a donc inventé ?

PLAN DE LA SÉQUENCE

Le départ se fait sur deux tableaux illustrant deux manières différentes de concevoir l'histoire de l'éducation. Un tableau chronologique classique montrant une évolution sans retour. Un tableau structural montrant des héritages en rémanence, c'est-à-dire en fonction de pratiques dont le souvenir de l'origine, de la genèse... s'est complètement obscurci : la cause du phénomène est oubliée mais ses effets, altérés, modifiés au cours du temps, demeurent.

■ Par exemple, on « corrige » la copie de l'élève et on peut même lui « mettre une mauvaise note » sans savoir qu'à l'origine on « corrigeait » l'élève pour ses « fautes », le châtimement corporel ayant été remplacé par la « mauvaise note » au titre de peine psychologique « moderne »... mais on peut aussi, aujourd'hui, doter l'élève d'une capacité à corriger lui-même ses erreurs.

■ Puis on passe à une des situations de regroupements d'élèves à travers l'histoire, pour apprécier la richesse et de la diversité des formes de regroupements des élèves, dans l'espace et le temps scolaires.

■ Finalement, il est donc possible de comparer comment une histoire linéaire (un manuel d'histoire de l'éducation) et une histoire structurale (faite par un historien sensible à la longue durée et aux relations passé-présent) présentent l'invention du socle le plus universel de toute l'histoire de l'éducation : la « classe » ! ▶▶▶



4. Classe hollandaise vers 1800.

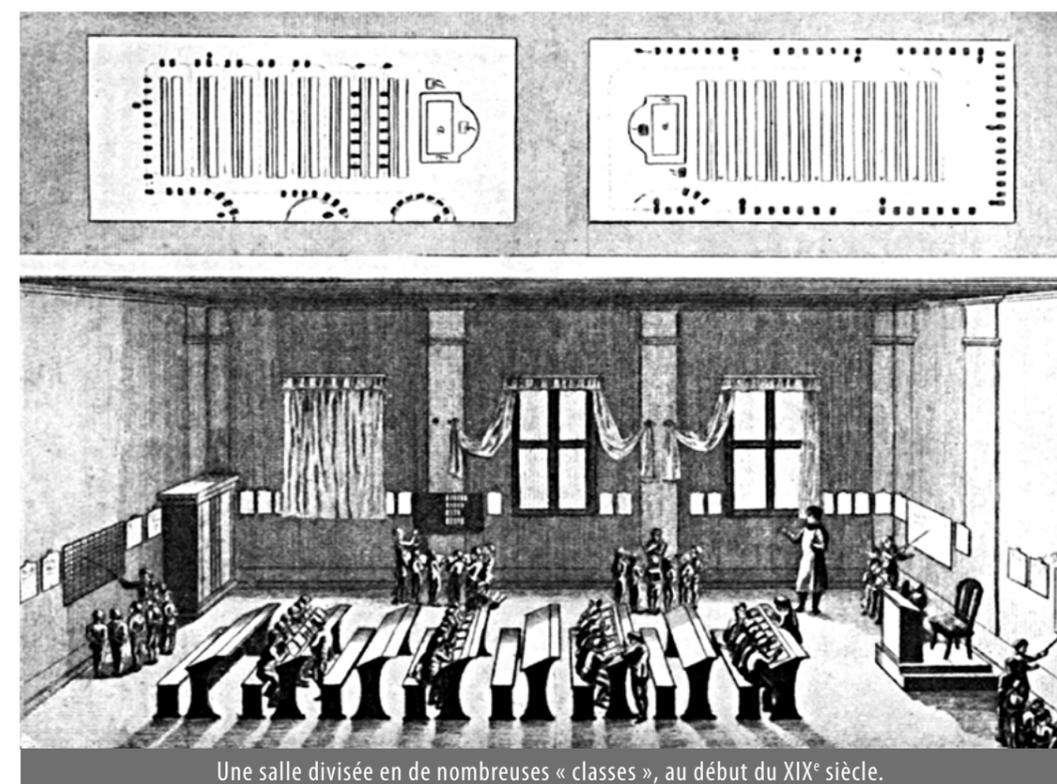
COURS DE LETTRES, VERS 1980

” « Des élèves bien sages pour un professeur pénétré de son sujet. Attentifs, ils sont suspendus à ses lèvres. (...) La pédagogie magistrale demeure efficace quand elle s'adresse à des élèves motivés. »

On remarquera en revanche dans la situation illustrée par le document 4 une classe travaillant en groupes de capacités, bien avant la mise au point des pédagogies actives du XX^e siècle.

COURS DE PHYSIQUE, 1975

” « En bras de chemise comme ses élèves, le professeur est décontracté, mais la structure pédagogique reste fondamentalement la même. La distance subsiste, et ceux-ci sont toujours traités individuellement. Est-il possible d'enseigner autrement ? »

ENSEIGNEMENT MUTUEL EN «GRADATION»
PAR GROUPES DE CAPACITÉS, À FRIBOURG, VERS 1820
(ECOLE DU PÈRE GIRARD)Une salle divisée en de nombreuses « classes », au début du XIX^e siècle.

Dans cette salle divisée en de nombreuses « classes », au début du XIX^e siècle, selon une méthode alors très répandue en Europe, on peut percevoir une forme de pédagogie différenciée qui sera ensuite négligée, avant un retour à la fin du XX^e siècle.

” « L'avancement dépend uniquement du progrès accompli, non pas d'une certaine époque marquée par le calendrier... De cette manière, les élèves sont attirés de plus en plus loin par l'enseignement mutuel, grâce à l'augmentation des degrés qui se trouvent très proches les uns des autres, qui peuvent bientôt être atteints et qui vivifient le courage au lieu de le supprimer... Chacun est placé sur le degré qui correspond précisément à sa capacité... L'élève plus fort ne sera pas retenu plus lentement mais plus à fond... »¹

¹ Père GIRARD G., *Vue d'ensemble...* (trad. Pflug G.), 1950, pp- 45-46.

Pédagogie nouvelle dans une école de Belmont School (années 1970).¹

Voilà quelques-unes des interrogations qu'un premier regard sur l'histoire de l'éducation peut poser.

Sans oublier un dernier problème : celui de la « contemporanéité du non contemporain », phénomène laissant apparaître quelque chose qui se passe actuellement ailleurs et qui ne se passe plus ici, qui relève de la rémanence et qu'exprime bien, par exemple, la photo d'une école coranique de la fin du XX^e siècle, ci-dessous.

Ainsi, dans certains pays musulmans actuels, une « classe » comme celle-ci fonctionne à peu près à la manière de celles des écoles monastiques médiévales d'Occident, lorsque le savoir se transmettait essentiellement *viva voce*, en psalmodiant.

École coranique (Biskra, Algérie, années 1970).²

¹ *Histoire mondiale de l'éducation*, MIALARET Gaston ; VIAL Jean (dir.), Paris © PUF 1981, t. 4, p. 192.

² *Histoire mondiale de l'éducation*, MIALARET Gaston ; VIAL Jean (dir.), Paris © PUF 1981, t. 3., p. 64.

L'INVENTION DE LA « CLASSE »

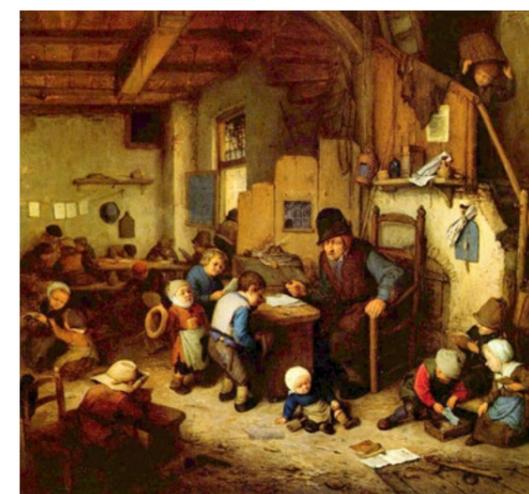
La pédagogie, théorie et individuel médiéval (illustré par un tableau de Van Ostade) à l'enseignement simultané des Temps modernes (illustré par une peinture de l'école des Frères).

Une modernité devenue elle-même tradition, ensuite, un socle contre lequel la révolution copernicienne de la centration sur l'élève, à partir de Rousseau, s'efforcera de réagir avec l'éducation « nouvelle », jusqu'au XX^e siècle.

Dans cette perspective globale, l'apport de l'Antiquité est réduit à une mise au point de l'enseignement, celui du Moyen âge à l'invention significative de l'école, prélude à la rationalité pédagogique absolue de l'âge classique, héritage que l'époque actuelle qualifie désormais de « pédagogie traditionnelle ».

Théories et pratiques de l'Antiquité à nos jours propose une périodisation générale centrée sur deux images révélatrices d'une rupture essentielle de l'histoire de l'éducation : le passage à la « modernité » pédagogique, de l'enseignement³

LA RUPTURE DE LA PÉDAGOGIE « MODERNE » : L'ÉCOLE / LA CLASSE :⁴



L'enseignement individuel médiéval...



... l'enseignement simultané moderne.

³ GAUTHIER Clermont; TARDIF Maurice (dir.), *La pédagogie. Théories et pratiques de l'Antiquité à nos jours*, Montréal-Paris-Casablanca, 1996.

⁴ GAUTHIER & TARDIF, *La pédagogie. Théories et pratiques de l'Antiquité à nos jours*, 1996.



MODERNITÉ ET TRADITION EN PÉDAGOGIE

Vue sous l'angle de la relation enseignement-apprentissage ou maître-élève, la modernité pédagogique absolue, idéale... réside essentiellement dans l'autonomie et la responsabilité dévolues à l'apprenant pour traiter les données de la culture, de l'environnement... dans un travail d'appropriation.

■ Fondée sur une relation hiérarchique, c'est-à-dire enrôlant l'élève dans la réception de valeurs inculquées et de savoirs transmis, la tradition l'emporte alors sur la modernité, toujours en gardant l'angle de vue de la relation enseignement-apprentissage ou maître-élève.

■ En fonction d'un tel postulat de la modernité, il pourrait sembler paradoxal que l'on ait appelé « moderne » une pédagogie qui s'est massivement imposée dans les collèges à partir du XVI^e siècle, caractérisée par un enseignement prodigué à des volées d'élèves du même âge, rangés (en « classes ») pour recevoir des explications, faire des exercices... simultanément, être promus ou redoubler...

■ Pourtant, par rapport à une pédagogie « ancienne » où les élèves étaient enseignés individuellement, à tour de rôle – non pas en tutorat –, la pédagogie du XVI^e siècle semble tout à fait rationnelle, « moderne ». Et par rapport à une pédagogie ou une éducation qui se dira « nouvelle », cultivant la modernité absolue de l'autonomie de l'apprenant (postmodernité éducative), celle-ci paraît, à son tour, « traditionnelle ».

L'INVENTION DE LA CLASSE SELON PHILIPPE ARIES¹

” « ... le long processus d'enfermement des enfants qu'on appelle la scolarisation... »

■ C'est donc au début du XV^e siècle au moins, explique Ariès, qu'une population scolaire donnée se retrouve avec un même maître, dans un seul local, répartie en groupes de mêmes capacités (une formule que gardera longtemps l'Italie, par exemple).

■ Au cours du XV^e siècle déjà, chacun de ces groupes est alors affecté à un professeur particulier, tout en maintenant la structure commune du local commun et de groupes de capacités (l'Angleterre a maintenu cette organisation scolaire jusqu'à la seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle).

■ Enfin, on se met à isoler les groupes avec leurs professeurs dans des locaux spécifiques, initiative d'origine flamande et parisienne, semble-t-il, qui donne naissance à la structure moderne de la classe. Désormais, de plus en plus, les groupes ainsi isolés forment des ensembles homogènes d'élèves de même âge, faisant en même temps la même chose, n'avançant non plus en fonction de leurs rythmes propres mais en fonction des échéances du programme (avec le corollaire de l'échec/redoublement et de la réussite/promotion).

■ Le principe de simultanéité a supplanté celui d'individuation, sans s'arrêter à celui de différenciation. ▶▶▶

¹ ARIÈS Philippe, *L'Enfant et la Vie familiale sous l'Ancien Régime*, Paris Seuil 1960, pp. 8, 194-195.

SCHÉMAS DES QUATRE ÉTAPES VERS LA « CLASSE » MODERNE SELON ARIÈS

■ Au départ, il y n'y a aucune organisation: un local (le logis du maître), avec un groupe hétérogène (élèves de tous âges et de toutes capacités) que le maître unique interroge à tour de rôle, individuellement (méthode individuelle), pendant que les autres se préparent ou chahutent... Tout le contraire d'une « classe » !

■ C'est donc au début du XV^e siècle au moins, explique Philippe Ariès, qu'une population scolaire donnée se retrouve répartie en groupes de mêmes capacités (indifférence à l'âge), on dirait aujourd'hui « en niveaux », avec un même maître, dans un même local (l'Italie conservera ce mode de faire à peu près intact jusqu'au XVIII^e siècle).

■ Au cours du XV^e siècle déjà, chacun de ces groupes est alors affecté à un professeur particulier, tout en maintenant la structure commune du local commun (l'Angleterre a maintenu cette organisation scolaire jusqu'à la seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle).

■ Puis, on se met à isoler les groupes avec leurs professeurs dans des salles spécifiques, initiative d'origine flamande et parisienne qui annonce la structure moderne de la « classe ».

■ Enfin, on regroupe dans chaque local « classe » des élèves du même âge (volée), non plus de mêmes capacités, et on les met à faire en même temps la même chose (méthode simultanée): explication, exercice, examen... programme / palmarès annuels... promotion /redoublement... d'une « classe » à l'autre.

CONCLUSION L'HÉRITAGE DE LA « CLASSE »

AVANCER AU RYTHME DE L'ÉLÈVE : UN IDÉAL À LA GENÈSE DE LA CLASSE MODERNE, TRANSGRESSÉ.¹

■ Philippe Ariès a proposé dès 1960 une périodisation du processus d'enclassement des élèves en fonction du passage « de l'indétermination médiévale à la rigueur du concept moderne », c'est-à-dire, essentiellement, à l'idée contemporaine de « classe d'âge ». ² La société médiévale, insensible au statut psychologique de l'apprenant, cultive le principe de l'indifférence des âges, et d'ailleurs aussi des sexes et des conditions, avec une école rassemblant au sein du même auditoire des personnes d'âges et d'origines sociales hétérogènes. Il n'y a encore aucun mot pour dire « adulte », au sens actuel, et on passe sans transition de *juvenes* à *senes*. ³

■ C'est donc au début du XV^e siècle au moins, explique Ariès, qu'une population scolaire donnée se retrouve avec un même maître, dans un seul local, répartie en groupes de mêmes capacités (une formule que gardera longtemps l'Italie, par exemple). Au cours du XV^e siècle déjà, chacun de ces groupes est alors affecté à un professeur particulier, tout en maintenant la structure du local commun (l'Angleterre a maintenu cette organisation scolaire jusqu'à la seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle). Enfin, on se met à isoler les groupes avec leurs professeurs dans des salles spécifiques, initiative d'origine flamande et parisienne, semble-t-il, qui donne naissance à la structure moderne de la classe. ▶▶▶

¹ Extrait de : BUGNARD P.-Ph., *Le Temps des espaces pédagogiques. De la cathédrale orientée à la capitale occidentée*. Nancy PUN 2007 (rééd. 2013), pp. 323-324.

² ARIÈS Philippe, « Origine des classes scolaires », in : *L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'Ancien Régime*, op. cit., pp. 194-195.

³ « Adulte » prend son sens actuel à la fin du XVII^e siècle, ayant jusque-là plutôt la valeur que *adolescent* a pris de nos jours. D'après : REY Alain (dir.), *Dictionnaire historique de la langue française*, Paris, Dictionnaires Le Robert 1992.

■ Le système « classe », à son origine, est donc conçu comme une série de niveaux d'apprentissage que les élèves parcourent à leur rythme, progressant individuellement de groupe en groupe dirigé par un plus instruit. Les jésuites, pour le collège, ou les pédagogues des congrégations enseignantes, pour les petites écoles, maintiendront d'ailleurs longtemps certaines formes de différenciation qui entament le principe de simultanéité : un bon élève peut par exemple passer d'une classe à l'autre au second semestre déjà alors qu'un moins doué refera une partie du parcours en variant les approches.¹ Ce processus de « différenciation de la masse scolaire », souligne de son côté Ariès, correspond à un besoin nouveau d'adapter l'enseignement du maître au niveau de l'élève, démarche témoignant « D'une prise de conscience de la particularité de l'enfance ou de la jeunesse, et du sentiment qu'à l'intérieur de cette enfance ou de cette jeunesse, il existait des catégories. »²

■ La question de l'efficacité pédagogique posée dans un contexte de gros effectifs débouche sur deux grandes familles de pratiques, antinomiques, les procédés d'enseignement direct en tutorat n'étant plus guère possibles. En effet, plus l'enseignement devient collectif, plus il exige d'homogénéité, une homogénéité dont la dynamique peut être attribuée soit à l'âge, avec une forme d'indifférenciation commode quant à la gestion mais relativement aléatoire et inégalitaire quant aux résultats scolaires, soit aux capacités, avec une forme de différenciation réclamant un grand professionnalisme mais garant de résultats relativement meilleurs pour l'ensemble. Jusqu'ici, l'école était fréquentée par de faibles effectifs. Elle mêlait les âges, le maître pouvant travailler « par objectifs » adaptés à chacun des élèves du groupe restreint en fonction de ses capacités.

1 DEMOUSTIER Adrien, « Les Jésuites et l'enseignement à la fin du XVI^e siècle », in : *Ratio studiorum. Plan raisonné et institution des études dans la Compagnie de Jésus*. Édition bilingue latin-français, Paris Belin, 1997, pp. 23.

2 ARIÈS Philippe, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

■ L'école des Temps modernes devient ainsi un moyen de tenir des enfants plus nombreux à part, de les séparer de la société des adultes pour mieux en dresser la sauvagerie, jusqu'à les classer par volées, en fonction d'un « long processus d'enfermement qu'on appelle la scolarisation », souligne encore Ariès.³ L'indifférence médiévale à l'âge s'estompe au profit d'un rapport, imprévu à l'origine, entre la structuration des capacités et celle des âges, du moins dans un premier temps⁴. Un rapport qui se polarisera finalement autour du principe de l'homogénéité de l'âge –au début du XIX^e siècle en tout cas le processus semble généralisé– avec la loi d'airain de volées moulées en classes aux effectifs certes relativement limités, mais pour l'accomplissement d'un programme annuel dont le déroulement implacable prime l'atteinte des objectifs par l'ensemble des élèves, un déroulement sanctionné d'une promotion ou d'un redoublement annuel, sanction promulguée simultanément pour chacun des membres de l'ensemble d'une volée.

■ Au bout du compte, dans cette rationalité où le principe méthodologique de simultanéité gomme les coutumes individuelles tout en refoulant la différenciation, il y a eu détermination d'une correspondance exacte entre âge des élèves et espace d'enseignement : la classe ! Un espace non plus plastique, instruisant par la transmission sensorielle du chant ou du décor, mais un espace de pouvoir moderne qui induit les règles d'une relation psychologique enseignant-enseignés. Un espace circonscrit à la géographie d'une série de bancs ordonnés, faisant face à un maître régnant sur la discipline, c'est-à-dire sur l'avancement des programmes en arbitre de la réussite et de l'échec scolaires.

■ Tel est bien cet « espace sériel » caractérisé par

” « Des activités fortement ritualisées, (rythmées, une absence d'échange entre élèves, un respect scrupuleux des poses et des postures), un silence soutenu et un contrôle permanent des attitudes (...). La classe devient un espace observable, un lieu où chaque élève est désormais visible et tenu, à tout moment, de donner des signes et des gages de bonne volonté ».⁵

■ Un espace que Eirick Prairat place à la clé du modèle traditionnel, c'est-à-dire aussi de la discipline scolaire traditionnelle, un modèle mis en place au début du XVII^e siècle et qui restera « inchangé jusque dans les années 1960. »⁶ ■■■

3 ARIÈS Philippe, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 198.

5 PRAIRAT Eirick, *Questions de discipline à l'école et ailleurs...*, Ramonville Saint-Agne Éditions Eres, 2002, pp. 43, 45, 50.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 43.

EDUCATION: PLACES, CONVERSATION, THOUGHTS FOR TOPOGRAPHY OF IDEAS' MOVEMENTS

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INTRODUCTION

In my paper, I would like to give an answer to the topics posed by the seminar's title: *Shared History and History of Education in Europe*, stressing the second part of it, according to my researches and my specific interests. In fact, I am a researcher in history of education at the University of Rome "Tor Vergata" and my researches are focused on the education of Humanism and Renaissance; according to that, I have looked at the common roots of Europe in the specific field of the history of education. In this field of study, in fact, the history of Europe shows a unity without any lack of cohesion, being also the specific developments in the education of each nation strongly linked. Unity and cohesion are present in the dialogue, but also in the struggle for distinguish oneself from the others.

PLACES LIKE TOOLS FOR TEACHERS

In this sense, I would like to propose an approach that has its focus on the importance of places, meant as the sites in which history of education has had its developments. Places, of course, are not thought like the principal subjects of the sources proposed to teachers, but are considered like working tools for giving a device with a strong generative power to the teacher's trainers.

I mean that the central reference to places like towns, in our tradition, but also to some regions or some state, according to the period we refer to, could be important to show the relations between different traditions, different authors and different institutions. This could be useful because places like these are, at the same time, in a national framework, but are also the birthplaces of identities addressed to a universal dimension, a root essential for understanding Europe and also its dialogue with other cultures.

To consider places like the core for explaining history of education, then, could be a good manner for thinking of Europe as a space where exchanges of knowledge, interactions of ideas and actors have been the structure for the development of our culture. Of course, for me it is easier to think at some specific moments of our history and to make some examples linked with my researches: Florence in the 15th century, Genève and Leiden in the 16th century or Zurich in the 18th century. ▶▶▶

EDUCATION: THE DEVELOPMENT AND INTERPRETATION OF A CANON

In the history of education in Europe, we could see a development of a true canon that is often focused on place. Of course, this notion of a canon is not a closed idea, built for cutting a possibility of dialogue or for excluding others' cultures. The idea of a canon in the educational field may indicate a possible interpretation of fundamentally important tensions underlying the development of Western culture. In this sense, we could consider the canon not simply as a concentrated form of selection and refinement occurring over the centuries, but also as a compass directing and sustaining such movements. In this particular acceptance of the term, the canon is a place where many cultural and social processes come together and settle, giving the historian an invaluable observation point over the past, throwing light on the deep-seated reasons of the present, and nurturing future planning. In this regard, the etymology of the word 'canon' is particularly fascinating; rather than representing a limitation or constraint, it indicates how canon is the yardstick for evaluation and regulates whoever guides and leads; it is a cultural element of belonging and a dialogue with tradition, capable of valorising the *priscorum opulentia et auctoritas*, the role of the book and of cultural instruments, enlightening and enriching the present.

As for places, some moments of the development of a canon in the history of education in Europe could be powerful pedagogical tools for structuring the sources for teaching. Regarding my specific research, it very easy for me to think of the central role of the *Studia Humanitatis* in the foundation of the common roots of Europe: far from being mere opposition or simple continuation, the interweaving of humanistic culture with the previous medieval tradition has been shown by the latest critical researches to have a complex tissue that can best be understood through the educational approach. Between the 15th and the 16th centuries deep cultural, political and social changes became the nutritious humus for a culture that found its very essence in its educational programme, according to Eugenio Garin's lesson. To look at places for realising the sources for teachers, could be a good manner for a reflection on the introduction of a new model of a canon which has influenced Europe since the time of 15th century Italy, appearing in various forms and spreading throughout the most prestigious educational institutions, both affecting the shape of universities and favouring the development of academies. Another idea, extremely rich in education, is the notion of *Respublica Literarum*. This idea is vision in which the *sodalitas* between the intellectuals has more power and is stronger than the divisions build by the state and religion belongings.

The idea of a canon as the development, mutation and persistence of a rule has often been interpreted within single nations, yet it is capable of opening a rich dialogue free from any bias; it has for centuries been the structure supporting Western education, forming a solid continuity in spite of transformations and adaptations to changes imposed on it by history (micro and macro) and culture. In this sense, a canon evidently cannot be limited to a paradigm on education, but is rooted in a vision as much nurtured by a vast cultural horizon as irradiating influence right down to the individual's way of life. This implies a complex, multi-faceted vision of canon due to tension between different rules in a dialectic relation, reaching as far as educational anti-canon.

This approach is rooted in the conviction that the common space for Europe's education could not be based only on learning the same competences in the schools. Of course, skills and competences are very important, in particular for promoting and stimulating employability and for developing job and social mobility in a period of true fluidity of labour. That said, however, it is hard to think of this vision of education like the one and only able to pose the necessary consciousness for living in the common European home. The need of processing new ideas in education not based on the national identity could not be a possible reason to run the risk the sink in oblivion of our history. On the contrary, we trust that the new competences proposed by education reforms and new pedagogical tools should be linked to our history, for finding in our common roots the power for building a new unity in the respect for individual diversity.

This approach, focused on a canon and on places in which it has had its expansion and improvement, has rich resources for a pedagogical development, with a use of images and other multimedia materials now available online in databases, with copy left or creative commons licence. In this manner, it could be easier to catch the attention of different type of student (different ages, different levels of education systems) and to modulate the educational offer. For a full implementation of this proposal it is necessary to involve both scholarly research in history of education and research in pedagogy for the preparation of teacher trainers' materials. ▶▶▶

A PROPOSAL BEYOND THE DIVISIONS OF FIELDS OF STUDY

■ Certainly, the different approaches, focused on authors or on periods, are still very important in history of education, but they often offer a vision strongly linked to national traditions, with a lack of dialogue with others' traditions, running the risk of offering a fragmented and separated picture of the idea of Europe and its history. Furthermore, if I look at the field of history of education in the Italian situation, we could see a moment of richness in the scholarly research; it is possible to mention some fields of study in education linked to history:

- History of education;
- History of pedagogy;
- History of institutions;
- History of education systems in a comparative way;
- History of children's literature.

■ This division, with a strong differentiation, has a good heuristic power: we can see a modulation, a transformation or an invention of methodologies for answering new topics with very specific focus posed by society. This wide range of approaches guarantees, in this moment, an intense scholar production, but this division, however, could be transformed in a fragmentation or in an approach restrained in the national borders. The focus on places, once again, could represent a tool for thinking of history of education with a more efficient overview and with a stress on the planning of pedagogical tools flexible and easy to adapt to different educational context.

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REFLECTIONS ON THE REFORM OF PEDAGOGY

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REFLECTIONS ON THE REFORM OF PEDAGOGY

Following the quotation of Brian Holmes of Thomas Kuhn, we may state that a paradigm is made up of "beliefs, values, theories, models and techniques used by researchers in order to legitimate their work or direct their investigations" (Holmes, 1986: 180). As both authors point out, theories within the bounds of social sciences never quite reach the status of those which are found in the area of natural sciences. This means that when there are paradigm shifts within social sciences, not only are these shifts only accepted by a reduced group of radical thinkers but, in fact, the theories and beliefs which precede the scientific revolutions continue to be the basis of researchers' work. Thus, there are academics who base their work on paradigms created by Plato, while other social researchers work with alternative paradigms. Paradigm shifts within social sciences rarely imply a complete rejection of an existing paradigm. In social sciences what tends to happen, according to Kuhn's wise observation, is that this produces the coexistence of paradigms and the existence of competing paradigms. These paradigms may share some assumptions and theories while they may differ in others.

The classification by countries which has emerged from the different PISA studies undertaken to date has led to an analysis of the prevailing pedagogical paradigms in those countries most favoured by PISA and which are now considered to be efficient educational systems and reference laboratories, such as Finland, Korea or Australia.

Spring claims that in the 21st century education has experienced a globalisation process which has caused education systems to become similar to each other. We may argue that this similarity is due, more specifically, to the structural aspects of these systems without extending as such to the matter of pedagogies, an aspect within which there remains a traditional and vigorous debate between the alternative paradigms of formal and progressive pedagogy. Thus, in the matter of the structural aspects of education systems, I agree with Spring on the phenomenon of the "globalisation of the bureaucratic school organisation, structured by age groups, in which progress is marked by promotion between levels and qualification, the result of the combination of Western imperialism in Asia, Africa and America; the adoption of the Euro-American model of education by Asian countries, Japan and China in particular, the activities of international organisation, like the World Bank, the United Nations, and the adaptation of traditional Islamic schools to the Euro-American educational ladder" (Spring, 2006: 6). ▶▶▶

In the area of pedagogy, we may highlight two much differentiated paradigms, shaped by formal pedagogies on the one hand and by progressive pedagogies on the other. Spring defines formal pedagogy as being that which is made up of "pedagogical theories which support direct instruction, authoritarian discipline in the classroom; promotion between classes based on courses and evaluation; the existence of defined subjects which are taught separately, and recitation and exercises" (*idem*). Spring defines progressive pedagogy as "those theories which emphasise *learning by doing*; instruction based on the interests and activities of a student; the informal, self-regulated organisation of the classroom; group work; and an integrated curriculum in which a learning activity teaches a set of subjects such as reading, science, history, mathematics and geography" (*idem*). Formalist education models are usually linked to education's function of social control in that they attempt to perpetuate and reproduce the virtues, knowledge and the cultural and spiritual legacy of tradition. On the other hand, the models of progressive education are associated with education's function of social change in that their objective is to prepare students to actively influence and modify the direction of economic, political and social systems.

Throughout different decades there have been attempts to break with the formal paradigm in education. In this sense, different forms of progressive education were expressed in models which disagreed with formal schooling and its supposed service to the Nation-State and industry. Thus, in South America, Paulo Freire argued in favour of the use of dialogical methods in order to enable people to be liberated from the ideology of Nation-State control and industrialisation, and to help create new economic, political and social systems (Spring, 2006).

While there is certainly a theoretical link between different pedagogical models and the aforementioned specific social functions of education, the historical reality shows alternative use of the different pedagogical models by the same country with completely identical economic, political and social aims. This goes to prove that, in essence, alternative pedagogical paradigms are not linked to political ideologies. As an example, we may mention the use of progressive pedagogies in the USSR after the 1917 Revolution which were destined to strengthen the workers' awareness in the polytechnic school, and the later use of formal pedagogies which were strongly standardised and of great discipline in the same country, in the Stalinist school, conceived to achieve the very same objectives (Spring, 2006).

The paradigm of progressive pedagogy constitutes a term which covers a great number of terminologies, institutions, ideas and practical innovations which, in general terms, were systematised and unified by the *Bureau International des Écoles Nouvelles* in 1899. As stated by the academic Del Pozo Andrés, the European tradition of pedagogical reform on which the New School Movement is based rests on authors on pedagogy from the 16th Century, among which we may make special mention of Comenius, Rousseau, Pestalozzi and Froebel (Del Pozo Andrés, 2002: 190). Nevertheless, the economic-social context within this movement emerged is the end of the 19th Century, "with the problems associated with industrialisation and urbanisation, the cultural and social modernisation of cities, the development of new social classes such as the liberal middle class, the expansion of increasingly more national school systems, controlled by the State" (Del Pozo Andrés, 2002: 191).

Del Pozo Andrés explains in her work the importance of two factors which contributed to the emergence of the New School: pedagogical optimism and the "intense and widespread interest of the public in educational matters" (Del Pozo Andrés, 2002: 191). I have chosen to highlight these two factors in order to show that, far from becoming patrimony of the progressive pedagogy paradigm, these axioms and facts are also upheld by the formal pedagogy paradigm, which reveals blind faith in the power of education and backs the universal interest of society as a whole: public powers, society and parents together in education.

It is interesting to draw a comparison between the principles expressed and defended by the two opposing paradigms as in the education systems of the 21st century elements from both systems can be seen. ▶▶

LOGOCENTRISM VS. PAIDOCENTRISM

Logocentrism is an attribute of the formal pedagogy paradigm, and paidocentrism is a characteristic feature of the progressive pedagogy paradigm. The 'traditional school' has been dubbed as 'logocentric' (*ibidem*: 199), in that it is assumed to be "centred on content, on subjects and on programmes" (*ibidem*). This model contrast with the supposed *paidocentric* feature of the New School, "focused on the child (...) to whom justice should be done, and based (...) on the needs, interests and aspirations of the pupil" (*ibidem*). From a commonsense point of view, the inherent goodness of each model and the benefit of including elements of both models in educational practice can easily be seen. In fact, it is obvious that the polarity logocentrism-paidocentrism cannot easily exist or develop, in its purest state, in current Western education. Ordinary current school possesses, rather, elements of both paradigms. It is necessary to highlight that formal pedagogy also respects the progressive evolution of the child. This pedagogy model, precisely because of the desire to do the child justice, and owing to its interest in completely forming a demanding person, willing to expend effort, educated and cultivated, prepared to be a responsible part of society, places special emphasis on the teaching of content. Content constitutes the necessary tools for the development of all human faculties, powers and virtues (i.e. will, memory, reason, etc). Those who propose this model of pedagogy defend the educational value of the word. But, implicitly, what guides and motivates all actions within this pedagogical model is the gradual, personalised and rigorous education of each pupil. This model does not negate the 'interests' of a pupil: in a varied formal and extracurricular curriculum there is room for a whole variety of subjects within which such interests can be found. However, adults offer their condition as guides who have the necessary experience, skills and vision to accompany a pupil in the different evolutionary phases until he/she reaches maturity. The exponents of the formal pedagogy objective is, of course, considered to be desirable for all pupils, the ultimate goal of the education process lies in the overall education of the person, in its different dimension, including the spiritual dimension.

TEACHERCENTRISM VS. PAIDOCENTRISM

The formal pedagogy model sees a teacher as someone invested with authority: it is his/her job to establish organisational norms and rules. Within the progressive pedagogy paradigm, a teacher's role is to orientate and motivate. My belief is that it is necessary to demand that both a teacher and parents, particularly in some contexts such as the Spanish education system, develop in a greater way their authority. A lack of discipline which is evident in schools in the early years of the 21st century demonstrates the defects of a model within which both parents and teachers have primarily had a friendship relationship with the children, something which, to my mind, has been a mistake. The welfare of a pupil requires the establishment of rules and limits which are sensible and clear, but firm and which should be followed by all. The adult, whether it is a parent or a teacher, as a grown-up person who is responsible for the child's education, should supervise that these limits are respected. Formal pedagogy models like that which is found in Finland reveal that adults are to be seen as references, particularly teachers, from a position of authority. This does not imply the absence of real interest, both professional and affective, for each one of the pupils.

HIERARCHICAL ORDER VS. DEMOCRATIC TEACHING

The formal pedagogy model possesses a hierarchical view of the school organisation. This model purports that not all agents within the school have the same competences, experience or responsibility, a view which I find entirely reasonable. The perspective of formal pedagogy would argue for a professional model of the school board, the success of which has been shown through its development in educational systems like the one in Britain. The progressive pedagogy paradigm argues for a democratic model of teaching which has led some academics to claim that "the real educator is not the teacher, but the community" (Del Pozo Andrés, 2002: 197). We can argue that the educational functions of each school agent are more clearly laid out in the formal pedagogy model, and this is a positive thing given the different preparation, roles, experience and responsibility which each agent has. Not all people can or should have the same influence in education, taking this diversity into account. ►►►

The educational effect of the community, which has an undeniable influence on the pupil, simply should not takeover or substitute the influence of a teacher. The successful Finnish educational system clearly understands the importance of a teacher's role. It carries out a hard and rigorous selection process of teaching candidates, through two difficult selection tests, one at national level, after which only 30% of the candidates are finally accepted. The McKinsey Report has highlighted that one of the key factors in the best ten education systems, showing the best results in the PISA report, is the very strict selection process for teaching candidates (McKinsey Report, 2007: 13). Academics like the Finnish Rauni Räsänen state that in Finnish schools "there is no doubt who is coordinating the pupils" work (Räsänen, 2006: 24). Finnish teachers describe themselves as role models for pupils, keeping a professional distance with pupils and maintaining order and safety in the classroom. When academics make reference to Finnish teachers, they speak of conservatism, authoritarianism or professionalism, where teachers who are sure of themselves decide which methods they consider best for their pupils, irrespective of what may be fashionable at the time (Räsänen, 2006: 24). Finnish teachers have maintained more authority than their peers in other Nordic countries, and Finnish students have been more accepting of this authority.

THE ROLE OF MEMORY VS. THE ROLE OF EXPERIENCE, ACTIVITY AND REASON

■ We should highlight that the formal pedagogy paradigm attaches an important role to the memory, whilst not undermining other areas or human faculties, such as reason. The formal pedagogy model states that in order to have knowledge, it is not sufficient to understand; it is necessary to cultivate memory in order to increase the quality of experiences and the capacity to make solid and well-grounded judgments.

■ Expert historians have placed the end of the New School as an organised movement in 1939 or in 1955 (1939 for European currents, 1955 for the USA) (Del Pozo Andrés, 2002: 189). However, some of the elements of this pedagogy are visible in the work of some subsequent pedagogy professionals such as Paulo Freire and Henry A. Giroux. In the same vein, nowadays there are school models, like the *Waldorf Schule* in Germany which would fit perfectly with this movement. And finally, elements of this pedagogy are present in some school legislation, and in some educational and organisational elements of current schools.

■ It is noteworthy that the dialectic between formal and progressive pedagogy still exists in these first years of the 21st century. Despite the fact that Western political tendencies in the so called by some academics recent 'post-modern' times (Rust, 1991) seem to favour and encourage innovative and reformist educational policies, the pedagogical practices followed by countries which boast efficient education systems like Finland and Korea defend the value of the educational attributes of formal pedagogy. Finland possesses a comprehensive school led by conservative teachers who develop traditional teaching methods. In Korea, education is marked by the legacy of Confucianism which, in educational terms, shows characteristics typical of the formal educational paradigm, such as the strong status of a teacher, school work based on content and examinations (rather than on processes) and emphasis on memorising (Kim, 2009). These two successful countries have shown that educational tradition has proven that it possesses valid elements which should not be modified by new-founded educational paradigms or by transitory pedagogical fads.

■ In sum, it can be stated that, in the first years of the 21st century, the debate between the alternative paradigms of formalist and progressive pedagogy continues as vigorously as some decades ago. Some expert academics seem to advocate preferably for the progressive pedagogy principles (*vid.* Crook, 2011). Others seem to elucidate the virtues implicit in the principles and instruments of the formalist pedagogy (*vid.* García Ruiz, 2010). Historically there have been abuses in the pedagogical practice of both types of pedagogical approaches. I can cite the examples of the 'Tyndale school scandal', as an abuse of the progressive pedagogy approach in Britain, and also the film of 'The bad education' of the Spanish director Pedro Almodovar, as an example of the abuse in the practices of the formalist pedagogy during the Franco dictatorship. Probably what would seem better would be the development of a mixed approach of both methodologies in the pedagogical process.

■ The pedagogical paradigm, in its progressive version, is being particularly emphasised by the Bologna Process. Indeed, the *Trends V* report of the European Universities Association, which informs the Bologna Process in a significant way, states that "the most significant legacy of the Process will be a change of educational paradigm across the continent" (Crosier, Purser and Smidt, 2007: 7). These authors talk about a "metamorphosis of European Higher Education" due to the Bologna Process (Sursock & Smidt, 2010: 15). Thus, starting from the London Communiqué of 2007, this and latter documents pertaining to the Bologna Process insist in "the transition towards student-centered higher education and away from teacher driven provision" (AA.VV., 2007: 15). Even if, from a theoretical point of view, it is far from clear which of the pedagogical paradigms (formalist or progressive) is best. And even if there are sound examples of the success and the more rigour of the formal pedagogy paradigms shown by countries such as Finland and Korea. ▶▶▶

CONCLUSIONS

Globalisation, the expansion of the so-called new technologies and the social, political and economic changes which have resulted from these processes, have sparked an educational debate and a questioning by post-modern academics of the suitability of traditional attitudes and paradigms in education. Thus, at this time, there is an abundant literature which analyses the theoretical basis and the educative practice of the paradigm which relates to the pedagogy models. Academics like Holmes, however, refer to the co-existence of educational paradigms within the social sciences in which we are now involved.

In the area of pedagogy, in the first years of the 21st century one can see the coexistence in education systems, education legislation and educational practice of elements of pedagogical models, the formal and the progressive. Some analyses of efficient educational systems (Finland, Korea) have uncovered a greater presence within the systems of specific elements of formal pedagogy, especially those linked to teacher-centrism and to hierarchical order. It would be desirable to have both visions working side by side in current education given the presence of positive elements in present, such as the Finnish system, demonstrate the importance of preserving two characteristics in education systems as guarantee of educational quality: social consensus and a balance between continuity and change, ensuring that nothing of proven educational worth is modified. Finland represents a patent example that tradition does work.

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EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGES AND SHARED HISTORIES

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EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGES AND SHARED HISTORIES

Europe has experienced exchanges of ideas and persons in the educational field at a level of intensity which has varied depending on the period and the country. Overall, however, exchanges of ideas have gone on virtually unabated, even at the most inauspicious times such as open warfare or the Cold War period. On the other hand, as one might expect, human exchanges virtually ceased altogether at such times, either because armed enemies could not meet up or because, during the 'phony peace' real dialogue was blocked by ideological domination.

This paper will therefore deal with these two periods consecutively, though it will address two themes separately under the first of the two: ideas on education in general, especially education for children, which up until the 19th century was prioritised in order to change situations which were completely disastrous in terms of the young pupils' harmonious development; and ideas on organising teaching from the angle of the requisite content and results of school lessons.

Furthermore, for each of these periods we should consider the possible significance of shared histories in terms of pursuing common goals and streamlining the strategies for attaining these goals. This will lead us to envisage shared histories more as histories which should be built up than as already extant histories, which histories are therefore more future- than past-oriented, making the past primarily a heritage to be respected and nurtured. ►►

FROM THE DEBATE ON EDUCATION FOR THE VERY YOUNG TO 'NEW EDUCATION'

Education for the very young has been a constant subject of debate throughout Europe at least since the Renaissance, when such a lively mind as Montaigne preferred a well-made head to a well-filled one and advocated allowing the young to learn in freedom and joy. This opposition between the supporters of innovative schools and those who backed schools linked to unshakeable tradition continued right up to the years following the First World War. The reason why the debate lasted so long was because it stagnated to some extent. In the educational field, unlike in the political or economic sectors, conceptions and practices originating in the distant past are self-perpetuating and suggested changes are often met with silence.

A SUCCESSION OF PEDAGOGUES AND CHILD PSYCHOLOGISTS

Probably the first, and in any case the most emblematic, in the long line of innovators was John Amos Comenius (1592-1670). He was one of the first of the very many intellectual nomads which Europe has produced. Having been born in Moravia, he was the last of the Moravian Brethren bishops: he was banished to Amsterdam, where he died after 40 years in exile. His main work, *The Great Didactic*, is revolutionary in terms of its content and proposed methods. The aim of education is to instil wisdom and virtue. Pedagogy should proceed in stages, in line with the development of the child, who should personally decide and independently discover what he needs to know, without adult supervision. It is no wonder that Michelet saw him as the "Galileo of education", or that today he seems to have inspired the UNESCO "Education for All" Programme, which, precisely, advocates a global radical reform of primary education.

His idea that a child had to be helped out of his frailty in order to become a citizen of the world was to be taken up by many emulators who disagreed with Friedrich Fröbel's (1782-1852) contention that mothers should be responsible for their children's education. Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827) adopted the message of Rousseau's *Emile*, trying to solve its paradoxes by means of an educational project geared to ensuring the child's full development. Many other educationalists and psychologists have also addressed these concerns in one way or another. Between, 1678 and 1688, Jean-Baptiste de La Salle (1651-1719) founded the Christian Brothers schools, which later spread virtually the length and breadth of Europe, providing their students with a solid basic education and vocational training in order to guarantee their self-reliance.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Marie Montessori (1870-1952) published *The Children's House*, the ideas from which were to spread worldwide. This work advocates an educational approach respecting the nature and rights of children. The same concerns were expressed by many specialists on children's affairs in the 19th and 20th centuries. Janus Korczak (1878-1942) devoted himself to the children of the Warsaw Ghetto, endeavouring to ensure that they were treated as human beings, despite the hell in which they had to live; his efforts in fact foreshadowed the 1959 United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child. Edouard Claparede (1873-1940) addressed similar issues in his psychology of intelligence, developing methods for assessing schoolchildren's abilities.

At the same time a growing interest emerged in organising schools and teaching methods. Ovide Decroly (1871-1932) drew on psychological data to propound the Global Method for learning to read. Jean-Baptiste de La Salle recommended parallel class and options to cope with ability diversity.

It is impossible, in this succinct yet wide-ranging overview, to mention all the relevant people in this field. However, two people who cannot be omitted are Jean Piaget (1896-1980) and Gilbert de Landsheere (1921-2001), who set up major networks to disseminate their theories and practices through their writings and their contacts with colleagues, universities and international institutions. However, Reuven Feuerstein (born in 1921) and Lev Semonovich Vygotsky (1896-1934) both attracted analogous levels of interest.

For all their multiplicity and diversity, these viewpoints have, across the centuries and the various countries, combined into a shared determination to revolutionise educational contents and methods. Nevertheless, this is probably an insufficient basis for conceptualising 'shared histories'. Such histories are more likely to be found among the mass of masters and pupils who were subject to strict regulations, constrained within the after-effects of the scholastic period or other similarly oppressive heritages, although it is also a moot point whether such a phenomenon merits the title of 'shared history'. ▶▶▶

THE INTERNATIONAL DIMENSION OF 'THE NEW EDUCATION'

On the other hand, where ideas are concerned, we are moved to see these pedagogues and psychologists as the forerunners of the 'new education', which many in Europe and North America in the late 19th and early 20th centuries saw as the cradle of innovation, particularly in private schools but also in state institutions, driven on by the British, the Germans, the Swiss, the Belgians, the French and the Dutch. The emphasis in these schools was on active, practical educational approaches using contact with the natural environment and with all members of the community of teachers and students. Links were forged among the subjects taught, underlining the fine arts and sport, while mathematics and science were addressed as non-abstractly as possible. Rudolf Steiner (1861-1925) founded schools, particularly in the Germanic countries, with even more innovative orientations, binding up the educational approach with childhood phases of biological and mental development modelled on corresponding phases in adulthood. Most European countries at some stage developed schools based on 'the new education'. However, the 'capital of new education' was Geneva, where an 'International Educational Office' was set up in 1899 and the series *Actualités psychologiques et pédagogiques* was launched in 1906, publishing most of the writings on 'new education'.

After this extremely dynamic period, however, interest in 'new education' began to dwindle. In the end, this approach came to be seen as a 'sunken continent' because of the plethora of ill-founded, ill-assessed and vague initiatives which it encompassed. This finally discouraged even the most enthusiastic supporters of these movements, dispelling the interest of public authorities in formulae which were deemed unrealistic and costly. It is nevertheless certain that despite these failures, the need emerged in Europe among specific groups of teachers or families for constant reform, or at least a critical attitude to the standard formulae being used. It is also clear that these conceptions long emanated from academic circles, where there was intensive contact among most of the aforementioned specialists. This applies in particular to Maria Montessori, Claparède, Piaget and de Landsheere.

We can therefore consider that this protracted period spanning some four centuries witnessed the emergence both of shared histories and of a series of dividing lines which were to become fixtures. Most advocates of a form of education that respects the rights and needs of students, who must be considered as human beings in their own right, converged in their proposals, even when problems of communication made contact difficult. Books began to circulate more intensively during the Renaissance, booming in the 18th century, as shown by the circulation of Rousseau's *Emile* and the Enlightenment texts, despite frequent censorship. However, most schoolchildren and their masters long remained aloof from these innovations. In Europe and North America, the history of education was beset with periodical conflict. The differences continued between the supporters of supposed tradition and those who strove to smash the stagnation which the authorities were often accused of promoting.

EXCHANGES OF VIEW ON THE ORGANISATION OF EDUCATION SYSTEMS AND TEACHING METHODS

In parallel with these discussions, which were mainly based on the concern to incorporate child psychology into the teaching provided, increasing attention was devoted to the functioning of the education systems. In some periods these systems begged the question whether they actually provided the most relevant and effective choices. At the end of the 19th century, many education systems were still very young. Previously the schools had been managed by the municipalities, religious institutions or private individuals. This meant that they were unevenly distributed across the territory and varied greatly in quality. This prompted many central States to take over control in order at least to ensure compliance with the compulsory schooling period, which was deemed necessary for reasons of economic efficiency and social justice. Young people had at least to know how to read and write if they were to carry out the necessary tasks in agriculture and the burgeoning industrial sector. The end of illiteracy was also demanded by political parties and various sectors which considered this as the first step towards ensuring a minimum level of social equality. At the end of the First World War, and again after the Second World War, these same challenges had to be faced, albeit in a much more serious form. ▶▶▶

THE FIRST COMPARISONS

■ This prompted major curiosity among the different education systems. Educational officials commissioned persons from a wide variety of backgrounds to investigate other education systems in order to assess the appropriateness of their choices and possibly pinpoint those which would be worth following.

■ Most of these investigatory missions have now been forgotten, but it might be useful to mention just a few of them in order to home in on the sharing of histories in education. In France, under the July Monarchy, the philosopher Victor Cousin (1792-1867) was sent on a mission to Prussia, where he was impressed with the high-quality organisation of the administration. The country was divided into Prefectures, the Prefects acting as efficient relay person implementing decisions from the central authorities regarding the functioning of the schools. In Great Britain, Michael Sadler (1861-1943), an academic who was Minister for Education for a time, visited several European countries, reporting on the measures adopted by these countries which might be useful for improving the level of English schools. In 1900 he recounted these experiences in his essay *How Can We Learn Anything of Practical Value from the Study of Foreign Systems of Education?* In the same spirit and with the same goals, Russian envoys conducted investigations continent-wide. Horace Mann (1796-1859) also arrived from the United States with the same remit.

■ We cannot always accurately ascertain the practical results achieved by these missions. In France, for instance, teacher training colleges were set up on the Prussian model. However, such direct repercussions were fairly few and far between. These were, in fact, the first attempts at comparative education, which was no new discipline since it had been introduced in 1817 by Marc-Antoine Jullien (1775-1848) in his *Esquisse et vue préliminaire d'un ouvrage sur l'éducation comparée*. This work had mentioned the need for statistics in order to compare education systems. At the time statistics were unfortunately in short supply, and this drawback was compounded by many other disadvantages, such as the ignorance of the potential difficulties of borrowing between one system and another because each context was different. The main reason for the lack of follow-up to these investigations, however, was the general rise of nationalism from the late 19th century onwards, prompting education systems to reject any outside influences in order to protect their own identities. The media and the methods available to comparative education have since removed these obstacles. Comparative education is now a university subject and is implicitly a major activity for a number of international organisations dealing with educational issues, such as the Council of Europe, Eurydice, the OECD Education Committee and UNESCO. These are effective channels for exchanging vital knowledge, and some provide the necessary bases for building up shared histories in education.

EXPANDING COMPARISONS

■ After the Second World War, comparisons were gradually expanded to cover many different aspects of educational policy and the functioning of schools. The most common themes were the respective advantages of centralisation and de-centralisation, training and recruitment of school directors and teachers, teaching contents, the assessment of pupils' results, how to remedy underachievement on the part of some pupils, and adapting teaching and training to the needs of society and the economy. Since governments considered the existing situations in many of these fields unsatisfactory, numerous reforms ensued. The merits of such changes and their actual or prospective results were appraised by various bodies, which also carried out comparative studies. The same applied to teaching contents, which were worth looking at in particular because they call for choices which concern both the more general goals of education and the overall conception of society. Furthermore, these choices greatly influence the fact of whether shared histories are possible or not, not only in terms of teaching contents but also more broadly as regards the purposes of education and the details of its provision.

■ The mode of conception and definition of teaching contents is highly symptomatic here. Initially, two antithetical options emerged. The first, adopted by most education systems in continental Europe, consisted of 'study programmes', which are catalogues of subjects with mutual links (which are largely overlooked) which require acquisition of the relevant knowledge. The second option took hold in North America, the United Kingdom and Ireland, with a curriculum which, as its name would indicate, is a pathway which leaves the teachers and pupils an extensive margin of choice as regards content and rate of progress, the aim being to acquire competences rather than knowledge. These options therefore seemed irreconcilable in the 1980s, with rigidity and constraint on the one hand and flexibility and freedom on the other. This meant that students and masters could learn/teach very different histories. And yet the curricular 'philosophy' began to win over increasing numbers of supporters in continental Europe with the growing desire to involve teachers much more closely in organising their work and make students more direct protagonists for the acquisition of competences rather than mere items of knowledge. However, this development led to long, often heated debate among educational specialists. This is attested by the huge, invariably international, bibliographies appended to the works on this subject. These shared histories were therefore still fairly vague, with authorities and teachers sometimes thinking they could escape conflict with a mere change of terminology, i.e. using the word 'curriculum' for study programmes, which were then left unaltered. Such equivocation was, moreover, more or less inevitable because of the ambiguity, right from the outset, of the word 'curriculum'. Some used it to refer to the whole educational process, while others mainly applied it to actual teaching. ▶▶▶

**'THE INTERNATIONAL BIBLE OF INNOVATION'
AND SHARED HISTORIES**

■ We might therefore conclude that the situation is similar to that which prevailed at the time of 'the new education'. This means that we are faced with innovations which are presented as capable of solving problems that jeopardise the relevance and quality of education, but which are still virtually ignored. Nevertheless, there is a major difference in terms of the origin of the changes being advocated. In the case of "the new education", these changes were primarily proposed by specialists, who were credited with definite competences in educational science, psychology or other human sciences, but who generally spoke solely on their own behalf. The Jean-Jacques Rousseau Institute was much more lightweight than the UNESCO International Educational Office. The fact is that after the Second World War, many international organisations took responsibility for educational issues which are deemed essential in order to prevent the return of the prejudices and misunderstandings which used to set one part of the world against the other. In the light of this seminar's venue, we might begin with the Council of Europe.

■ But the Council's concerns are also those of the OECD Education Committee, the European Commission and UNESCO, which has, for instance published, under its "Secondary education for the 21st century", a work entitled *The content of secondary education around the world – present position and strategic choices*, by Roger-François Gauthier. We should also mention the many teachers' and researchers' associations; e.g. the European Association of Teachers or the Comparative Education Society in Europe. These bodies obviously issue opinions which can aspire to much greater legitimacy, impact and publicity than ordinary personal pronouncements would. The media are much keener to report on their initiatives. This gives them a presence on the media scene which guarantees intensive attention, even when governments or the educational authorities are fairly unreceptive.

■ This being the case, when one reconsiders the question whether and how histories are currently shared in the educational field, there is no easy answer because of the continuing risk of having to refer to two series of histories. I am referring, firstly, to the series of official or 'real' histories in line with current regulations, which can vary considerably from one country to another and therefore create very different, mutually remote administrative and educational universes, with all the consequences for the both teachers and pupils. But secondly, there is the series of histories which are more potential than real, stemming from consideration of the changes recommended by what might be called an 'international Bible of innovation'. This might be seen as a utopia which is liable to shatter against the walls of conservatism. Yet in view of the growing dissatisfaction among teachers, it might also provide the glimmer of hope for change which would give them the energy to press on with their work. In short, therefore, the available shared histories are located within a hypothetical future which would help us to experience and endure our living histories.

■ Nevertheless, it is possible that this 'international Bible of change' is currently metamorphosing, continuing to advocate change while also placing its hopes in competition in order to achieve it. The OECD's PISA Programme assesses student performance according to criteria which facilitate a result-based classification of education systems, and this classification has become a 'Bible' for governments which are teaming up with the users to aspire to the top places or to lament the fact that they are nearer the bottom of the scales. The director of the PISA Programme and many other experts are quick to advise the less well-placed in order to claw back points and make a comeback, especially by improving the standards of underachieving pupils. The same phenomenon of using competition to obtain optimum classification has also arrived in higher education. The classification drawn up by Shanghai University has become the arbiter of all situations, and the so-called 'Bologna Process' is often seen as a means of climbing up the classification.

■ This is liable to lead to widespread competition among schools and universities. But there is little chance of the competitors seeing themselves as sharing the same history. Athletes competing in stadiums can create shared sports history through their performances, but these histories always remain theirs and set them apart. In education, on the other hand, the winners must eschew this approach, otherwise they will form elites who remain isolated in their own history and refuse to share it. ▶▶▶

EXCHANGES OF PERSONS AND THEIR SPECIFIC COMPETENCES

As we have seen, the aforementioned exchanges of ideas and knowledge have continued virtually uninterrupted from very early times to the present day. The same does not hold for exchanges of persons, especially educational stakeholders, which only emerged after the Second World War and were boosted in the early days of European construction and the end of the Cold War.

THE AIMS AND BENEFICIARIES OF EXCHANGES OF PERSONS

The aims of the exchanges and the individuals involved are also changing. These exchanges emerged in the wake of confrontations between various parts of Europe or as a result of attempts to establish European unity, and were primarily geared to encouraging opinions, attitudes and behaviours in support of these projects, especially by promoting the requisite rapprochement and reconciliation. The optimum means of achieving this appeared to be to bring together persons who had never before been in contact, especially young people, whose minds were more open to radical change. This was the plan behind the *Office Franco-Allemand pour la Jeunesse* (Franco-German Youth Office) set up in 1963 under the Elysée Treaty. This Office set the seal on Franco-German friendship, enabling many young people from France or Germany to form an unprejudiced view of the other country. The Treaty of Rome setting up the European Community was followed by a number of fairly similar, sometimes more ambitious, projects. The exchanges were open to all categories and were designed as a means of overcoming the reticence of some Member States when faced with abandoning sovereignty by building up Europe in the life of the various societies, particularly among the young, since this appeared impossible in the national chancelleries. Similarly, the Council of Europe was one of the first to organise encounters among directors of education from what used to be Western and Eastern Europe, because this was the requisite first step in sealing the demise of the two opposing blocs.

However, another reason why the end of the Cold War helped to boost exchanges of persons in this manner was that their contexts had become more compatible. Change had in fact begun in the West at the time of the two blocs. Between 1950 and 1990 the Western education systems had become more similar in structure. The opposition between decentralised and centralised systems had decreased. In order to achieve equity in the treatment of students, the first integrated cycles at secondary level had come in to replace a wide range of cycles with various different course options. Access to the second secondary cycle had been substantially democratised. Vocational training courses had been brought into line with the general courses. Where the countries of Central and Eastern Europe were concerned, at the outset of their transition to democracy they had expressed concerns similar to those of the Western countries, e.g. the need to decentralise schools and make them independent. Encounters and dialogue between both sides therefore became easier and more productive. This was confirmed by the change of atmosphere at the International Conference on Education held every two years in Geneva, the conclusions from which were now based on full-scale agreements rather than just the lowest common denominator. Student exchanges between universities in the European Union have also become easier with the virtually general and swift adoption of the Degree-Masters-Doctorate structure. ▶▶▶

A GOLDEN AGE OF EXCHANGES OF PERSONS AND SHARED HISTORIES?

And so, what resembled a golden age of exchanges of persons was witnessed. These were initially of a hitherto unknown extent. They are still thought to have begun in the Middle Ages between universities whose teachers and students went from one to the other. However, the populations concerned today and those of the 19th and early 20th centuries are no longer comparable. The number five million expected beneficiaries of the Erasmus Programme in 2020 gives an idea of the change in scale. New categories also gain access to the exchanges. Primary and secondary teachers have joined the university lecturers and attend in-service training courses of which the Council of Europe is also a long-standing organiser. Programmes are designed for head teachers too. Primary and secondary pupils may also come within the framework of exchange programmes, whether the European Union's Comenius programme or other initiatives. Secondly, these exchanges have far more diversified objectives than before. With the exception of encounters between academics and researchers, centred on further exploration of their discipline, exchanges used to be essentially aimed at language proficiency whereas at present, as emphasised by the Council of Europe in particular, they are meant to provide the opportunity for discovering another culture in the full diversity of its facets. The trend in that direction was to be initiated and consolidated by the Franco-German Youth Office which would promote exchanges in the occupational sectors. Moreover, the current exchanges have a political dimension in two respects. On the one hand, most of them are conceived as a contribution to European integration or, in the case of exchanges with North America or Asia, as coming to terms with globalisation. On the other hand, they portray themselves as a drive for change and as examples of future-based practices in situations often under threat of stagnation from the established authorities.

One may therefore ask whether this golden age of exchanges of persons should not at the same time disclose the necessary conditions for shared histories in education to be possible. In that perspective, these would call for profession of a single aim or a single ideal by a fairly large number of persons in order to form a critical mass capable of changing the attitudes and behaviour of a large part, if not all, of society. Lack of this possibility is what may have prevented the late 19th and early 20th century comparisons in education from having the anticipated effects.

SHARED HISTORIES AND LIVING HISTORIES

From this standpoint, shared histories should be lived through in order to have their existence acknowledged. Yet despite its ostensible simplicity, this contention embodies both problems and paradoxes. For history, real life and the present are objects of analysis, not characteristics that would straightway constitute history. No, history as a process of knowledge should take cognisance of these objects if they are to reveal their significance and their meaning. Moreover, by making real life the yardstick of shared histories, there would be a risk of compulsion to dispense with certain forms and accentuate others without good cause. Any intent to rediscover shared histories in the past would become impossible, even though they are assuredly indispensable for identifying those of the present. The status of shared histories should be granted to the wars in which so many European peoples have torn each other apart and after which attempts at reconciliation, where successful, have allowed real-life experience to be overcome or otherwise made it still more abominable.

To discover in this way the difficulties of making real life the yardstick for shared histories is also to discover that shared histories are never delivered instantly and, quite the contrary, should be constructed. Many examples of it are found in books endeavouring to trace back the origins of Europe which would enable the peoples settled on this continent to feel that they partake of one and the same history or have histories that would be in harmony. It is generally easy to criticise these endeavours by stressing either the ambiguity of the term "Europe", purportedly not corresponding to any exact notion in the territorial or the ethnic sense, or the arguable aspects of the proposed interpretations. The Europe born at the behest of Charlemagne would be too narrow; the one arising from Napoleon's conquests would be adulterated by oppression. The view that these obstacles may be avoided by accepting the notion of European unification does not allow them to be completely circumvented. Indeed, while in the modern era it is advantageous to adopt this dynamic perspective of evolution, it does not appear a very workable perspective for earlier eras. Thus, a French historian places the origin of Europe in the Middle Ages and more precisely in the conferment, under the bishops' authority, of university diplomas valid throughout the continent. Actually a deep-seated misunderstanding prevails in all these cases, because of the desire to take a notion of real continuity as proof of the chosen interpretation when it is a matter of ideal or symbolic continuity. If we stick to the Middle Ages and universities, there is no doubt that talk of continuity between the mediaeval universities and the European universities cannot involve retracing a lineage as in one family. When there is question of the Bologna Process under the patronage of the universities of Paris and Bologna, as if their renown and their links had been perpetuated since the Middle Ages, it is far more a figure of speech than a reference to a historical fact. We are in the symbolic register and certainly in the process of building shared histories which have not been lived through together and may possibly be in the future alone. ▶▶▶

SHARED HISTORIES LOOKING MORE TO THE FUTURE THAN TO PAST OR PRESENT?

The next question to ask is probably whether or not exchanges of persons lead to the conception of shared histories for the future rather than with reference to the past; the very title of the Project under which this seminar is held points in that direction. A Europe without dividing lines is the expected outcome of a perception of Europe's histories as shared histories. This Europe is therefore regarded not so much as already existing as potential. It might even be a way of seeing Europe which should be espoused so as to have a representation of it in the register of the future, prompting us to build it on that pattern and thus to view it ever more as needing to be built than as immediately accessible.

This conception of shared histories looking more to the future than to the past and at all events more to be made than already made is very plainly apparent among the authors of school textbooks who present the history of countries with a past of conflicts and animosities, even hatreds deemed inexpiable, and try to offer perspectives of these events acceptable to the former opponents. A Franco-German textbook for all secondary classes has already been produced. A similar enterprise for Germany and Poland is proceeding. There is question of like operations in the Balkans with four partners. These initiatives bear witness firstly to the work of elaboration needed to arrive at a shared history. Many situations should be re-examined to obviate sticking-points. For example, French historians generally speak of 'barbarian invasions' with reference to the populations that settled in the territories of the Roman Empire in its dying days. German historians, for their part, speak of 'Völkerwanderung', that is movements of peoples. What had to be found was finally the expression 'migration of peoples' to spare the Germans from being called barbarians and to leave the French with the impression of an arrival en masse that could present problems. To write these books, similar problems had to be solved on numerous occasions. Moreover, the books are oriented towards the future rather than the present. As schoolbooks, a little like medicine, they should be assimilated in order to have the desired effects and, being aimed at young people, should instil into them perceptions which they should retain for life.

It is of course tempting to regard these textbooks as the very pattern of what shared histories should be, but the difficulties of rigorously following the pattern cannot be overlooked. The pairs of histories to be handled on this pattern are too numerous for this to be feasible in a foreseeable space of time. What is more, once this task is completed a Europe-wide conspectus would remain to be taken, a hazardous undertaking in methodological terms and of virtually unpredictable duration with no certainty in any case that the textbooks produced under these conditions would have prospects of being used in place of the national ones.

The circulation of the Franco-German history books was far smaller than expected in France and Germany alike. Moreover, the same setbacks befell the histories of Europe which were used as another formula to induce sharing of the two countries' history. Consequently, it would be better to take inspiration from these bi-national or multi-national books to be better informed of the precautions required in working on the different histories to assess what they can share and how.

Analysis of exchanges in education, whatever their nature, is definitely instructive in that regard. The analysis reveals that exchanges of ideas, knowledge, experiences and persons are a constant of the history of education and probably one of its characteristics in relation to other fields. But depending on the periods, the type and the extent of these exchanges vary. Up to the end of the 19th century and until the close of the First World War, ideas and knowledge circulated more than the persons generating them, and encounters of persons were usually the outcome of chance or of personal initiatives. Between the world wars, more organised and numerous exchanges took shape, but only after the Second World War would exchanges of persons and ideas alike undergo massive expansion.

But throughout these three periods there was apparently a predominance of histories shared mainly implicitly in that the individuals who came into contact did not possess a clear resolve to exercise or realise a common influence. This is illustrated by the first comparativists who thought to improve their country's schools thanks to what they had identified as satisfactory in those of other countries. They only looked further afield in order to come back home.

Since the end of the Second World War and even more so since the end of the Cold War, the position has been reversed. With readily crossable borders and all manner of exchanges having become possible, nobody is really at home any more. The other is omnipresent, and histories seem to be shared as a matter of course. But which histories? There is no history delivered ready-made, and that is as true today as yesterday.

This would be tantamount to saying that, thanks to the intensity of exchanges, all the elements of shared histories exist but that they remain to be constructed as the historian endeavours to do with any event by interpreting it. The process is indispensable to avert dreadful misapprehensions not only as to what the historical approach can contribute, but also regarding the conception of shared histories which should be entertained. The shared histories discernible in the history of education may be more indicative of oppositions than of encounters, of deficiencies than of attainments. It is no doubt an illustration of ambivalence in the very concept of sharing which may denote separation in division and conflict at the same time as apportionment in harmony within a community. ■■■

ACCESS AND EQUALITY: THE ROOTS OF THE NORWEGIAN COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL

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All Nordic countries, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Iceland and Norway, have a single structure, comprehensive school system for children and youngsters up to 16 as the basis for further education. This school model is part of the Nordic welfare state. It can be characterised as very egalitarian compared with that in many other European countries, for instance Germany, the United Kingdom and France. There are variations within the Nordic countries, too, but in this paper I am going to talk about the Norwegian system. I will trace the background of the Norwegian comprehensive school, in order to show how and why it became an increasingly egalitarian system over time.

Geographic differences, class, ethnicity and gender are all important variables in education. In this overview, I will give particular attention to gender, which has had a tendency to be neglected or downplayed in much school history. ►►►

EQUAL BEFORE GOD

The roots of the Norwegian comprehensive school can be traced all the way back to the 18th century, when Norway was in a union with Denmark. In 1736 the Lutheran, pietistic Danish King Christian of Denmark and Norway introduced compulsory confirmation in his realm. To prepare young people for this, three months of school was prescribed each year for five years in the rural districts for all children from the age of seven or eight. Since 95% of the population lived in the countryside, that meant almost everyone. No difference was to be made between farmers, cotters or other groups. Neither was a difference to be made between genders. Girls had the same need for God's mercy as boys, so they also needed to read the Bible. For practical reasons boys and girls were taught together, some in simple school-houses, but most of them in ambulatory schools, whereby teachers moved between farms, setting up school with the equipment they brought in a knapsack.¹

■ For the next 100 years, almost all children in the countryside attended a primary school and had a chance to learn to read. Norwegian school historians have rightly emphasised the long term effects of the egalitarian basis of this first school system, in which children from different social classes were taught together². It was equally important that children of both genders went to the same school, learning together in the same classrooms.

■ In town and city schools there was no equality, either of class or gender. Schools were different for the different classes or estates, and the point of education was to prepare each person for his or her estate. Children from the middle and upper classes went to private schools. There were separate private schools for boys and girls.³ Publicly run primary schools were open only to the poor. Many children did not go to school at all.

¹ School masters were instructed not to let girls and boys sit next to one another, but they were taught in the same rooms. Einar Ness 1989: Det var en gang – norsk skole gjennom tidene. Universitetsforlaget, Oslo.

² Rolf Grankvist 2000: Utsyn over norsk skole. Norsk utdanning gjennom 1000 år. Tapir, Trondheim, p. 39, 57

³ Primary schools in the towns often sorted under the poor-law authorities. This meant that schools were tied to poor-houses, and only compulsory for the poorest children. Ness, p. 53.

NATION BUILDING AND MODERNISATION

No substantial changes happened till the middle of the 19th century. In 1814, Norway had entered a new and less restricting union with Sweden. The country had adopted its own constitution, based on enlightenment principles and very democratic for its time. The aristocracy was abolished. From the start, the country strove for as much independence as possible within the union with Sweden. Building the new nation was a strong motivation for educating the people. The country was poor however, and really substantial changes would have to wait.

■ In the middle of the 19th century the need for better education became more pressing, and now it was facilitated by an expanding economy. Factories were built and industrial production began. There was a sharp increase in population, and towns and cities grew. This called for more up-to-date schools that could cope with the challenges of modernisation, and school reform became urgent. New, more secular school laws were passed in 1860, introducing subjects like writing, arithmetic and geography. Primary school was made compulsory for seven years. New school houses were built and the old ambulatory system ended. The difference between rural and urban districts was kept up, though. In the countryside, all classes and both genders still went to school together and were taught in the same classrooms. In towns and cities working class children went to municipal schools, middle and upper class children to private schools. Genders were separated both in public and private schools.

■ The laws for primary school were followed up by the creation of two new types of publicly supported secondary schools, built on a German model: Middle school [lower secondary school] and Gymnas [upper secondary school] (1869). Middle schools offered a solid but at the same time practical education, which could prepare pupils for a job in business or public service or lead on to further education at a gymnas. The gymnas ended with a final exam, *examen artium*, which was the entrance exam to the university. Both the middle schools and gymnas were all male schools. ▶▶▶

INCLUDING GIRLS IN SECONDARY EDUCATION

Since girls were not allowed into the middle schools, they could not take the middle school exams. Many private girl schools offered classes beyond primary school, but they did not have the right to hold examinations. The main aim of the girl schools was to prepare young women for being mothers and wives. Women were thought to be frail both physically and mentally, and it was generally held that studying for examinations and the strain of taking examinations would be harmful to them.

By the 1870s, modernisation and differentiation of the labour market had opened up new jobs to women. A middle school examination would obviously strengthen their position. This led to some quiet, feminine pressure on the male educational system. Young women started showing up at the schools, asking permission to take examinations. Some of them succeeded and were allowed to do so. In 1876 the Church Ministry confirmed the practice with an administrative decision that women would be allowed to sit for middle school examinations.

In 1880, another young woman decided to take the examination *artium*. This was the most prestigious school exam, and important because it was both the final exam of the gymnas and the entrance exam to the university. With the support of her father, she contacted a liberal member of the Storting, who started working on her case. There was not much resistance. Since this concerned a small elite of decidedly upper class women, it was not considered threatening. In just two years a bill was passed in the Storting with only one vote against it. As a logical follow-up, women were soon also granted the right to study and take any exam at the university (1884).

CO-EDUCATION

Although women now had the right to take the middle school exam, they were not given access to the schools. Instead, they had to go to a private school to prepare for the examination. For many middle class families, this was too expensive. Why were not girls allowed to go to a school supported by the state or the municipality, like their brothers did? During the 1880s, there was a fierce debate about co-education. Many thought co-education during the years of puberty and beyond was a serious threat to morals, and were particularly frightened that young women would be damaged by the experience. Others argued in favour of co-education. Girls in mixed classes would learn to be more straight forward, braver and fitter, while boys would be more polite and conscientious with their school work. By getting to know one another, misunderstandings between men and women would give way to understanding and respect.¹

In the end, economic realities paved the way for co-education. Norway was still a mainly rural country with a scattered population. If schools in small towns were to survive, they needed to enroll girls as well as boys, and they would have to be taught together, as they did not have the capacity for separate classes. In 1884 one small town asked the Storting for funds to start a middle school for both genders. After a fiery debate, the Storting granted the money. The new middle school soon became very popular. Schools all over the country followed the development closely, and even older, skeptical teachers said they felt very well working within such a system. Contemporaries saw this as a path breaking victory for gender equality and co-education.²

After a few years, the gymnas also started letting in girls. That made it much easier to take the *examen artium*, and the number of women at the university rose. In 1890 the public colleges for teacher education were opened to women, and became co-educational institutions. This was a substantial step forward for gender equality. Teaching was a very important job for middle class women. Now they did not have to pay for private schools, but could get a free education directly after primary school. ▶▶▶

¹ Anna Caspari Agerholt 1936/1973: Den norske kvinnebevegelsens historie. Gyldendal, Oslo, p. 61. Ola Stafseng 2001: "Ungdomsutdanning og fellesundervisning." In SKOLEN. Årbok for norsk utdanningshistorie, p. 33.

² Agerholt, p 58.

LIBERAL POLITICS,
RADICAL AMBITIONS

From the 1880s on there was a strong political movement for more democracy in Norway. In 1884, parliamentarianism was introduced, and a liberal cabinet elected. The goal of the new cabinet was a democratic, well-functioning nation united around a common, Norwegian culture. The class based school system needed to be turned into a school where the social classes were integrated, and more young people would have a chance to take an education at a higher level. This would strengthen the state by reducing class antagonism and preventing the conflicts with the working class that middle class politicians now saw coming. Liberal Prime Minister Johan Sverdrup wanted to turn the Norwegian people into a “harmonious nation cast in one piece”. His vision was that every child starting in a public primary school would be able to follow an unbroken road from first class in primary school to university. The basis for such a system, Sverdrup thought, would be a seven year comprehensive school.¹ The goal was reached step by step over a period of about 40 years. The Liberal party together with a set of very active and well organised primary school teachers led the way.

An important step was taken in 1889, when a new bill made five years of primary school compulsory before starting middle school. In 1896, the liberal majority in the Storting removed Latin as a requirement for entering university. There was a good deal of opposition, because it broke with a common, European academic culture.² Gymnas with English instead of Latin did make higher education more accessible, however.

¹ Grankvist, p. 94 – 97, quotation on p. 94 [In Norwegian: “en helstøpt og harmonisk nasjon”].

² Quotation from a manuscript by Alfred Oftedal Telhaug, quoted from Francis Sejersted 2005: Sosialdemokratiets tidsalder. Norge og Sverige i det 20. århundret. Pax, Oslo, p. 68.

Private schools stood in the way of social integration, and reformers saw them as a serious problem. The majority in the Storting did not want to force them to close, however. Instead, the quality of the public, primary schools would have to be good enough for well-to-do families. In 1905, Norway broke out of the union with Sweden. Business conditions were good. There was optimism and pride in the new nation. A great effort was made to improve public schools – with more hours, better premises, better pay and better education for teachers, free school materials and more focus on teaching methods. These timely and useful improvements had their dark side, however. In order to get the schools up to the wished for standard, those who “suffered from mental, physical or moral defects” were put into special classes or sent away to special schools, boarding schools or corrective institutions. Thus, while working on a great project for social integration, school reformers excluded a new group of children.³

By 1920, most private schools had lost the competition and had to close. That year, the Storting passed a bill that no middle schools would get government support unless they built on the public, 7 year primary school. In a country without a strong and numerous upper class, this in effect meant the end of private schools.

Not everyone was able to profit by the school reforms. For most youngsters from working class homes or living in the countryside, the right to take an education was purely theoretical. They had to start working when they were 14, whether they wanted to or not. From about 1900, boys could go to vocational schools or vocational training, and both genders could go to a voluntary, one-year continuation school. These schools were important to the young people who attended them, but they did not open the way to further education, and with some exceptions led to low status, low-income jobs.

With an economic depression starting in 1922, then the world economic crisis in the 1930s, middle class families in the cities had trouble putting their children through secondary school. This hit girls hardest, as families often gave priority to educating boys. Typically, the percentage of girls in secondary schools sank notably during these years, only to rise again in the late 1930s, when people had more money to spend.⁴

³ Ness p. 134. Sejersted, p. 7. Asbjørn Birkemo, 2001: “Opplæring av utviklingshemmede i statlig regi” in SKOLEN. Årbok for norsk utdanningshistorie. As late as 1951 a new Special School Act was passed, now including pupils with learning disabilities, language problems and emotional and behavioral problems. Not till the 1975 was this policy repealed. An extensive integration project was started. Today practically all children and young people are taught in their local, primary and lower secondary schools.

⁴ Knut Kjelstadli 1990: Den delte byen. Fra 1900-1948. Vol. 4 in Oslo bys historie. Cappelen, Oslo p. 332.

A NEW ALLIANCE - TEACHERS AND THE LABOUR PARTY

During the economically difficult years after 1922, school authorities were mostly concerned with saving money. Thus, when times got better from 1935 on, there was a great need for modernising. For the first time, a national curriculum was developed. It was published in 1939, and was meant to give teachers a new set of pedagogic tools. They were based on modern, psychological research and on progressive education in the tradition of John Dewey's learning-by-doing and Georg Kerchensteiner's Arbeitsschule. The national curriculum was a timely and very welcome change, and meant a great deal to teachers at the time.¹

This school reform too had its weak sides, however. One of them concerned gender. The 1936 school act had turned home economics into a compulsory subject for girls in city schools. In order to make room on the timetable, girls had fewer lessons in general subjects. They were better prepared for being housewives, but at the cost of knowledge that was vital if they wanted to go on to secondary school.² In addition, the contents of practical subjects in all schools were differentiated by gender, leaving out individual choice. While girls were doing needlework, boys were doing carpentry. In physical education, boys were competing with one another in team sports and track and field, while girls were dancing and singing, throwing balls to one another and doing rhythmic gymnastics. The 1939 national curriculum even specified that girls could not take part in ski jumping or the pentathlon.³ Regulations like this were motivated by the traditional gender roles, and in turn served to reinforce them.

1 Alfred Oftedal Telhaug and Odd Asbjørn Mediås 2003: Grunnskolen som nasjonsbygger. Abstrakt, Oslo 2003 pp. 111, quotation on p. 114. There was one curriculum for the countryside and one for the cities and towns, but with only minor differences.

2 Birgit Brock-Utne and Runa Haukaa 1980: Kunnskap uten makt. Kvinner som lærere og elever. Universitetsforlaget, Oslo, p. 32.

3 Trude Eriksen 2011: "Jenteklasser og gutteklasser – et tilbakevendende fenomen i skolen?" In Årbok for norsk utdanningshistorie 2011, p. 36

TOWARDS THE NINE YEAR COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL

In April 1940, Norway was invaded and occupied by Germany. This put a stop to further work on school reforms. After the Second World War, the Labour Party took governmental power. But there was a broad, political agreement that the spirit of solidarity that had been built up during the war, should go on. Many of the goals were the same as earlier: a common national culture and a democratic and integrated society with a great measure of equality. To this was added the vision of the welfare state: an efficient, growing economy and a will to share was to make improved welfare possible for everyone. Again, school was vital to achieving the political goals. In the period between 1945 and 1976 the number of children and young people in schools and higher education more than doubled – from 400.000 to 820.000. The most important cause of this was that compulsory school was extended from seven to nine years.⁴

Planning for a nine year comprehensive school started in the middle of the 1950s. The new and extended school would include all types of education for the age group 7-16: primary schools, lower secondary schools, vocational schools and continuation schools. In 1960, authorities began large scale experiments with the nine year school. Ten years later, a new school act made the nine year comprehensive school compulsory for all children and youngsters.

During these years, parents' right to choose a school for their children was very important in most Western countries. The attitude to private schools was mostly positive. In Norway, the number of private primary schools sank from 40 to 25 between 1945 and 1970. By then, only 0.5% of the pupils went to private schools.⁵ In this way Norway diverged from the European mainstream. The country was not alone, however. The other Nordic countries all built up the same kind of school systems. In Sweden, the comprehensive school was not introduced till after the Second World War, but then the Social Democratic party sped up the process. A bill introducing the plans for a nine year comprehensive school was passed in the Swedish National Assembly in 1950. When Norway started trying out the nine-year school, the Swedish school system was used as a model. The motivation was the same in the two countries: the comprehensive school was to be an important instrument for social integration.⁶ ▶▶▶

4 Edvard Bull 1979: Norge i den rike verden. In Cappelen's Norges historie, Oslo, p. 310.

5 Alfred Oftedal Telhaug 2008: Norsk skole i kulturkonservativt perspektiv, p. 285

6 Sejersted 515

GENDER EQUALITY

Although otherwise radical, The Norwegian Labour Party, which governed Norway from 1945 to 1965, believed deeply in traditional family values and gender roles. For many years, nothing was done to change the lack of gender equality in primary school. In urban schools, the genders were still taught in separate classrooms. And while girls were doing home economics, boys still had far more lessons in general subjects, for instance up to 200 more Norwegian lessons and 120 more mathematics lessons during the final years of primary school. In the mathematics books, some of the problems were marked with a star, which meant girls did not have to solve them. In spite of this, girls took the same exams as boys when competing to get into lower secondary school. Not surprisingly, some of them thought this was unfair.¹

■ **B**y the end of the 1950s, competition for school places had turned quite tough. Girls' parents started protesting to school authorities. This turned into a fundamental debate about gender equality in school. Women Labour Party politicians together with liberal feminists argued that equality in upbringing and education was necessary because it would lay a basis for individual, personal choices. The Women Teachers' Union, on the other hand, defended both separate girls' classes and girls' subjects. They held that the genders had different interests and talents. Letting girls develop their special qualities would lead to harmony and balance both in the girls and in society at large.²

■ **B**y now, co-education, which had once seemed scary and threatening to many, turned out to enjoy broad, public support. So did equal opportunities through common subjects and an equal amount of teaching. When the nine year youth school was introduced and extended in the period between 1959 and 1969, boys and girls got the same curriculum. This included home economics for everybody, regardless of sex.

■ **T**he debate about co-education is not ended for good, though. From the 1970s on, groups of feminists and others have worried that girls get less attention in mixed classes, and that they have to act as go-betweens for noisy and troublesome boys. Current school laws prescribe that classes are generally not to be organised according to gender, talent or ethnicity.³

1 Lønnå 2006 p. 189, Brock-Utne and Haukaa pp. 32 and 27.

2 Lønnå 2006 pp. 189-191.

3 Stafseeng, pp. 42 Eriksen p. 25

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Comparing Norwegian schools with other school systems, historians have pointed out that while Norway had a seven year compulsory school in 1945; England at the time had ten years, France and Germany eight years. Only in being a comprehensive school did a Norwegian school differ from other countries.⁴ The comprehensive school, however, was certainly an important achievement. It was the result of 100 years of dreams and planning. The forces behind it were liberalism with enlightenment roots, a striving for an integrated society without great class differences and the ambitions of an aspiring nation. After the Second World War the social democratic regime built on the inheritance from the liberal school reformers, expanding the comprehensive school and developing more education for everybody. While removing class differences was a very important goal, this was not the case with gender inequality. The authorities had no long-term plans to give women access to an education beyond primary school. Women from the middle class themselves took the initiative to open up the secondary schools, the university and the teachers' colleges. They then secured the support of the law-makers, who took their decisions partly in support of the principle of individual rights, partly for utilitarian considerations. Before the turn of the 20th century, women had won the right to almost all forms of education. Traditional gender roles were still deeply rooted, however. Achieving an education after primary school was much more difficult for a woman than for a man. Gender roles and gender stereotypes also stood in the way of giving girls the same quality of teaching that boys got. The last formal gender inequality was done away with when the nine year youth school was established in 1969.⁵

■ **T**oday, almost all children and youngsters, regardless of sex, academic abilities and family background, go to the same type of comprehensive and single-structure basic school for ten years, starting the year they turn six. There is no selecting, tracking or streaming during basic education. Neither is there any repetition of grades, and no pupils are transferred to other schools because of low academic achievement or other difficulties.⁶ Differentiation is to go on in the classroom. Children and youngsters with a need for special education are taught in their local schools and when possible in the common classroom. ▶▶▶

4 Ness, p. 175.

5 Another year was added in 1999, when compulsory school started at six instead of seven years.

6 Pisa in Focus 2011/6 (©OECD). According to this article, only Norway, Korea and Japan have no repetition of courses and no transfer to other schools. Differentiation is to go on in the classroom. Children and youngsters with a need for special education are taught in their local schools and when possible in the classroom.

Private schools on this level are not allowed unless they have an alternative confessional or pedagogical basis, and even confessional schools have to follow national teaching plans and general goals. That also means they have to follow up government aims to foster equality between the genders.

After ten years in basic school, practically all pupils enter into a public, free-of-charge upper secondary school for three or four years. Here, they branch out into 12 different programs, either vocational or general. All courses, including the vocational, can lead to higher education at a university or college. At secondary school level there are some private schools, most of them accredited and largely financed by the authorities. The number has risen during the last decade, but they still only cater to 5% of the secondary school pupils. Upper secondary school is now considered part of the comprehensive school system.¹

As should be the case in a democratic country, there is a running, public debate about education. Critics often take their point of departure in the mediocre Norwegian results in international tests like PISA. Academic achievements are average to low, order in the classroom and the willingness to do one's best are low.² There are large drop-out rates in the vocational programs of the upper secondary school, and working class boys are particularly vulnerable. Recruiting gifted young people to teaching colleges is difficult. Teachers are known to be badly paid and they have a low status.

¹ Number of pupils in private schools on primary and secondary school levels: (2.5% on primary level, 5% on secondary) from Deborah Nusche, Lorna Earl, William Maxwell and Claire Shrewbridge 2011: OECD Reviews of Evaluation and Assessment in Education. Norway, p. 15.

² Telhaug 2008, p. 102

How to set this right? The Red and Green government is working for more differentiation in the classrooms, better vocational programs and better teacher education. In the conservative and liberal parties there is a drive to open up for more private schools, and there is a running discussion about streaming in primary schools. Norway has a high degree of salary compression on the labour market, with relatively little differentiation of salary levels. A "strong concern for equity" is an important value in the society.³ This may change, however. Norway today is a rich, postindustrial country, adjusted to a global market economy. The kind of strict work ethics and thrift that used to be generally acknowledged may be on their way out. Class differences are growing and seem to be more easily accepted. That means the welfare state is put under pressure. Serious changes to the welfare state could have a crucial impact on our educational policy.

So far, however, there have been no really dramatic changes.⁴ Since the 1980s, society has gone through a period of economic liberalism, some deregulation and privatisation of the public sector. At the same time, however, the social network of the welfare state has been kept up and even strengthened. Most people seem to agree that the existing school system serves the country well, in spite of its imperfections. No responsible politician and no political party has seriously suggested breaking up the single structure, comprehensive school. Separate schools or even permanent separate classes or schools for boys and girls would probably be even more unthinkable. Still, changes are bound to come. My premonition is that they will go in the direction of more flexibility, more individual choice and more opportunities for gifted pupils, but that this will be done within the main frame of the comprehensive school. ■■■

³ Nusche et. al. p. 14.

⁴ Telhaug 2008: p. 44. Telhaug is discussing a question raised by Danish school historian Susanne Wiborg.

RUSSIAN FEDERATION TEXTBOOKS: THE ACTUALISATION OF HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE 1990s TO 2000s

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On March 3rd, 2011 President, Dmitri Medvedev signed a law, declaring 2012 as the *Year of History* in the Russian Federation "to attract society's attention to Russian history and to Russia's role in the global historical context". This year, plans are underway for the nation-wide celebration of historical anniversaries, such as the bicentennial anniversary of the Patriotic War of 1812, 150-year anniversary of the birthday of Pyotr Stolypin, who undertook successful reforms of the Russian Empire; the 400-year anniversary of the end of the so-called Interlunation and accession of the Romanov dynasty to the throne. However, the 150-year celebration of the emergence of Russian statehood is likely to be the most impressive. In addition, it is the 20-years anniversary of the new Russia. Such great attention to the historical past is preconditioned by a number of factors.

First of all, 20 years after the collapse of the USSR a model of the collective identity has yet to be formed. Over the course of this period, the national matrix consisting of different symbols and codes has changed its meaning at least five times. However, the process has not reached deadlock. To the contrary; it calls to mind a melting pot, where the symbols of the past, from different historical eras, from Imperial to Soviet, and modern geopolitical, social, religious, multiethnic and national constructs are mixed. What will be the result of this remolding? Which form will the new 'Russian idea' acquire? It is still hard to imagine. This dramatic process has been accompanied by focused discussions, fragmentation of intellectual trends and quite dramatic transformations of official discourse. Today, many members of society, from the president to prominent scientists, to well-known writers of political essays, to public figures, have to admit that a new national consensus regarding the understanding of their historical past and a new model of collective identity has not yet taken shape.

Secondly, the historical consciousness, the society's collective memory of its triumphs and its defeats, its traumas and its successes, has historically been founded on the basis of a worldview system. Eternal 'Russian questions' loom up through its prism: What is Russia like? What is its real and 'perceived space'? What are the foundations of its civil society? By what means should its interaction between society and the power be realised? How is it possible to create a 'democratic formula' from the national consensus and to preserve vast territories and create control over resources? What role should Russia play in the world? What countries are its strategic partners? What are Russia's national interests? The list of questions is endless. It is hard to ascertain the meaning of the social-political constructs that simultaneously reflect historical experience and form a public vision of the future. ▶▶▶

Reinhart Koselleck, the most prominent representative of the German school of the history of concepts (Begriffsgeschichte), made an important generalisation regarding evolution. For example, whereas the notion of 'democracy' has not lost its meaning, the neologisms of modernity, such as 'fascism', 'Stalinism', 'Caesarism' (imperial state), 'communism', 'socialism' and many other notions ending with 'isms', turned over the course of time into specific ideological abstractions. They simultaneously integrated the 'sphere of experience' and formed the 'horizon of expectations'. Gradually, they grew from abstract notions into the stimuli of the corresponding events and processes in the social practice and historical memory, presenting them as logical inevitability, natural way of life¹. It is no overestimation to say that historical education helps form the system of basic constructs, the societal 'code' for the future. However, in school history often turns into an endless narrative of wars and conflicts. Attention is paid to the description of wars and redrawing of borders rather than to social - cultural achievements. How should we define the optimal correlation between bellicose heroism that is the basis of all national history; and the potential of peace building and humanism? Russian Federation historians and society in general will have to continue to seek answers to these questions.

Thirdly, Russia has experienced many problems with regard to educational strategies, academic interpretations, and declassification of archival sources. The year 2012 will likely see qualitative changes in the field of historical education. The teaching of history in secondary school spans six years, from the 5th to the 11th grade. A student has to learn the material from 7-8 textbooks, covering different historical eras. Each year the Ministry of Education and Science publishes the list of recommended history books that contains between 70-90 texts. There are only for secondary school. However, it is the fragmented views of the authors of these books, rather than the number of books. This fragmentation of views is primarily tied to the historical continuity between the imperial, soviet and post-soviet eras that in Russia was destroyed by revolutions, civil unrest, repressions and wars. Now, more than 80 % of pupils do not know the names and patronymics of their great grandparents, around 30% are unaware of their great-grandparents surnames, and around 40% do not know, when the city or town, in which they live was founded. Restoring the connection between family stories and national and world history is crucial for the Russian Federation society. It will then be easier to correlate the events of national and world history immediately with the memories of families and communities, to perceive common humanist values.

¹ An attempt of analysis of R. Koselleck's ideas in Russia's political discourse can be found in a work by N.E. Kopusov: Н.Е. Копосов. Основные исторические понятия и термины базового уровня: к семантике социальных категорий // Журнал социологии и социальной антропологии. 1998. Т. 1. № 4. (N.E. Kopusov. The Main Historical Definitions and Terms of the Basic Level: on the Semantics of the Social Categories // Journal of Social Sciences and Social Anthropology. 1998, Vol. 1. № 4. (pdf, accessed May 3, 2011)

In 2011, Rector of the Russian State University for the Humanities (RSUH) and Academician of the Russian Academy of Sciences Efim Pivovarov launched an initiative to create the internet-portal "Native History," which would reflect different dimensions of Russia's historical knowledge. Within the framework of this multimedia project, a significant number of views, including not only the controversial aspects of Russian history, but also a wide spectrum of Russia's historical perceptions, ranging from family stories to local history, from the regional to the global level are being widely discussed. The internet-portal has been assuming authority, new sites are being launched, and their content includes more and more informational dimensions. But the new trend in the historical representations holds great promise. It is aimed not only at students and pupils, but is available for all users. Then it will be easier to correlate the events of the national and world history immediately with the memories of the families and communities, to perceive common humanist values.

The above mentioned factors demonstrate the difficulty of the situation concerning current historical education. The aim of this report is to identify the main trends in the modern historical narrative, on the basis of analysis of a selection of history textbooks for secondary schools and universities that have been published within the last 20 years in Russia. In preparing the report, besides the results of my own research, I used the final statement of the expert group, consisting of the professional historians of the RSUH, on the actualisation of national historical experience in school history textbooks². The aim of the report is to:

- systematise the explanatory concepts of the authors of the textbooks;
- identify historical topics that contain the largest number of disputable interpretations;
- identify the trends of development of history education in the Russian Federation by summing up the initiatives of the last years.



² Анализ современных подходов к актуализации общенационального исторического опыта в условиях современной России в школьных учебниках по истории. Экспертное заключение от 02.12.2011. Авторы: А.Б. Безбородов, Н.В. Елисеева, И.В. Курукин, В.Б. Лушпай, Е.Ю. Наумов, Ф.Г. Тараторкин. С.1-21 (на правах рукописи) (Analysis of the Modern Approaches to the Actualization of the National Historical Knowledge in Modern Russia in School Textbooks of History. Expert statement dated by 02.12.2011. Authors: A.V.Bezborodov, N.V.Eliseeva, I.V.Kurukin, V.B.Lushpai, E.Y.Naumov, F.G.Taratorkin. P. 2- 21 (on the right of manuscript).

CLASSIFICATION OF EXPLANATORY CONCEPTS IN THE HISTORICAL NARRATIVE

During Soviet times, the main definitions of historical discourse strictly corresponded to a formational Marxist approach. It was not until the end of the 1980s, that Russia saw the dramatic shift in methodological paradigms. By the mid-1990s, it was the 'civilisation' approach that was established in the new textbooks of history¹. Methods of comparative analysis were widely used instead of linear description, where reason-cause ties prevail. Local civilisations, as specific socio-cultural communities at the national and supranational levels, were represented in their synchronised historical dimension². The 'civilisation' approach gave tremendous opportunities for comparative analogies to Russian historians, emphasising debates about Russia in global and local historical contexts. It proved to be convenient for advocates of different, often contradictory beliefs. They all used terms that contained the word 'civilisation', but attributed different, often contradictory meanings to basic social-political notions. Such a mix of notions led to the formation of different perceptions of eras and concepts of national history. Three main models of historical narrative are identifiable in the Russian Federation textbooks. Though not existing in their 'pure' sense, as their boundaries are blurred, each of them has enough assumptions and intersections. The differences lie in the interpretation of the parameters of 'Russian statehood', such basic notions as 'modernisation', 'civil society', and 'democracy'. Besides, the main difference lies in the evaluation and descriptive characteristics of the main eras: Imperial, Soviet, and Post-soviet.

1 A successful attempt of the paradigm's description can be found in the report « Репрезентации истории и переработка прошлого в постсоветской России » (Representation of history and remaking of history in the post-soviet Russia), made at the University of Geneva, 12-14 of May, 2011 by Vera Kaplan, the research scientist of the Cummings Center for Russian and Eastern European Studies at the Tel Aviv University.

2 The most popular among the Russian Federation school was the textbook: Хачатурян В.М. История мировых цивилизаций. М.: Дрофа, 1996. (M.V.Khachatryan. The History of the World Civilizations. Moscow: Drofa, 1996).

MODEL 1. THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION HISTORY IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBAL TRANSITION

This model first appeared in history textbooks of the first half of the 1990s. It was created in the context of the theory of 'democratic transition' that was, by and large, transmitted to the Russian intellectual space just after the collapse of the Soviet Union and subsequent widespread rejection of Marxist ideology. The approach, was interpreted by the supporters of the idea of democratic transit as the inevitable natural spread of Western cultural values, primarily the values of liberal democracy and a market economy. The West was perceived as the referential pattern of world development, and efficiency of each local modernisation was evaluated in accordance with the scale of assimilation of Western experience. In the textbooks written by Alexander Kreder, for example, it is possible to see admiration for the dynamism and creativity of European civilisation³.

Many theories and ideas of Anglo-American, German or French schools, that appeared in Russia belatedly, were often regarded as the latest scientific achievements. It was at that point, when many Western textbooks, written for teachers and professors of schools and universities, were translated into Russian.⁴ They were reinterpreted adequately or, in contrast, interpreted only moderately closely to the text (depending on the author's knowledge of English) and new concepts, new models of world interactions were based upon their knowledge. But as Academician A. Chubarian puts it, it was at that time, when freedom of creativity played a crucial role, when new approaches were emerging out of many foreign concepts, when many Russian scientific schools and directions were appearing, and when the development of new methods and interdisciplinary methodologies was enhancing the Russian science.⁵

3 Кредер А. Новейшая история. XX век. Книги 1-2. М: Центр гуманитарного образования, 1995 (A.Kreder. Modern History. 20th century. Books 1-2. Moscow, Center of Humanitarian Education.1995)

4 Гренвил Дж. История XX века. Люди. События. Факты. М.: Аквариум. 1999. 896 с. Эриксен, Туре Линне Всемирная история: С 1850 года до наших дней: [Учеб.]: Для ст. кл. шк. и гимназий: Проб. вып. / Т.Л. Эриксен; Пер. с норвеж. Ф. Золотаревской. СПб.: Гюльдендаль в сотрудничестве с фондом "Всемир. филос. б-ка XX век и XXI", 1994. 551 с.: ил., карты.

5 Чубарьян А.О. Основные этапы внешней политики России // Современные международные отношения и мировая политика. Учебник. Отв. ред. А.В. Торкунов. М., 2004. С. 29-31 (Chubaryan A.. The basic stages of Russia's Foreign Policy// Modern International Relations and World Politics. Course book. Ed. by A.V. Torkunov, Moscow, 2004. P.29-31).

Through the 1990s and early 2000s, Professor Alexander Ahiezer developed the socio-cultural methodology of analysis of the Russian Federation history and society. He introduced the category of 'dual opposition' that had to reflect the historical duality of Russia. In his opinion, the dynamism of the country's development could be explained by the constant interaction of two paradigms – 'constitutional – democratic' and 'Slavophil – majestic'. This creates a specific situation of imminent socio-cultural division of Russian society. Only through analysis of the dynamics of these opposing paradigms, of their mutual destruction and interpenetration, is it possible, as A. Ahiezer argues, to understand the cycle of dominance of one or the other paradigm.¹

Alexander Ahiezer's theories influenced the conceptual positions of a number of textbooks, which emphasised the dualism of Russia's historical developmental pattern, constantly facing a choice between civilisation alternatives.² The most striking element was that the Soviet period was described as a breakdown of civilisation in Russian history. Or so, I. N. Ionov wrote in the textbook *Russian Civilisation: "Bolsheviks, as a matter of fact, undermined the spiritual tenets of modernisation and were promoted the establishment of traditional ideals of 'equality' and 'justice', contradicting the idea of lawfulness."³ The idea of the Russian Empire opposed the notion of a totalitarian USSR. It was the modernisation, carried out by P. Stolypin that led to "magnification of Russia, with civil rights gaining ground on the basis of responsible economic and political behavior of its citizens", that Ionov described with nostalgia. However, it was the effect of industrialisation in Soviet times that was substantially diminished.⁴*

A dramatic change in historical attitudes occurred in contrast to the time of total criticism of the imperial era that had been reproduced in all Soviet textbooks. But this criticism, like the previous one, was characterised by the approach of exaggerating good and evil arguments. The totalitarian USSR regime dramatically contrasted with the image of lawful autocracy, where the "restrictions on the monarchial rule were defined by law".⁵

1 See his main works: Динамика российского общества: вклад в науку. Ахиезер А.С. Труды. М., 2006. 408 с. (The Dynamics of the Russian Society: Contribution to the science. Ahiezer A.S. M., 2006) 408 p.; Янов А. Ахиезер А., Давыдов А. Как историки объясняют историю? И можно ли объяснить историю историей? (Yanov A., Ahiezer A., Davidov A., How Historians Explain History? And Is Historical Explanation of History Possible?)

2 Ионов И.Н. Российская цивилизация IX- начала XX века. 3-е издание. М.: Просвещение, 2000; Сороко-Цюпа О.С., Смирнов В.П., Посконин В.С., Строганов А.И. Мир в двадцатом веке. М.: Просвещение, 1997 (I. N. Ionov. Russian civilization of the IX - early XX century. 3rd edition. Moscow: Prosveshenie, 2000; O.S.Soroko-Tsyupa, V.P. Smirnov, V.S.Poskonin, A.I.Stroganov. The World in the 20th Century. Moscow, Prosveshenie, 1997).

3 Ионов И.Н. Указ. Соч. С.281 (I.N. Ionov. Ibidem, P. 281)

4 Островский В.П., Уткин А.И. История России. XX век. 11 класс. М.: Дрофа, 2002. С. 86-97. Реформы П. Столыпина названы «русским чудом». (V.P.Ostrovski, A.I.Utkin. History of Russia. 20TH Century. For the 11th Grade of School. Moscow, Drofa, 2002. P.86-97.) The reforms, carried out by Pyotr Stolypin are called the "Russian miracle".

5 Алексашкина Л.Н., Данилов А.А., Косулина Л.Г. Россия и мир в XX веке. Учебник для 11 кл. М.: Просвещение, 2003. С. 36 (L.N. Aleksashkina, A.A. Danilov, L.G.Kosulina. Russia and the World in the 20th century. Textbook for 11th grade. Moscow, Prosveshenie, 2003. P.36.)

MODEL 2. RUSSIAN HISTORY AS A REFLECTION OF THE EVOLUTION OF STATE AUTHORITY AND RUSSIAN POLITICS

If the authors of the textbooks of the 1990s were seeking to distance themselves from the Soviet era, a different trend became apparent in the 2000s, with the retreat from theories of 'democratic transit' and 'totalitarianism'. Gradually, the controversial, emotional, stylistic nuances of the historical narrative faded into the background. Overcoming the negative attitudes of the 'civilisation breakdown' in people's minds became possible through the creation of the state –centric model of Russian history. Textbook authors were seeking evidence of the 'recovery' of the 'fabric' of constant historical development in the tradition of Russian statehood, rather than in society. The idea of the state as Russia's basic value is rooted in the Imperial era. As a matter of fact, it was dominant in Soviet times, but was mixed with other Marxist concepts.

After explicit loyalty to the West, the Russian Federation society was flooded with new ideas, views and interpretations of the 'Russian national idea'. Marina Lebedeva, one of the leading Russian experts in the research of world political processes, also notices this trend. Explaining the reasons for the increased attention of Russian intellectuals to the state-centered world models, she points at the motives that could drive this attention. First of all, historically, Russia has tended to lean towards a strong centralised state. Secondly, it was the psychological reaction of the post-soviet society, after the weakness of weak state power in the 1990s and the loss of its global superpower geopolitical status. Respectively, the concepts and attitudes of Russian authors reflected intellectual strife in perceiving the ways of strengthening statehood in making domestic as well as foreign policies.⁶

But quite often in this situation the facts have become hostage to the ideological doctrine. National practice is far from being perfect, it requires incessant critical reflections on the part of society to adapt challenges of time and modern social demands. But the state–centered historical representation distorts the balance between the history of state authority and consociation processes. ►►►

6 Лебедева М.М. Мировая политика и проблемы преподавания мировой политики в российских вузах // Десять лет внешней политики России. М. 2002. С. 765 (Lebedeva M.M. World Politics and the Problems of Teaching World Politics in Russian Universities// A Decade of Russian Foreign Policy. Moscow, 2002. P. 765)

According to this interpretation, the society, as the main actor in history, is only the background for the transformation of power. The most sensitive topics in this model could include: 1) the nationalities issue in the Russian Empire/the USSR/Russian Federation; 2) Stalinism; 3) continuity of Russian statehood; 4) the cost of victory in the Great Patriotic War; 5) the reasons for the collapse of the USSR; 6) destabilisation of state authority in the 1990s; 7) civil society and the issue of national consensus in the post-soviet period. The report's framework does not allow detailed discussion of each of these subjects. Here is presented a brief review.¹

Recently the textbooks, written on the basis of the state-centered approach, have caused public discussion. The 3rd edition of the textbook by professors of the Moscow State University A. Vdovin and A. Barsenkov, sparked heated discussions.² The authors pay special attention to the Jewish question. The text discusses Jewish members of Politburo, Jews in the Gulag, how many of Jews worked in the repressive state organs, and how many were subject to repression. This idea, adapting to identify different quantitative features among the Jewish population, runs through the entire text. Not a single Russian historical book contains such a detailed examination with deliberate subtext. Given this, the authors' conclusion that there was no state anti-Semitism in the USSR appears paradoxical. This odious book also states that the "Great Terror was launched by the NKVD" (The People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs in the USSR); there is no mention of Stalin's personal responsibility. The attempts to find justification for Stalin's repressions can be found in other textbooks, whose authors claim that purges were justified by the "logic of building socialism."³ "By conducting purges, Stalin strengthened, rather than weakened the Red Army," and "the former supporters of Trotsky were his political enemies, and he dealt with them in accordance with the laws of the struggle of that time."³ As we see here, the state-centered model includes not only the danger of misrepresentation of the historical narrative with a prejudice towards official discourse, but it leads to biases, humiliating historical memory and national feelings. The Commission for Interethnic Relations and Freedom of Conscience of the Public Chamber initiated a professional analysis of the text of the book by A. Vdovin and A. Barsenkov which revealed a lot of inaccuracies and clear distortions. The textbook was withdrawn from sale and excluded from the list of official textbooks.

1 См., к примеру, не бесспорные рецензии и обзоры историка Никиты Соколова: Культурно-исторические впечатления: Для создания «правильной» памяти о сталинизме наука без надобности. Стенгазета. URL: <http://www.stengazeta.net/article.html?article=5629> (дата обращения: 05.03.2012); Оправдание насилия в российских учебниках истории. Уроки истории: XX век. URL: <http://urokiistorii.ru/current/view/2010/08/nikita-sokolov-nasilie-i-mifologiya-rossiiskoi-modernizatsii> Родословная русской свободы: Цена конституции. Стенгазета URL: (дата обращения: 05.03.2012); <http://www.stengazeta.net/article.html?article=5375> (дата обращения: 05.03.2012); Карацуба И.В., Курукин И.В., Соколов Н.П. Выбирая свою историю. "Развилки" на пути России: от рюриковичей до олигархов. М.: КоЛибри, 2006. 638 с. и др.

2 Вдовин А., Барсенков А. История России. 1917-2009. М.: Аспект-пресс, 2010. (A. Vdovin, A. Barsenkov. History of Russia. 1917-2009. M. (Aspect-press), 2010.

3 Новейшая история Отечества: XX век. В 2-х тт. Под ред. Киселев А.Ф., Щагин Э.М. Изд. 2-е испр. М.: Владос, 2002. Т. 2. С. 84, 117 (The Modern History of Russia. XX century. In 2 Volumes. Ed. by A.F. Kiselev, E.M. Shchagin. 2nd edition. Moscow, Vlados, Vol.2, P.84; P.117).

No less dangerous is a trend of unilateral interpretation of the multi-ethnicity of the Russian state. Not infrequently, the history of the Russian Federation is practically focused on the description of events in its three federal districts, the Central, North-Western and Southern. But Russia occupies a vast territory, inhabited by hundreds of ethnic groups. As citizens of the Russian Federation, their representatives preserve their local identities. What is the best way to reach a national consensus in the reconstruction of processes of colonisation and annexation of new lands, natural and forced assimilation and ethnic repression? What is the solution to avoid provocation of public sentiments regarding historical trauma while paying tribute to the collective memory of different societies? It seems almost impossible to achieve. However, it is necessary to continue the search and efforts to overcome the rejection of history. But the intentional suppression of the traumatic episodes of the past would not promote mutual understanding.

Prominent specialists in ethno-politics justly pay attention to the differences of opinions between federal and regional authors regarding the portrayal of the Caucasian war and in the interpretation of the deportation of several peoples of the Northern Caucasus from 1943-1944, that became a real tragedy in their history.⁴ The textbooks of L.N. Jarova and I.A. Mishina state that the Stalinist deportation, though "it was a violation of the basic human rights, it was explained as punishment for their cooperation with the Nazis."⁵ Another book states that around 20 thousand highlanders fought together with the Nazis against the Red Army.⁶ While recalling the facts of collaboration, the authors do not evaluate the tragic consequences of the ethnic deportations, in essence justifying them. Such a dual perception also arises when discussing the topic of joining the territories of the Caucasus to Russia, and the Caucasian war of the 19th century. It is regrettable indeed that in discussing such sensitive topics, textbooks of the federal level fail to include the points of view of Caucasian historians who have created their own historical narratives in their own regional textbooks.⁷ ▶▶▶

4 Шнирельман В.А. Ценность прошлого: этноцентристские исторические мифы, идентичность и этнополитика // Малашенко А., Олкост М.Б. (ред.). Реальность этнических мифов. М.: Гендальф, 2000. С. 13; Гагагова Л.С. Северный Кавказ: метаморфозы исторического сознания // Аймермахер К., Бордюгов Г. (отв. ред.) Национальные истории в советском и постсоветском государствах. М.: АИРО – XX, 1999; Гагагова Л.С. Империя: идентификация проблемы // Вестник Института цивилизаций. Владикавказ. 1998. Вып. 1. С. 176; Цуциев А.А. Русские и кавказцы: очерк незеркальной неприязни // Там же. С. 252-254 (V.A. Shnirelman. The Value of the Past: Historical Myths of Ethnocentricity, Identity and Ethnopolitics // A. Malashenko, M.B. Olkost (ed.). Reality of the Ethnical Myths. Moscow: Gendalf, 2000. P. 13.; L.S. Gatagova. The Northern Caucasus: Metamorphoses of the Historical Knowledge // K. Imermaher, G. Bordugov (ed.) National History in the Soviet and Post – Soviet states. Moscow, IRO – XX, 1999; L.S. Gatagova. Empire: the Identification of the problem // Vestnik Instituta Tsivilizatsii. Vladikavkaz. Issue 1, P.176; Tzutziev. Russians and Caucasians: An Essay of Non-mirror Misunderstanding // Ibidem, P.252-254.

5 Жарова Л.Н., Мишина И.А. История Отечества. XX век. Учебник для 9 класса. М.: Центр гуманитарного образования, 2002. С. 338 (L.N. Jarova, I.A. Mishina. Russian History. Textbook for the 9th Grade of School. Moscow: the Center for the Humanitarian Education, 2002, P.338).

6 Загладин Н.В., Минаков С.Т., Козленко С.И., Петров Ю.А. История Отечества. XX век. Учебник для 9 класса. М.: Русское Слово, 2002. С. 233 (N.V. Zagladin, S.T. Minakov, S.I. Kozlenko, Y.A. Petrov. Russian History. Textbook for the 9th Grade of School. Moscow, Russkoe Slovo, 2002).

7 For example: Кодзоев Н.Д. История ингушского народа. Учебное пособие для 7-9 классов общеобразовательной школы. Магас: Сердало, 2002; Анфимов Н.В., Джимов Б.М., Емтыль Р.Х. История Адыгеи. Майкоп: Адыгейское книжное издательство, 1993; Блиев М.М., Бзаров Р.С. История Осетии с древнейших времен до конца XIX в. Учебник для старших классов средних школ. Владикавказ: Ир, 2000 (N.D. Kodzoev. The History of the Ingush People: Textbook for the 7-9th Grades of School. Magas: Sergalo, 2002; N.V. Anfimov, B.M. Jimov, R.H. Emtyl. The History of Adygeia. Maikop. Publishing House of Adygeia, 1993; M.M. Bliev, R.S. Bzarov. The History of Ossetia from the Ancient Times till the end of the 19th century. Textbook for the senior classes of schools, Vladikavkaz, 2000).

Textbooks, devoted to the history of such a complicated country as the Russian Federation, should reflect not only the motives of state politics, but the historical reality of the various national territories. Otherwise, schoolchildren will read the false phrases that “there were no special laws for ‘Great Russians’ and other peoples”¹, as if separate Jewish settlements did not exist, and the inaccurate portrayal of the policy of ‘Russification’ in the Baltic provinces and in the Privislenski edge. An obvious bias toward a ‘patriotic conscience’ could create nihilism.

The experts of RSUH, having analysed the ten leading school textbooks, reached the conclusion, that Russian pre-revolutionary history is actualised within the framework of the paradigm of supreme power and patriotism, by the different aspects of early, and particularly Imperial Russia. Vagueness and a facts-oriented approach in the cultural sphere, a lack of national topics, and the explicit bias towards political history have become the main problems of the textbooks.²

There is no denial, that a textbook on history, as an integral intellectual object, contains a strategic program for the developing of civil culture among the young generation. It’s a complicated task to create an integral textbook on Russian history that would resolve the demands of the centre and regions that would reduce the potential for aggressiveness in the historical perception of each other and set the ‘code’ of humanism, cooperation and pride for their country and its future. What is the perfect combination of national discourse and local historical practices, civil society discourse, the problems of interaction and historical traumas? Authors of present-day textbooks are trying to resolve these issues with varying degrees of success. However, it is important that these issues are included on the agenda of the professional community of historians.³

1 Новейшая история Отечества. XX век. В 2-х тт. Под ред. Киселева А.Ф., Щагина Э.М. Изд. 2-е. М: Владос. Т.1. С.16 (The Modern History of Russia. XX century. In 2 Volumes. Ed. by A.F.Kiselev, E.M.Shchagin. 2nd edition. Moscow, Vlados, Vol.1, P.16).

2 The Expert Report “Analysis of the modern approaches to actualisation of the national historical experience in the conditions of the modern Russia in textbooks on history for schools”. P.21. (manuscript).

3 A book for teachers published in 2007 and edited by A.V.Fillpov that many experts considered to be a project of Administration of President, aimed at unification of the textbooks of history, caused a wave of criticism. The special criticism was provoked by the chapter called “Sovereign Democracy”, and the appraisals of the post-soviet period which were all but highly positive. Филиппов А.В. Новейшая история России, 1945-2006. Книга для учителей. М: Просвещение, 2001 (A.V.Fillpov. Modern history of Russia, 1945-2006. A Textbook for Teachers. Moscow, Prosveshenie, 2001). Yet in his first book A.V. Fillpov, in essence, reconstructed the continuity between historical eras. So, the Soviet state was considered as embodiment of the traditional tenets of power – from Moscow princes to the late empire. In his new book A.V. Fillpov did not suppress the facts of repression of the 1930-1950th (he considers them to be aimed against the ruling class), the official anti-Semitism, repressions of the scientists – geneticists. The Stalin’s state stands as a restored monarchy with the cult of the ruler, being unitary in its essence.

MODEL 3. RUSSIAN HISTORY AS A COMBINATION OF SOCIAL- CULTURAL, ECONOMIC, MULTIETHNIC, AND CULTURAL – CIVILISATION PROCESSES IN EURASIA AND THE WORLD (THE MODEL OF INTERSTATE AND TRANSNATIONAL INTERACTION)

This textbook model, based on a systemic approach, has only begun to emerge, because it requires the accumulation of efforts not only of professional historians, but also social scientists, ethnologists and scholars of cultural sciences. It forms an interdisciplinary space, aimed at developing creativity and an ‘open-minded’ approach, avoiding the didactic unsystematic learning of the truths and facts. The most promising approach is within the frameworks of modern history courses at the university level. At the RSUH the projects of complex historical education have been mostly developed, where a series of different educational materials are being developed devoted to a single historical era: textbooks, where historical narrative is structured according to the principle of identifying a problem⁴, classic versions of courses⁵, electronic readers⁶, and textbooks on historiography.⁷

The textbook model based on the creation of a systemic textbook of Russia with complex multimedia support is quite feasible in the Russian Federation where there are 17 scientific think – tanks in different spheres of historic knowledge, and more than 40 thousand professional historians. Besides, the All-Russian Society of Historians – Archivists (Chairman is the Rector of the RSUH, E.I.Pivovarov) and the Association of Teachers of History and Natural Sciences are functioning actively at the present moment.



4 Отечественная история новейшего времени 1985-2005 гг. Под ред. А.Б. Безбородова. М: РГГУ, 2006; История России в новейшее время: 1985-2009. Под ред. А.Б. Безбородова. М: Проспект, 2010; Безбородов А., Елисеева Н., Шестаков В. Перестройка и крах СССР. Книга для учителей. СПб.: Норма, 2010. (Modern History of Russia 1985 -2005. Ed. by A.B.Bezborodov. Moscow, RSUH, 2006; Modern History of Russia: 1985 -2009. Ed.by A.B.Bezborodov. Moscow, Prospect, 2010; A.Bezborodov, N.Eliseeva, V.Shestakov. Perestroika and the Collapse of the USSR. A Textbook for Teachers. Saint – Petersburg, Norma, 2010). The correlation of chapters on Russia’s political development, its economy, culture, social processes, and foreign policy is generally equalised, to demonstrate the combination of different trends in Russian politics and society.

5 Отечественная история для студентов высших учебных заведений. Россия. XX век. Документы и материалы. В 2-х томах. М: Высшая школа, 2004; Современная Россия (1985-2010). Хрестоматия. Н.В. Елисеева (отв. ред.), М, Издательство ОГИ, 2011 (Russian history for students of high schools. Russia, 20th century. Documents and materials. In two volumes. Moscow, High School, 2004; Modern Russia (1985-2010), Reader. Ed. by N.V.Eliseeva. Moscow, OGI Publishing House, 2011).

6 История современной России (1985-2010). Хрестоматия: Электронная версия. Н.В. Елисеева (отв. ред.) М: РГГУ, 2011; Очерки истории перестройки. Электронный ресурс 2010 года. Раздел « Новости историографии » // www.ru.90 ru (Интернет-портал « Уроки девяностых » (The History of the Modern Russia (1985 -2010). Reader. Ed. by N.V.Eliseeva. Moscow, RSUH, 2011. The Essays of the Perestroika History. Electronic resource of 2010. Section: “News of Historiography” // www.ru.90 ru (the Internet – portal “The lessons of the 1990s).

7 Современное осмысление в контексте истории СССР/России. Под ред. Е.И. Пивовара, А.Б. Безбородова. М:РГГУ, 2011. (Modern Russian Studies in the context of the history of the USSR/Russia/ Ed. by E/I/Pivovarov, A.B.Bezborodov. Moscow: RSUH, 2011). A textbook of Foreign Studies of Russia, where scientific researches of foreign centers on Russian Studies will be analysed will be released shortly.

■ In generalising the initiatives of the last years in history education, it is possible to identify several perspective trends:

1. It is crucially important to develop the project on developing a textbook with multi-level informational accessibility, "The History of Multiethnic Russia" as the synthesis of the regional histories of the Subjects of the Russian Federation. Its levels of information would be defined by the standard minimum (the first level); then by the balance of local, regional, national, European and world issues.
2. Actualisation of the issues of civil society and topics concerning human rights and democracy, and the formation of conceptual approaches to the combination of questions of the history of civil society as a single historical process in educational literature¹. The problem of the underrepresentation of civil society in textbooks for schools and universities can be approached from different perspectives. First of all, it can be viewed as a scientific problem of learning Russia's historical experience without political considerations of the uncomfortable limits of history. Secondly, the history of the formation of civil society in Russia should be harmonised with all public processes in different historical eras. Thirdly, the history of civil initiatives should be conceptually marked in educational literature in order to understand the traditions and notions of public mobilisation, civil self-determination and responsibility.
3. Finally, an important trend of transnational dialogue on disputed issues of historical memory is worth noting. At the governmental level as well as at the level of bilateral historical commissions, the issues of the creation of joint history textbooks are widely discussed. Of course, such projects bear a certain risk of falsification, as each nation has its own view on the evaluation of history and sees its own historical perspectives. Combined bilateral textbooks on history solve primarily intergovernmental political tasks. But these are important steps towards overcoming the barriers and ideological mental filters, in order to better understand the motivation of the other side. The project of a joint Russian-German reader, publishing the sources on the history of two countries in different historical eras, was successfully completed. In 2011, at the governmental level the publication of a textbook on the history of Russia and Germany was announced. Within the bilateral project with Ukraine, work on the creation of a joint history textbook for Ukraine and Russia has been started. Academician A. Chubaryan, who is leading this project from the Russian side, notes that they will not be only textbooks. They will be rather tutorials, consisting of several modules on different historical topics that will be the focus of attention for joint working groups of historians.

¹ It is worth noting the book by Дмитриева Ю.А., Кучерены А.Г. Гражданское общество в России. Проблемы становления и развития. Учебное пособие. М.: Юнити, 2009 (Y.A. Dmitrieva, A.G. Kucherena. The Civil society in Russia. Issues of establishment and development. Textbook, Moscow, Unity, 2009).

■ The prospects of present civil society in the Russian Federation are closely connected with the creation of new, more advanced textbooks and tutorials adequate to the today's challenges. It is important, by preserving the former experience in the educational strategies, to sophisticate them, applying to new realities, expanding the place for dialogue with historians from different countries, to find innovative, effective decisions to overcome the simplicity of the outdated models. It is only the professional dialogue of historians on the issues of the history of the Russian Federation at the local, federal, transnational and global levels that will help to create efficient approaches to the formation of sustainable humanist history education in the Russian Federation. ■■■

EXCHANGE OF KNOWLEDGE, IDEAS AND ACTORS: THE POLISH EXAMPLE

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EXPANSION OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE MEDIEVAL EUROPE

The year 966 (the coming of Christianity) is considered as the beginning of Poland's statehood and culture. It marked the passage from tribal organisation to a principality (then kingdom) organised according to Western European political, social and economic patterns. All these stemmed from a new mentality adopted by Polish elites and shaped by Christian monks from Bohemia and Germany. Thus it was due to the coming of Christian ideology and culture brought from Western Europe and spread through education that Poland (and – I believe – many other regions outside the Roman limes) 'joined Europe' in an attempt at creating a practical reality of the notion of 'Christendom', a universal 'Christian kingdom'. This ideology as well as practical knowledge (Latin, mathematics, agronomy and brewing) was propagated by Christian clergy and religious orders (Benedictines and Cistercians) in many ways: through schooling (parochial, monastic and cathedral schools), the use of Romanesque and Gothic art or simply imposing new management and farming methods in their estates.

FOUNDATION OF POLAND'S FIRST UNIVERSITY – THE ACADEMY OF CRACOW IN 1364

The expansion of universities as institutions is crucial in showing the gradual unification of Late Medieval Europe's intellectual life paving the way for the coming of Renaissance and, subsequently, the Republic of Letters of the Early Modern Era. A map showing how universities expanded all over the continent (with dates of foundation) would make a great example of a teaching resource demonstrating how different regions of Europe aspired to the common educational ideals and what attempts they made to actually implement them. Established with a papal consent by the Polish king Casimir the Great, the Academy of Cracow followed Western teaching models offering courses on liberal arts, medicine, Canon and Roman law, astronomy and theology. All of Poland's 14th and 15th century intellectual elite and many foreigners from Lithuania, Russia, Hungary, Bohemia and Germany (foreign students made up as many as 40%) were educated here e.g. Nicolas Copernicus. The language of instruction was Latin. ▶▶▶

POLES AT ITALIAN UNIVERSITIES AND THE GRAND TOUR

The 16th century is commonly regarded as Poland's Golden Age. The country experienced an era of unprecedented economic growth; it grew as an international power thanks to a constitutional union with Lithuania, while nobility achieved a greatly privileged position reducing the powers of the elected monarch. All these contributed to the extraordinary development of art and culture as wealthy and powerful nobility proved quite willing to invest money in education and art. In many ways Italy was the model. A princess from Bari, Bona Sforza, was brought to Poland to become the wife to King Sigismund the Old, accompanied by dozens of Italian courtiers and artists. Italian became a second language of the Polish elite, after Latin. Therefore many rich nobles chose to send their sons to study at Italian Renaissance universities (Padua was the most likely choice) as well as to embark on the Grand Tour of Europe to familiarise them with life in Western Europe. A great example was Jan Zamoyski, Poland's future chancellor and largest magnate, in his youth rector of the University of Padua. Upon their return these most influential Poles acted as powerful trendsetters for the rest of the country's ruling elites.

PROTESTANT REFORMATION AND COUNTER-REFORMATION IN POLISH EDUCATION

Even though Catholicism finally prevailed, throughout the 16th and 17th centuries the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was a land of great religious and cultural diversity where different religious groups co-existed more or less peacefully thanks to the Confederation of Warsaw (1573), a solemn mutual oath binding Catholics and Protestants not to spill blood because of theological contrasts. Thus, Poland remained an important centre for Protestant thought, also in the field of education.

Comenius, or Jan Amos Komensky, fled to Poland following religious persecutions in his fatherland Bohemia, where he found a gymnasium in Leszno implementing his modern ideas. Another important centre for Protestant thought was the Academy of Rakow, a tiny town today, yet the country's most prestigious schools with numerous foreign teachers and students attracting also Catholic students thanks to its excellent level and modern teaching methods. In the late 17th century Counter-Reformation triumphed and the Jesuit model became the main pattern for education of Polish elites.

ENLIGHTENMENT AND ATTEMPTS AT POLITICAL AND EDUCATIONAL REFORM

The late 17th century witnessed a visible decline of the political, economic, social and cultural condition of Poland-Lithuania. Numerous unsuccessful wars resulted in the country's devastation, mass poverty and the magnates' oligarchy as well as an outburst of national frustration and primitive conservatism. It was in these circumstances that the Enlightenment model of education started to reach Polish lands. An influential minority led by the Polish king, Stanislaw Poniatowski, undertook a desperate campaign to alter the nation's mentality in an attempt to prevent a resulting political catastrophe. Their programme was to shape a new generation of wise Polish patriots and ruling elites through modern education along the Western lines.

A lay Commission of National Education was founded, meant to take over education from the hands of the Catholic Church and to train professional teachers, to prepare up-to-date syllabi and textbooks. A 'School of Knights' was established, whose mission was to forge noble Polish patriots and well-trained professionals in modern warfare at the same time. Ideas expressed by French philosophers and playwrights were commonly discussed. The king's pro-Enlightenment faction proposed and passed through parliament a Constitution, a basic legal document with obvious French inspirations aiming at a complete transformation of the country's ideological and political panorama. ▶▶▶

POLAND PARTITIONED (1795-1918) – GERMANISATION AND RUSSIFICATION

The collapse of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth brought about a totally new situation in the field of education. Depending on which part of Poland they lived in, young Poles were now subject to different educational systems – Prussian, Austrian or Russian. Using a variety of means each foreign state tried to make young Poles loyal subjects of their new states which often took the form of Germanisation or Russification. Not only did the education authorities impose their own ideological message especially as far as history, literature and geography are concerned, but they also performed a kind of 'cultural ethnic cleansing' demanding lessons to be taught in German or Russian, depriving young Poles of their national identity and their language. I believe similar cases can be found throughout Europe (eg. Anglicisation of Ireland and Scotland, the Franco-German border, the Austro-Italian border, Swedish in Finland, etc). Needless to say, this kind of exchange of knowledge remains a valid issue to this day as some cultural consequences have proved to be long-lasting (e.g. Western, formerly German-controlled, provinces of Poland are perceived as very different to Eastern, Russian-controlled ones). An important exception might be the educational policies of Austria-Hungary after 1867 when they allowed Poles to study their language and culture as well as to live their patriotic traditions as long as they remained the emperor's loyal subjects.

INDIVIDUALS ACHIEVING SUCCESS IN EDUCATION DESPITE THE LOCAL EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

I believe there might be a number of examples like this anywhere in Europe, of extraordinary, determined individuals striving to achieve success in education contrary to the limitations of their own educational systems. A famous Polish case in this respect is Marie Curie, born Maria Skłodowska in Warsaw in 1867. As women were unable to undertake university studies in Russian Poland in the 19th century she made the effort to earn enough money for herself and her sister to travel to study at the University of Paris, where she later became its first woman professor and a double Nobel Prize winner. It is a particular case of exchange of knowledge, but undoubtedly a part of Europe's common experience in education.

COMMUNIST POLAND – BROADENING ACCESS TO EDUCATION WHILE IMPOSING AN IDEOLOGICAL PARADIGM

Following the Second World War Poland came to be a part of the Eastern Communist bloc ruled by the Soviet Union. It profoundly altered the previous exchange of knowledge patterns for Poland and all of Eastern Europe. Before this models for education had always been taken from the West. Now due to the Iron Curtain these earlier contacts were forcibly cut off while exchange of knowledge was strongly encouraged among the Communist countries. The new totalitarian model for education was now the Marxist ideology as interpreted by the Soviet system and imposed elsewhere. Books in Russian written by Soviet authors were translated into Eastern European languages or simply used in the original version as Russian had become the first foreign language to be taught.

On the other hand, also but not exclusively because of their attempts at mass indoctrination, communist states made a huge effort to broaden access to education and culture within this system, e.g. anti-illiteracy campaigns were more widespread than ever, books were printed in huge circulation. ■■■

HISTORY OF UKRAINIAN EDUCATION AND PEDAGOGY

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EDUCATION IN KYIV RUS

The process of unification of Eastern Slavic tribes ended in the 9th century. The creation of the powerful State of KYIV Rus did much for the development of science and education. Annals tell not only about military force, but also wisdom and education of Princes, their warriors and commoners.

Representatives of the Rurik dynasty (Oleg, Igor, Olga, Sviatoslav) laid the base of State education and upbringing. The main institutions of this period were Christian schools of reading and writing. In the 9th century a new Cyrillic alphabet was created. Its authors were philosophers, educators and the public figures Cyril and Methodius. Simplified ABC made education more accessible to broad strata of the population of Kyiv Rus.

Christianity, being adopted in 988, attracted Kyiv Rus to European culture, Christian morality, spiritual and cultural union of different peoples, and influenced education. The term 'school' appeared in 10th and 11th centuries. The first mention of the school in Kyiv is the message from 988 year Chronicle, and it is connected with the name of Kyiv Prince Vladimir the Great. The school was a State educational institution. Similar schools were opened in Novgorod, Chernigov, Galych and other cities of Kyiv Rus.

The spread of schools (cloister schools, literacy, and women's schools) was in response to the needs of life. And although Scholasticism, simple methods, training (all characteristics for European education at the time) dominated in Kyiv Rus schools, high literacy of the population was achieved.

Cloister schools opened at the monasteries. Monks, future priests studied there. As in Europe, these schools based on various monk orders, were divided into the external (in which laity was trained) and internal (where the future monks studied). Education was differentiated. Permanent schools of a closed type worked at Kyiv-Pechersky monastery. Unlike the European schools, training was conducted in the native language, not Latin.

Teachers were servants of the Church. Due to the constant threat of the nomads, patriotic upbringing was extremely important in Kyiv Rus. It was carried out on the fairy tales, stories of military marches, folk songs and other similar pedagogy. ▶▶▶

■ Church schools gave primary education and religious education. The content of education boiled down to teaching children reading, writing, singing, Church, Christian morality, faith. As in all the middle ages European schools obedience, patience, asceticism, religious-moral quality were preached. There was no definite period of learning; learning groups were small 3-10 children in each.

■ The first female school in Europe for raising noble women was opened by Prince Yaroslavl's granddaughter Ann in 1086. This fact testified a progressive pedagogical opinion on equality for the access to education for both sexes. Kyiv was the glory of the educational centre in Europe. Representatives of the Kyiv Rus authorities were educated people, princes spoke several languages. Thus, the adoption of Christianity and the establishment of a single Church in Kyiv Rus contributed to the creation of the system of national education, including literacy schools, cloister schools etc.

FROM A DECLINE TO THE REVIVAL: EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF PEDAGOGICAL IDEAS IN THE CULTURAL RENAISSANCE OF UKRAINE (16TH -18TH CENTURIES)

After the disintegration of Kyiv Rus, Ukrainian lands fell under the domination of Lithuania and Poland. The consequences of Polish expansion were Polonisation, catholicisation and cultural assimilation. The educational establishments were instruments of this politics.

A FIGHT OF CATHOLICISM AND ORTHODOXY ON THE FIELD OF EDUCATION IN UKRAINE

The coexistence in Ukraine of Catholic and Orthodox education was full of contradictions, but the outcome was a high degree of development of pedagogics and a variety of types of schools. This period is named the time of Ukrainian Revival. From 1501, on the territory of Ukraine, children of dependent peasants (the sons) were allowed to study different handicrafts. Young people got higher education in the universities of Europe. In the 15th century, for example, over 1200 natives from Ukraine studied in Krakow University. Most of those, who studied abroad, afterwards returned to Ukraine increasing the amount of well-educated people there.

■ During the 16th and 17th centuries the political, national and religious situation in Ukraine stipulated the existence of two directions of education:

- Orthodox (brotherly schools; schools founded by rural communities, schools at orthodox churches and monasteries; Cossack schools);
- Catholic (schools of catholic orders of Jesuits and so on).

ACTIVITY OF BROTHERLY SCHOOLS

A unique phenomenon in the history of home education was the activity of brotherly schools that organised and retained church fraternities (public-political organisations of the Orthodox people) with the aim of strengthening Orthodoxy. Among them were both elementary and further schools. Brotherly schools were known in Lviv (first school founded by Assumption fraternity in 1586), Kyiv and Lutsk.

■ Their inherent characteristics were:

- open character of education. Children of the different states of population had a right to study at school; the charter of school obliged a teacher to behave to all students identically. For orphans and children from other cities dormitories (bursas) were opened ;
- introduction of elements of the class-lesson system of teaching. In elementary brotherly schools students were divided into three groups depending on their knowledge, abilities, skills, and from the 17th century the class system of study was set in brotherly further schools. A school year started in September; vacations were put into operation, and exams taken;
- close connection with parents or relatives of students. Written agreement between parents and school were signed; the duties of parties in education and training children were stipulated;
- clear organisation of studies: absence from lessons was forbidden. ▶▶▶

HIGHER SCHOOLS

Ostrog school-academy (1576) and the Kyiv Mohyla academy (1632) became the first national establishments of higher type of school.

The course of studies in the Kyiv Mohyla academy lasted 12 years. Students acquired philological training. Knowledge of languages was obligatory: Slavic, Greek, Latin, Polish, and so on. Students studied a poetic and rhetorical art, classic Greek and Roman and partly medieval literatures, history, geography, philosophy and divinity. The course of the Russian, French, German and Hebrew languages, pure and applied mathematics (trigonometry, physics, astronomy, architecture) was entered in course of time, and in later years there were classes of domestic and rural economy and medicine. A considerable place was given to artistic and musical education. Annually from 500 to 2000 students studied in the academy, there were no age-old limitations. In 1817 the academy was closed. In 1992 the academy was born-again as the National University, the Kyiv Mohyla academy.

THE 19TH CENTURY

From the end of the 18th century Ukrainian education began to fall into decay. Up to this time the Ukrainian nation, being between Orthodox East and the Latinised West, was the source of scientific ideas. But at the end of the 19th century the borders of the Russian empire considerably limited the contacts of Ukraine with the West, and the result of the politics of unitisation, centralisation and Russification of education was the loss of the unique cultural originality of Ukraine and it was limited to play a role of a cultural province.

Russian politics put an end to the Ukrainian higher school; however it assisted the appearance of Russian schools for the privileged (nobility and clergy).

The politics that was conducted by the Russian autocracy resulted in the general falling of the level of education and literacy in Ukraine. In 1768 there was one school for 746 habitants of Ukraine, then in 1876 one for 6750 habitants. The total number of students in three universities (Kyiv, Kharkiv, and Odessa) was 1, 200.

The Russian Empire government tried to eradicate Ukrainian culture and mother tongue from school. In 1876 any printing in Ukrainian was forbidden. Presentations, speeches and singing in Ukrainian were also forbidden. Priests had to pronounce sermons only in Russian.

A "Charter of universities" and a "Charter of educational establishments, inferior to the universities" (schools) that regulated the structure and principles of education were accepted in 1804.

After the accepted charters the state system of folk education began. The entire country was divided into six educational districts. Reform envisaged various types of educational establishments in every district: parochial schools (1-year), district schools (2-years), gymnasia (4-years), university. At the head of every district a guardian was appointed, and all educational establishments submitted to the university.

Soon after the publication of the school charter additional interpretations emerged. No access to universities and gymnasia education for serfs and representatives of low estates was declared. The question about the grant of right to higher education of women remained unsolved.

School education in Ukraine in the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries developed under the Russian Empire educational reforms. Changes took place in primary, middle, higher education. By the end of the 19th century there were 12 times more children in schools than 50 years previously. But the level of elementary literacy in the different provinces of Ukraine was only 15-20%. The quality of studies in folk schools was low. Especially primitive education was given in parochial schools (they represented in 1900, 80% of all initial schools).

Among all existent initial schools the best were 'zemsky' schools, where teachers used more innovative methods of studies.

Reform of secondary education was regulated by the "Charter of gymnasia and progymnasia" adopted in 1864. There were separate Gymnasia for men and women. The first gymnasium for women in Ukraine was opened in Kyiv in 1859. Only 'classic' gymnasia gave a right for entering university. The 'real' schools opened a way only to technical and agricultural institutions of higher learning. Because of the high cost, secondary education was inaccessible to most of the population of Ukraine. ▶▶▶

THE 20TH CENTURY

At the beginning 20th century there were over 20 types of different schools (state and private, requiring payment and free of charge, confessional and society, boys and girls). This system was characterised by inconsistency of curricula of initial and middle schools. Only boys 'classic' gymnasia provided entrance to university, and graduates of all other high schools (real, commercial schools, military schools) could only enter higher technical, agricultural and economic educational establishments.

■ Secondary and higher education for women was also limited. The level of education in all girls' schools was far below that in boys schools. Women practically did not have an access to universities and higher technical schools. Only special 'Higher courses for women' were organised for them.

■ After the fall of the Tsarist government in the Russian Empire, the new government in Ukraine set down some principles of national education. These were:

- public/state character of education;
- equality of rights of all citizens in getting universal education;
- studies in mother tongue;
- an input of self-government at school;
- priority of education in national expenditure;
- introduction of general, free of charge, compulsory education.

■ The bolshevist regime at first continued the democratic transformations of Ukrainian schools. Schools with Ukrainian language on the curriculum were opened.

■ The requirement of the time was the creation of a united system of folk education, which bolshevists used as the reliable means of introducing their ideology.

■ In 1949 seven years of education was universal and compulsory. In 1959 this increased to eight years compulsory education, in 1964 ten years, and finally in 1972 compulsory secondary education was introduced.

■ Totalitarian bolshevist pedagogics dominated the school system. The primary purpose of education was forming a communist ideology.

■ From the time of the independent Ukrainian state (1991) there was creative pedagogical work in the national system of education. New types of educational establishments: gymnasia, lyceums, colleges, educational-educator complexes, authorial schools, private and alternative schools were created. The curriculum diversified, the principle of all-round development of child and democratisation of studies were introduced. In March 1992 the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of Ukraine was founded.

■ The constitution of Ukraine provides free access to educational institutions of the central and local jurisdiction. Compulsory secondary education is provided by the state and some number of accredited private schools. In 2005 schooling was extended to twelve years from eleven previously, but this was reversed by Government decree in 2011 to much criticism. Higher education is provided on a competitive basis. State tests serve as tests for high school and university. In contrast, discrimination of non-Russian cultures in the Soviet era, the right to education in Ukrainian, Russian, Polish, Romanian, Hungarian, Tatar and other native languages in places of residence of national minorities is assured. Tests may be taken in pupils' own native languages. ■■■

ACCESS TO EDUCATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND

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” In 1826, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin wrote:

'I do not know of any measures which would prepare the way for a better feeling in Ireland than uniting children at an early age and bringing them up in the same school...'

Almost 200 years later, education in Northern Ireland remains a reflection of society itself: that is, divided - where access to a particular school is often the result of factors such as academic ability, gender or geographic location. The history of access to education itself is inextricably linked to the political history of the state and to the relationship between Britain and Ireland. The history of education in Northern Ireland can be divided into 3 distinct periods, reflecting the history of the jurisdiction.

THE EARLY STATE OF NORTHERN IRELAND

The 1920 Government of Ireland Act created the state of Northern Ireland (NI), which came into being in May 1921 and remained linked to Westminster as part of the United Kingdom (UK). The new NI parliament was given powers over a range of internal matters, including education, but from the outset, divisions were evident. Both before, and after, the creation of the state, schools were largely managed by the churches. Several years later, a proposal for an interdenominational school system was rejected, the Protestant churches transferred their schools to state control which became known as 'controlled' schools, while Catholic schools remained under church control and were 'maintained' by the state with additional funds coming from the church. Thus, a separate controlled and maintained system emerged, while post-primary education was dependent on fees paid by pupils and so access to secondary education was limited. ▶▶▶

■ In 1944, the Butler Education Act was introduced in England; it created a unified system of free, compulsory schooling from the ages of 5 to 15. The NI government introduced similar measures in 1947: The Education (Northern Ireland) Act. Access to grammar schools was made available to children from less advantaged backgrounds through an academic test at the age of 11. This became known as the 11+ and later the transfer test. While this created the possibility of post-primary and university education for many people, it also created a divisive system where children were channelled into either an academic, or a technical/practical education from an early age. Further divisions were created by the existence of separate schools for boys and girls.

■ Although comprehensive education was introduced in England in the 1960s, the selective grammar school system, based on academic testing at the age of 11, remained in NI and remains to this day.

DIRECT RULE 1972-99

■ In 1972, the NI Parliament was abolished and a period of 'direct rule' by London ensued. Westminster again assumed responsibility for the government of Northern Ireland and legislation for education generally followed the pattern of reforms that happened in Britain. The key piece of legislation in this period was the Education Reform (Northern Ireland) Order 1989 which established a statutory national curriculum, which all schools had to deliver. There were some aspects that were peculiar to the situation in Northern Ireland – for example, the inclusion of the theme of education for mutual understanding (EMU) which was intended to promote greater understanding between the two main communities.

■ While all children now had access to the same statutory curriculum, the academic selection of children at the age of 11 remained. The segregated controlled/maintained system remained, although action by parents led to the opening in 1981, of the first integrated school, Lagan College.

■ Due to some demographic and other challenges, some schools began to merge to create co-educational schools and a small number of comprehensive schools were also created.

NI ASSEMBLY 1999 - PRESENT

■ Northern Ireland once again became responsible for its own internal government when the Assembly was set up in 1999. The position of Minister for Education has been held by a succession of Sinn Féin ministers (except for periods when the Assembly was suspended, and the Department was managed directly by representatives of the Westminster government). In January 2004, it was announced that academic selection would end in 2008, but the selection procedure still remains (unofficially), largely due to the support of parents and other political parties within the Executive. The controlled and maintained system remains, although the number of integrated schools has increased.

■ Access to education has been widened through legislation that has improved access to mainstream education for children with Special Educational Needs and through the Entitlement Framework, which encourages schools to work together to provide a range of academic and applied courses for all young people. This enables young people to access courses in institutions other than the one in which they are enrolled.

■ In conclusion, while the divisions within the wider educational system remain, recent developments underpinned by the department's commitment to raising standards for all and increasing access and equity suggest that a more equitable system will evolve over time. ■■■

FROM ERUDITION TO THE MANAGEMENT OF KNOWLEDGE: SOME REMARKS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN THE GERMAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

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CONTENTS

- ▶ Terminology and semantics
- ▶ From education to knowledge
- ▶ Knowledge, profession and applied science
- ▶ Leading principles of academia
- ▶ Towards a shared history of education in Europe

LATIN ROOTS

- ▶ Hierachy of knowledge
 - Eruditio – from the 'red clay' – craftwork of erudition
 - Scientia – knowledge – collection of evidence - science
 - Sapientia – the taste of wisdom – sensual joy – universal approach

ERASMUS OF ROTTERDAM

- ▶ Homo non nascitur sed fingitur
- ▶ Humans are not born but educated
- ▶ Fingere – to paint, to sculpture, to make
- ▶ A painter draws a picture; a sculptor makes a sculpture – In German this sounds together:
- ▶ Der Künstler malt ein Bild: Bildende Kunst
- ▶ Bilden – Bild - Bildung
- ▶ Erasmus prefigured this pun: fingere means to work out what is in the material
- ▶ Education means – work out what is in the pupil

IMAGO DEI

- ▶ God created man in his image and likeness
 - Italian Renaissance
 - Humanism
- ▶ Studia Humaniora – Studies of the Human – Human Studies – artes liberales
 - Trivium: grammar, dialectics, rhetoric
 - Quadrivium: Arithmetics, Geormetry, Astronomy, Music
 - Humanist addition: Poetry, History
- ▶ Education – work out the image of God in the students and make them worthy to follow his call

HISTORY OF HIGHER EDUCATION

- ▶ Elementary school: applied knowledge for economic and administrative purpose (reading, writing, accounting, mother tongue)
- ▶ Higher Education for the purpose of an erudite praise of God
 - Studia generalia – ecclesiastical or mendicant orders
 - Four faculties (philosophy, medicine, law, theology)
 - Humanist reform: studia humaniora for the purpose of understanding creation
 - Until the 16th century academic education did not lead towards a specific profession.

EARLY MODERN PERIOD

- ▶ Reformation evokes professional training of pastors and teachers
- ▶ Modernisation requires special education and training of skills for the administration of a more and more complex life
- ▶ Secularisation shifts formerly ecclesiastical duties toward worldly authorities
- ▶ Pluralisation forces academics to a more focused and specialised training

SHIFTING AUTHORITIES

- ▶ From the 12th and 13th Centuries (Scholasticism) authorities started to shift
 - God – Man
 - Church – State
 - Faith – Reason
 - Dogma/Doctrine – Experience/Experiment
- ▶ With it the leading faculty changed
 - Theology
 - History
 - Law
 - Science
- ▶ Ecclesiastical versus secular authorities
- ▶ Clergy versus lay
- ▶ Nobles versus citizens
- ▶ New approaches to gender
- ▶ Impact of family and academic network

- ▶ Values: authority versus genealogy
- ▶ Rationality patterns:
 - Logic
 - Economy
 - Law
 - Utility

PROFESSIONALISATION

- ▶ Knowledge becomes more and more utilitarian
- ▶ Knowledge as an element of authority. Combined with
 - Ancestry
 - Experience
 - Network connection
- ▶ Applied Knowledge
- ▶ Values of context and applicability
- ▶ Education as enforcement of ability

APPLIED SCIENCE

- ▶ Use overcomes coherence and universality
- ▶ Knowledge is reduced to operationalise results for a rational, technical, economic or political purpose
- ▶ Science overcomes
 - Non-utilitarian education
 - Aesthetic dimension of wisdom
 - Religious approaches (Search for Meaning)
- ▶ Rationalisation
- ▶ Economisation

LEADING PRINCIPLES OF ACADEMIA

- ▶ Collection
- ▶ Systematical order / critique
- ▶ Interpretation / critique
- ▶ Theory / critique
- ▶ Application / critique of action and theory
- ▶ Action

MEDIA FOR COMMUNICATION

- ▶ The use of communication
 - Rational
 - Utilitarian
 - Economic
 - Other
- ▶ Dialogue and discourse
- ▶ Writing and Books
- ▶ Other systems of communication
 - Electronic media (telegraph, phone, fax)
 - Web based (email, chat rooms, network/platforms)
 - Virtual media
- ▶ Do we have a theory for educational communication?

TOWARDS A SHARED HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN EUROPE

- ▶ Collection of information
- ▶ The order of knowledge
- ▶ Principles of distribution
 - Rational
 - Effective
 - Economic
 - Applied / approved / handy
- ▶ A critical history of the origin of these principles could help to understand and evaluate status and intention of Bologna-Reform attempts.

HUMAN RIGHTS AS REFLECTED IN THE HISTORY OF ART

” Human rights are commonly understood as inalienable and fundamental rights to which a person is entitled solely on the grounds that they are human. Arguably, the notion of human rights originated in Greek philosophy and the various world religions. It was during the Enlightenment, however, that human rights emerged as an explicit concept. People came to be seen as autonomous individuals with rights that should be safeguarded, that might be invoked to challenge governments and that were a necessary condition of human dignity. But, whilst there might be broad agreement that such rights exist, historically they have raised, and continue to raise, questions that are problematic and controversial. What happens when rights conflict? What are the legitimate limitations, if any, that should be imposed on the individual’s exercise of their rights? Does freedom of expression extend to those who might deny that there are such things as human rights? And so on.

” The intersection between art and the social and political sphere is rich in history. At its core art is about true freedom. Art is the unbridled ability for expression and free speech. Art affords the artist the unique ability to register the horror of an event, in a way that statistics cannot. Its function is to remain forever as a reminder that this inhumanity or injustice occurred. Contemporary artists gain inspiration from the world around them, from the everyday or from society as a whole. The artistic process involves the artist engaging with the world around them and thereby a natural relationship emerges as human rights concerns and abuses occur in that space.¹

HUMAN RIGHTS IN A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

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“Human Rights do protect, if only you are human”²

In writing this paper I have leaned heavily on several authors. First among them is Geoffrey Robertson: *Crimes against Humanity*; I am also, however, indebted to Michael Freeman: *Human rights*; Bertrand G. Ramcharan: *Contemporary Human Rights Ideas*; as well as Micheline R. Ishay: *The History of Human Rights* and Max Pensky: *The Ends of Solidarity*. ▶▶▶

¹ http://www.amnesty.ie/sites/default/files/resources/2010/04/Chapter_07.pdf

² Nils Naastad

■ This then is my main theme today: who do Human Rights protect? And how can we reduce the number outside the comfort zone of these rights? There are still people, even in Europe, living on the outskirts of these rights. Let us, therefore, stay in Europe and let us see how things are developing. Over the last few hundred years the story of human rights in Europe is not altogether a nice one; but it is, I hope, a story with a rather optimistic ending – if indeed it has an end.

■ The debate that took place 460 years ago may seem far away. But it takes us directly to the heyday of Europe, or to the heyday of Europe's defining power. During the Industrial Revolution the ensuing European expansion left Europe, or more precisely European powers, in command of a considerable part of the world, notably most of Africa and great swathes of Asia, termed the Far East in the language of the masters. We all know this history: slaves were brought from Africa to the Americas; exploitation within Africa was heavy; opium was forced onto China etc. These cruelties were not carried out because European powers held no moral standards or that our societies were unable to differentiate between right and wrong. Indeed Europe prided itself with its growing wealth and power, the growth in knowledge and the growth in civilisation. The problem was only, as you might have guessed by now, that the moral standards did not apply to everyone. They applied only to Europeans, or perhaps to be even more precise, especially to European white males. The other groups, Africans, Chinese or Indians were to various degrees considered outside the realms of the law. They did not produce a serious challenge for Western civilisation, nor did greed, cruelty and exploitation. The right of the stronger combined with Darwinism and racism made us the self-righteous masters of the world. To rule and exploit was our destiny, it was even the White Man's burden according to Kipling. Strangely enough one was able to combine the practice with a civilising mission as well. We civilised the world with our guns: *'the Natives and their cattle were machine-gunned with good effect'* states a British Royal Air Force (RAF) combat report from the Sudan, Africa, in 1924.



Europe's history on human rights – somewhat uneven.

■ Why did this end? It is beyond my ambition to go through the entire decolonisation history, but let me present a little story to suggest one answer.

■ Every year in the 1920s the Royal Air Force arranged an air show at Hendon outside London. Aircraft were one of the technological wonders of this period. People in their tens of thousands travelled to Hendon to see new types of aircraft, formation flying, low flying etc. The yearly crux of the air show was to give the spectators some real action. The RAF constructed a small native village or a native stronghold. They inhabited the village with RAF men darkened and suitably dressed, called 'Wottnotts'. When these 'Wottnotts' refused to obey the British authorities they were driven out of their village and the village was attacked from the air with live bombs, mostly incendiary bombs. The attacks were directed both on the natives and the village. The village was burned to the ground. But in 1929 objections to this practice could be read in the press. Is this what we are doing in the colonies? The next year the same village was erected, but now it was termed a pirate's village, because we assume, one RAF officer wrote, "that not even the pacifists can object to pirates being incinerated". Apparently the pacifists, and some others, could, because 1930 was the last time a village was erected to be bombed to amuse the public. (Omissi 1990) The public took interest. The press took interest. Civil society curbed colonial practice. No wonder independent journalists are unpopular in some quarters.

■ Now, let us for a moment turn to a magnificent piece of rhetoric, the US Declaration of Independence:

” “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed”.

■ I teach a history class at the local high School or Gymnasium. It does me good to meet teenagers. When the other week I asked the pupils to translate the first sentence it provided no problems. The central phrase is of course *all men*, "alle mennesker", Menschen. And all men as all human beings, is a good modern translation. But when taking the piece of rhetoric back to when it was written the logic became clear. Were *all men* really all human beings? No not really, all males. All males? No, all white males. All white males? No, males of a certain income or social standing. Going back in time from our present position we see the space where human rights are the norm, becoming smaller and smaller. It is also food for thought for some of the 18 year-olds that *man* in English is the noun that covers all human beings. ▶▶▶

Also in another field things have been moving internationally. In the early hours of 17th November 1998 officers from Scotland Yard arrested the former Chilean dictator Auguste Pinochet as he was on a visit to London. He liked going to the UK and he had been a frequent visitor to London. As a former Head of State he travelled under diplomatic immunity. Being arrested his lawyers played the diplomatic card. A former Head of State was immune from charges for what he had done or ordered to be done as Head of State. His case was soon brought before the highest court in the UK, the House of Lords. In a 3-2 decision the court held that a former head of state no longer held immunity for what he had done or what he had ordered to be done. The Pinochet case is important because it crystallised the problems with immunity versus crimes against humanity. The crimes for which Pinochet was accused were neither the business of the UK, nor Chile nor Spain (where the process to hold Pinochet responsible actually started); the crimes were committed against humanity and were accordingly of concern to all of us. The case against Pinochet meant that international human rights in some small scale acquired the quality of law. Crimes against humanity became enforceable in the courts of the world. The ghost from Nuremberg wasn't quite dead, after all. International law will never be the same again. Does this mean that there now exists a duty to prosecute crimes against humanity? I think the answer is yes. Crimes against humanity are not protected by any sort of immunity. Regimes may grant their own henchmen pardon for a variety of reasons, but once these gentlemen are abroad they will risk arrest and prosecution. In the end Pinochet got away with it: 503 days under house arrest in the UK pretending to have Alzheimer's disease (which proved to be temporary). But the fact that he was arrested and that this detention was tried and found to have a sound legal basis remains. The general was the first dictator to be humbled by international law and international memory since the Nuremberg trials. This development is relatively recent. Whether it will lead to greater respect for human rights remains to be seen. But it is not unreasonable to expect at least some deterrent effect.

The road towards less tolerance towards criminals has also been widened by the so called Balkan Trials where several of the participants in these ugly wars have stood trial, notably Milosevic, Karadzic and Ratko Mladic. What kind of tribunal or court can try criminals of this calibre? In the case of the Balkan Tribunal it was simply set up by the Security Council deciding (res 808, February 22nd, 1993) that the situation constituted a threat to international peace and security and establishing an international tribunal to contribute to the realisation of peace by putting an end to war crimes and punishing their perpetrators. The Security Council acted on a report describing ethnic cleansing, mass murder, torture, rape, pillage and the destruction of cultural, religious and private property.

The first decision in the preliminary ruling of this tribunal (ICTY, International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia), was to state that international jurisdiction did not require proof of an international armed conflict; an internecine conflict was enough. "The reasoning behind this decision [...] establishes beyond doubt the competence of the international community, should it wish, to punish rulers who brutally oppress their own people, irrespective of whether their plight directly attracts foreign intervention." (Robertson, G 2006: 380).

We have also seen a number of military interventions over the last 20 years, several of them with a human rights agenda. Some of them had UN-backing, others had not. When NATO started its bombing campaign against Serbia in March 1999 it had no Security Council resolution to support it. NATO called its campaign 'humanitarian intervention'. It applied military force for humanitarian reasons; it was, to put it bluntly, bombing for peace. The British Defence Minister argued that NATO was acting within international law and that the legal justification rested on the principle that force in extreme cases might be applied to avert humanitarian disaster. In Norway the government hesitatingly supported the campaign, while admitting severe difficulties justifying it legally. From a military and political point of view the bombing campaign was not particularly successful. It took too long, and it killed too many of the people it intended to protect. Despite shortfalls it did, however, put military intervention back on the human rights agenda. Thanks to this campaign the right of humanitarian intervention has re-entered international law. This is difficult. This kind of military intervention certainly holds a solid potential for abuse and it is therefore imperative that it is qualified in ways that will prevent this.

I have now given several ways where human rights have been influenced positively after the end of the Cold War.

- I stated that money talks, threatening to stop business with regimes that do not respect basic rights is effective, though it does require a kind of transparency that is challenging. Economic sanctions may be effective, although in practice they tend to hit the people rather than the popes.
- In our time, leaders who are accused of crimes against humanity might be arrested in any country. Diplomatic immunity is not respected. There are no safe havens.
- Military intervention for humanitarian reasons is again a possibility, even if bombing for peace is a problematic concept.

The developments I have described here have two things in common: first they signal that the difference between internal and external perpetrators is weakening. The territorial integrity and the political independence of the state are during such situations not absolute. The outside can intervene. The state is getting weaker and the individual getting more important, if not stronger. ►►►



TELEVISED MASS MURDER

...AND

THE RESPONSE

■ The second point I would like to make is that these evolving developments are taking place in Europe, partly because unhappy events in Europe have driven them, partly because countries in Europe have developed an active interest in becoming less tolerant towards human rights perpetrators in other parts of the world. This is really something to build on.

■ It could be pertinent to end this paper here on an optimistic note, stating that the West is in the forefront of a positive development. Post 9/11 has complicated matters though.

■ The brutal attack on the Twin Towers in New York as well as on the Pentagon led the American authorities into demanding justice for the atrocity. This rapidly developed into what President Bush termed a 'war on terror' with ensuing operations in Iraq and Afghanistan as well as several other places. War on terror is itself a problematic concept. It is difficult to nail precisely what the concept entails. It has however, certainly produced several disturbing images on the TV-screens of the west; images, for example, of Guantanamo and Abu Ghraib.

■ The Abu Ghraib images are in my opinion confessions of torture or systematic degrading treatment of human beings to such an extent that it amounts to torture. The sad thing is of course that this is western reality. You cannot fight against terror and condone this. The images were a disaster. The practice was more than a disaster and undermined the western presence not only in Iraq but in the entire region. President Bush rightly pointed out that these photographs did not represent America, but they caused the Americans massive loss of respect and moral authority.

■ There have been considerable efforts to euphemise the practice. Torturing by applying stress positions, water boarding, dogs, prodding, sleep deprivation, unbearable sound etc. is sometimes known as 'interrogation in depth'; unbearable sound is called 'auditory stimuli'; shaving of beards is called 'forced grooming', and so on. Renaming the activity is in itself interesting. Thousands of pages were produced to justify this practice against what was termed 'unlawful combatants'. In Anglo- American and common law the prohibition against torture is deeply entrenched. In the 15th century English courts refused to admit evidence produced by torture and lawyers dismissively described it as "something done by the French". In the 1630s the use of torture against Puritan preachers was a potent reason for those republicans that left Europe for Massachusetts.

■ International human rights law treats the law against torture and inhuman or degrading treatment as absolute and non-negotiable. No country can reserve the right to torture. The torturer has become, like the pirate and the slave trader before him, *hostis humanis generis*, an enemy of mankind. In 2005 the British House of Lords declared that the common-law prohibition against torture was still absolute and applied to all court proceedings, including special 'terrorist' courts.

■ In other words, the prohibition against torture is absolute. And still, we know what has happened. One problem with this is that if you stop the practice in organisations it doesn't go away like a nightingale after summer. It stays. It stays as a hidden experience. Military officers trained to degrade and humiliate prisoners in one war, will also do it in the next. The practice becomes institutionalised.

■ A third and perhaps dangerously pragmatic reason not to resort to this kind of treatment is that it does not work. The torture authorised by some Western military leaders and politicians, normally does not produce reliable results. For instance, military commanders in Iraq have admitted that they learned very little about the insurgency applying these methods.

■ There are also remaining problems with the Guantanamo base and the prisoners there. If people arrested during military operations are considered prisoners of war, they are covered by the Geneva conventions. If they are not considered lawful military combatants, they are criminals covered by the penal code in the country in which they are arrested. They get certain rights as far as fair trials are concerned. But the people that are kept on Guantanamo are neither prisoners of war, nor criminals. They appear to remain in a legal limbo and can seemingly be kept indefinitely. From a human rights perspective this is intolerable. ▶▶▶

■ So where does this leave us? Where does this leave the position of international human rights? Up until September 2001 the situation was optimistic. Improvement was marked. Then came the mass murder of Americans in New York and the Pentagon and the ensuing wars both in Iraq and in Afghanistan. I hope and believe the backlashes I have discussed above are only that, backlashes, and that 'interrogation in depth' does not herald a new era. I still believe there is room for cautious optimism. The public's revulsion at the images of torture and the media's ability to distribute these images worldwide is comforting. Free media and the public are, perhaps more than ever, guarantors of a continued development of respect for the integrity of human beings.

■ Let me now point to two basic challenges that confront us: For the last 150 years or so, history and historians have been central in creating new groups based on shared pasts. We have constructed nations based on common natural language, common ethnic descent, specific national histories, and so on. And as we know, this has been a very powerful brew in creating a number of strong nation states based on strong internal solidarity. A common identity has been based on a shared past. If these pasts were dramatic with tales of wars and suffering, so much the better. In creating these identities we have, however, almost inevitably also created the other. On the one hand we have the group to which we belong, but on the other we also have the group which does not belong, the not-like-us group. Identity is based on who we are, but also on who we are not. And these people, not like us, are of course the group which is sometimes not covered by human rights.

■ Is it possible to create a form of social identity that can be transformed into a functioning society, without creating both an *in group* and a *hostile other*? Do we need the other in order to see ourselves?

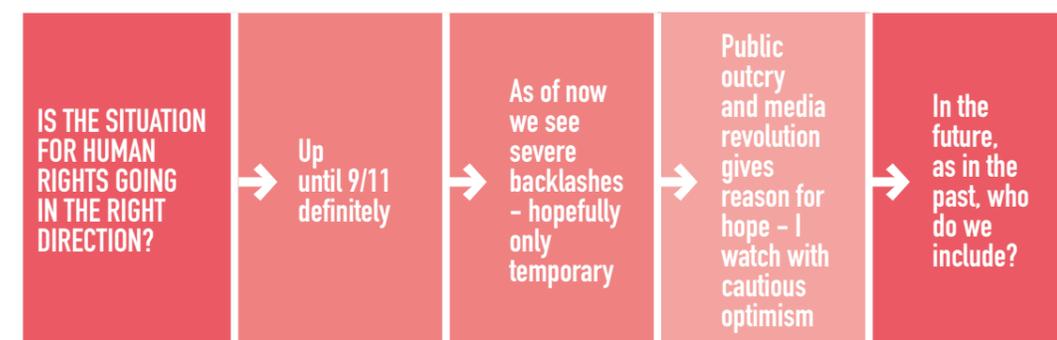
■ One can perhaps argue that modern constitutional democratic states have gone one step further basing their loyalties on the constitution, rather than on ethnic descent. But we still have those inside and those on the outside. I am not even sure whether today's efforts to create modern post-traditional societies like a wider European polity, will solve this problem. This could take us into the philosophical field of Habermasian discourse theory to discuss how increasingly complex societies are able to integrate and include new members, '*Die Einbeziehung des Anderen*'. The challenge here is to enlarge our society and simultaneously to accept differences. We do not intend to suppress difference or erase the otherness of new members. I have difficulties with the language here. Habermas has an essay called "*Einbeziehung oder Inklusion*". In English this will be Inclusion or Inclusion. Einbeziehung is then a noun not as normatively strong as inclusion. We intend to enlarge our society or polity without expecting people to become like us.

■ But in order to function, any society has to be based on a certain amount of mutuality or a certain amount of solidarity or trust. We pay our taxes, drive on the same side of the road and expect equality before the law.

■ In modern new politics we seek an area between total inclusion and being on the outside. How to construct this area is one of the central issues of our time. It is not unlikely that basic human rights can be instrumental in filling this void.

■ Another approach to this is to point to the fact that some of 'the others' have helped us realise that there is a dynamic tension at play in human rights themselves. Freedom of speech is indeed a basic human right, but so is the right to practice your religion. Is respect a human right? Sometimes we see one set of rights colliding with others. There is a dynamic tension here both as far as human rights and integration are concerned. Suffice it to say here that we in our efforts to include still have challenges.

■ This takes me back to where I started, to the question as to who are to be covered by human rights. Because even if we accept the pessimistic premise that not everyone will be included in our increasingly complex societies, it is still our ambition to protect the outsiders by human rights. It does not sound very difficult, but history suggests that it is. ■ ■ ■



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VALUING INDIVIDUAL HUMAN LIFE

” All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 1

” Everyone's right to life shall be protected by law.

Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, Article 2, Right for life

VALUING INDIVIDUAL HUMAN LIFE AS REFLECTED IN THE HISTORY OF ART

Professor Fernando Golvano
 University of the Basque Country, Spain

” “There is a *work* of the negative in the image, a 'dark' efficacy that (...) eats away at the visible (...) and murders the legible”. (Didi-Huberman 2010)

” “What is consoling in the great artworks lies less in what they express than the fact that they succeeded in defying existence. Hope is closest of all to those who are inconsolable”. (Adorno 2001)

Human life and the many manifestations of violence it has suffered have found an exceptional medium for representation and questioning in the arts and literature. It would be futile to attempt, in this brief paper, to summarise the history of the forms which have confronted the countless examples of hubris which emerge and threaten human existence. I will confine myself here to describing a few cases reflecting the power of the arts to be constantly in conflict with this violence which denies a freer and more egalitarian existence and jeopardises the future of any democratic project still under construction. ▶▶▶

Let us travel back in time: in the early days of democracy in Ancient Greece, it is a well-known fact that the Athenian tragedies were the first major instance in history of the use of this ability to reflect by poetic means. But they were more than that: they were a fascinating instrument of *paideia*, an educational and cathartic process which uplifted citizens and, at the same time, opened their eyes and empowered them. It is for this reason that the tragedies were a tremendous medium for self-inculcation of civic and democratic values. The tragic poets did not impose meaning and did not dictate unambiguous values and standards: poetically, they created forms of meaning to stimulate reflection among the citizens and educate them. It is hard to find a deeper and more critical perception of human nature than that described by Sophocles in *Antigone* (442 BC), when he said that many things are admirable, but nothing is more admirable than mankind. Neither the gods nor the blind forces of nature can hinder it in its ability to create and destroy. The amazement to which this ambivalent power gave rise was an inexhaustible source of diverse poetical and philosophical questionings.

From that time up to the present day, the various arts have demonstrated very clearly their critical and sometimes thaumaturgical power, or on the contrary their power to mystify or anaesthetise. The authentic nature of the arts lies in this variety of roles: they may serve the established worlds of imagination or they may challenge them and create new ones. In the history of art one can find examples combining both courses of action, but I shall refer here to works and artists which opted for the first. The positions adopted, the ethical and political dimensions, may be explicit or tacit; however, the most timeless works, those of the great artists, can transcend cultural boundaries and foster dialogue that is at once local and universal. And, let us not forget, they activate a mysterious element which explores the tragic human condition, man's dreams and nightmares.

The first example I will deal with here is that of the Spanish painter and printmaker Francisco de Goya (1746-1828). It was Goya who, at the start of the European modern age, fraternising with the Spirit of the Enlightenment, produced a whole range of pictorial works and graphic images which introduce new ethical and political dimensions into the context of the arts. His famous painting *The Third of May* (Los fusilamientos del 3 de mayo) (1814) was not only a plea against the Napoleonic war and invasion, but a radical rejection of the barbaric and inhumane acts associated with all wars.



Goya, *Desastres de la guerra* (1810-1820), *Grande Hazaña! Con muertos!*

In print no 43 of the *Caprichos* (1798), Goya wrote: "The sleep of reason produces monsters". And we can never forget that this paradoxical statement, confirmed over and over again by historical experience, constitutes an inevitable premise of the human condition and man's dreams of emancipation. Another series of prints, *The Disasters of War* (1810-1820), which includes this *Grande Hazaña! Con muertos!* is also famous.

Many artists have paid tribute to Goya by making their own use of this series of prints. For example, the brothers Jake and Dinos Chapman, who, in the mid-1980s, chose the path of transgression and provocation by painting over an edition of Goya's 83 prints which they had bought.

But back to Goya, his pictorial revolution and the Enlightenment ideals which were also set down in writing amid growing secularisation in Europe. Goya, as Todorov notes (Todorov 2011a: 216), "seeks to represent not only the world as it is, but his individual interpretation of that world. Even in the most disturbing of his *Disparates* he expresses himself using forms that everyone can recognise. He challenges the conventions of perspective and the rules for constructing space, but his painting nevertheless remains figurative". The conclusion which Todorov draws from this has universal value: "What Goya understood is that the value of the ideals one defends in no way prejudices the crimes one may commit in their name" (Todorov 2011b: 221). He shows through images (*Los Caprichos*) that "the supporters of republican values are no better than the fanatics of patriotism and tradition". His paintings were therefore prophetic of the fratricidal wars which would devastate Europe. ▶▶▶



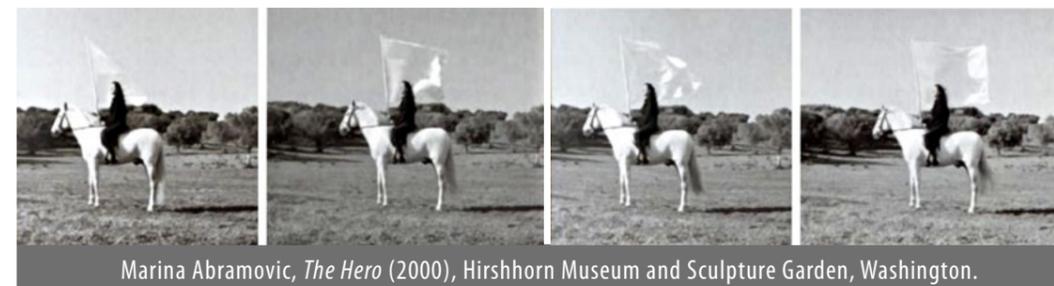
Picasso, *Guernica* (1937) Museo Reina Sofia, Madrid, Spain.

■ The tragic events caused by the Spanish Civil War were symbolised in *Guernica* (1937) which Picasso painted at a dizzying pace in only 33 days and which was exhibited in the Spanish Republic's pavilion at the Paris International Exposition.

■ On 26 April 1937, the warplanes of the German Condor Legion supporting General Franco's military rebellion bombed the town of Gernika, leaving scores dead and injured and destroying the town which symbolised the age-old Basque *fueros* (provincial laws). For the first time in the history of Europe, ordinary people were the victims of a massive air strike, and the same despicable act of terror would subsequently be perpetrated in later wars.

■ A chain of horror would inevitably end up linking the names of Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Halabja, Beirut, Dresden, Srebrenica, Baghdad, Aleppo and many others.

■ From the time it was first exhibited, Picasso's famous painting gave rise to a veritable labyrinth of interpretations about the meaning of some of his figures, to the point that the artist himself refrained from any revelations. However, it is of little importance whether the bull or the horse actually represents the Spanish people or General Franco. What is really important about this work is its emblematic power to provoke questioning about the barbarity of such a notorious event. At the same time, however, it is a plea against war whose universal dimension is constantly renewed. We see this in the fact that artists and ordinary citizens continue to make use of it whenever there are conflicts or acts of barbarism.



Marina Abramović, *The Hero* (2000), Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Washington.

■ Following the critical eye of Rubens in his *Allegory of Peace and War* (1626-1630), of Goya in the cases already mentioned, or of Delacroix in his *Scene from the Massacres of Chios* (1824), Picasso dissolves the frontiers between document and imagination to explore the shadows of human existence. Artists and poets are constantly creating a memory which acts as a shield against hubris, against the catastrophe caused by human action, while reminding us of our tragic condition. Paul Eluard, for example, wrote in *La victoire de Guernica*: "The fear and courage to live and die, / A death so difficult and so easy."

■ More recent wars, such as those which devastated former Yugoslavia, have been addressed by the Serbian artist Marina Abramović (Belgrade, 1946) in her works and performances, such as the video installation *Balkan Baroque* (1997) or *The Hero* (2000), a video of a performance in which Abramović rides a white horse with a white flag in her hands, while in the background we hear a popular song about a hero who surrendered. This image, at once poetic and mysterious, invites us to engage in critical questioning and undertake a kind of silent catharsis after the fratricidal war in the Balkans.

■ Throughout the long history of dictatorial regimes in Latin America, there have been many victims. Two Chilean artists who suffered under the Pinochet regime have created a disturbing and fraternal body of work in relation to those experiences. In the case of Alfredo Jaar (Santiago, 1956), his images and installations shape a whole critical propaedeutic for interpretation of a tragic memory. ▶▶▶



Eugenio Dittborn, *Pieta (Madison Square Garden) (pintura aeropostal)*, (1985).

■ The *Geometry of Conscience* memorial (2010) installed at the Museum of Memory and Human Rights in Santiago presents a narrative device in which the silhouettes of the dead join with those of the living in thinking about the past, present and future. Eugenio Dittborn (Santiago, 1943), for his part, adopts an itinerant approach to bring us a series of images referred to as “airmail paintings”. With this airmail method and his way of exhibiting his works, he proposes to “circulate small models of something like a memory”.

■ Works like this one, *Pieta (Madison Square Garden) (pintura aeropostal)*, (1985), are sent by mail and mounted and exhibited by museums and art centres in the receiving countries. They represent a visual image of the memories and political and cultural antagonisms of a specific context which migrate to other places of reception.

■ Coming back to Europe and to the long-running conflict in Northern Ireland, Willie Doherty (Derry, 1959) has produced several works which repeatedly investigate the traces this conflict has left in people.

■ In his installation entitled *Unfinished* (2010), the camera examines the interiors of two large warehouses through a sequence of slow pans and static images. This is accompanied by a recording of a harrowing account from a man of his experience of being taken hostage and held in a space similar to that of the installation. The narrative is fragmented and split as the two video sequences alternate between views of the ominous interiors and the man struggling to



Willie Doherty, *Unfinished* (2010).

Chillida, *Para el hombre, por los derechos humanos, Serigrafía* (1980) 65 x 39 cm.

piece together a version of his ordeal. The temporal gap between the two events creates a level of uncertainty about the authenticity of what the viewer sees and hears. This poetry of uncertainty which encodes the narrative and the amnesia it conveys express the difficulty of putting the meaning of a traumatic experience into images. Furthermore, the ambiguity of the work raises ethical questions: how can we recognise all the victims without having to compare the political causes?

■ There is no space in this paper to address the complexity of the conflict in the Basque Country and Spain. I cannot talk here about the violence it has involved and the way the arts have represented it. This remains to be done. I will confine myself here to presenting a modest work by Eduardo Chillida (Hernani, 1924 – San Sebastian, 2002), *For man, for human rights*, a silkscreen printing from 1980.

■ Using a highly distinctive formal economy specific to his visual poetry and a very well chosen chromatic austerity, Chillida creates a blank space for the protection of human rights, which are of course inviolable, where that inexhaustible desire for humanity can be welcomed and nourished. From *The Virginia Declaration of Rights* (1776) to the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen* (Paris, 1793) to the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (New York, 1948), we find a common strand: recognition of the freedom and equality inherent in all human beings. It is well known, however, that this democratic ideal has been refused on many occasions and in many places, even to this day in Europe. ▶▶▶



TARGET GROUP
UPPER SECONDARY

KEY ISSUE

In his paper on *Human rights in a historical perspective*, Professor Naastad referred to the debate held in Valladolid in Spain in 1550 between Bartolomé de las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda over the treatment of Indians in the new 'Spanish' territories in Central America. The central issue in the debate, as Professor Naastad stresses, was not whether human beings had rights – on that all agreed that they had – but about whether the Indians could properly be regarded as human. Rights protect you – but only if you are human.

This unit provides an opportunity to consider that debate further; in particular:

Why were the Indians regarded – by some Europeans – to be less than human?

How were the arguments used in the debate reflected in the visual arts of the time?

Making contrary uses of the same images.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

"Neither cannibalism nor the sacrifice of human victims to the Gods by the Indians are offences which shall justify war being waged against them. In the first place because such cases be but rare and in the second place because the said cannibalism and immolation are an essential part of their religious rites... A change of religion, though it be conversion to the true religion is a matter which shall not be treated lightly nor in any way be imposed by force, for there is no matter whatsoever more arduous and important for a man than to abandon his first religion, even though its rites include the sacrifice of human victims..."

Extract from Bartolomé de las Casas' *Apologia*

See also: Angel Losada, Bartolomé de las Casas, champion of Indian rights in 16th-century Spanish America, and José Antonio Maravall, Bartolomé de las Casas, two inalienable principles: freedom and the right to human dignity, in *The UNESCO Courier*, June 1975

TEACHING, LEARNING AND ASSESSMENT OPPORTUNITIES

EXERCISE 1

Using the images and information in the resources section and any further research you are able to undertake, construct a 21st century version of the debate between Bartolomé de las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda on the issue of Indians' rights. You should put forward justified arguments both for and against and you should make use of *all* the images presented here both to *support* the case and to *deny* it.

EXERCISE 2

Several of the images are engravings by De Bry. De Bry never visited the American colonies.

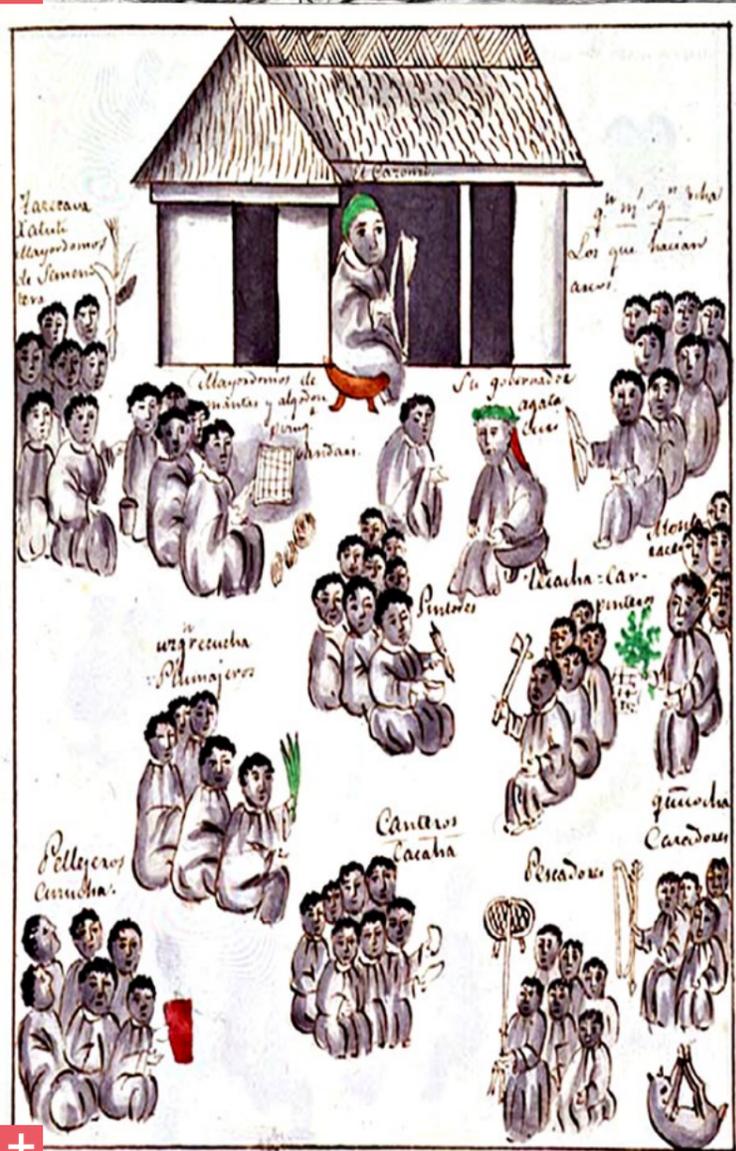
1. Should this influence the way in which we look at his engravings?

INTERNET RESOURCES

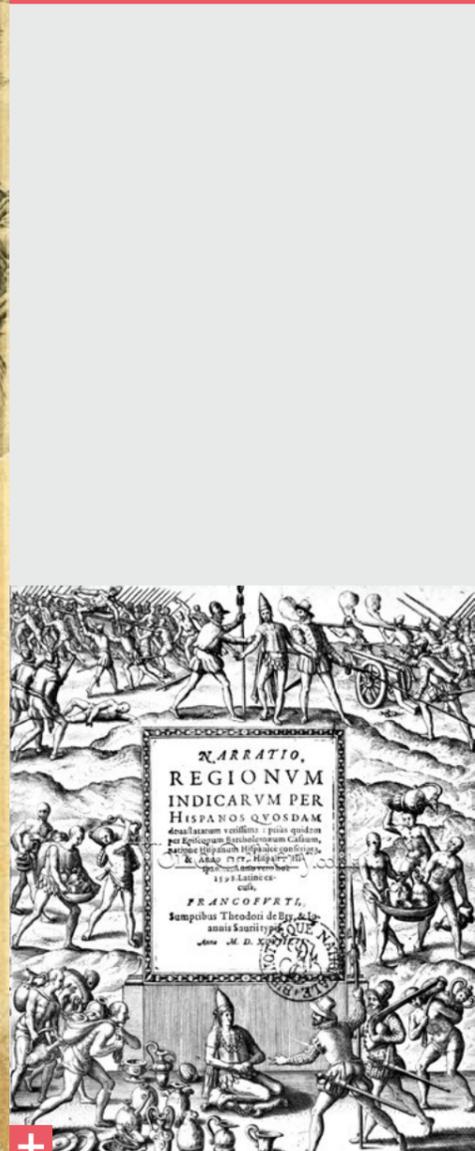
➔ [L'America di Johann Theodor de Bry](#)

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES SEMINAR PAPERS

- ➔ **The role of the iconographic and historical patterns in the artistic European production during the Second World War**
by Micol Forti
- ➔ **"Imagining the Balkans": a travelling exhibition about reconciliation through history and memory**
by Anthony Krause
- ➔ **'My granny's life is part of European history': a joint EPA and Euroclio project**
by Eszter Salamon



Als der Herr Laudonniere etliche Unterthanen des Königs Holata Utina oder Outina, sootts
gefahr 40. Meil vom Schloß der Franzosen/ gegen Mittag/ wohnt/ vffgenommen hatt/ welche im vorigen Krieg
von Saturioua/ seinem Feindt gefangen worden/ schickt er sie ihrem König wider zu: Welche/ nach dem sie einen
Bundt mit im gemacht/ auch zusagten/ das sie gute Freunde bleiben wolten. Dieser Bundt aber ward darumb
auffgericht/ weil durch dis Königsbiet/ alle in zu Land/ vnd das Wasser vffwärts/ man den Paß zum Gebürg Apalatey,
darin viel Holtz/ Silber vnd Erz wechslt/ haben köndt/ auff das die Franzosen/ wegen dis Königs Freundschaftt/ (welche kum
ein jar währt) desto sicherer zu disem Gebürg kömten möchten. Als dis Freundschaftt noch währt/ begert er vom Herrn Lau-
donniere etlich Hackenschützen/ sintemal er ein Krieg wider sein Feindt fürzunehmen gesinnet. Daruff im der Herr Lau-
donniere durch Herrn Ortigni/ seinen Leutenant 25. zugeschickt. Da die ankömten/ hat sie der König mit freuden empfangen/
der gänzlich zuversicht/ das er nu den Sieg wider seine Feinde erhalten würde: Sintemal im gantzen Land von den Büch-
sen ein solch Geschrey erschollen/ das sie darab sehr erschrocken waren. Da nun der König ganz zum Anzug fertig/ zogen sie
fort/ vnd haben den ersten Tag ein guten Weg gehabt/ den andern aber/ wegen der sumpffigen örter/ so voll Döner vnd Ges-
träuch waren/ ein gar mühseligen Weg/ beschwern die Indianer die Franzosen tragen mußten/ das inen denn/ wegen grosser
Hitz/ sehr wol bekam/ sind also endlich an der Feinde Gränz kömten. Alda der König/ als er sein Heer still zu halten befohlen/
ein Zauberer/ ober die 120. Jar alt/ zu sich beruffen/ vnd im befohlen/ das er ihm der Feinde Gelegenheyt anzeigen: Daruff
der Zauberer in mitten des Heers im ein Platz gemacht/ in dem er den Schild des Herrn Ortigni/ den sein Schiltjung trug/
erschen/ begert er/ das man in den geben wolt/ so bald er in bekame/ legt er in auff die Erden/ machte vmb den ein Circel/ fünf
Schuch weit/ vnd uoben her vmb etliche Buchstaben vnd Zeichen/ darnach kriet er vff den Schild/ vnd saß vff seine Fersen ni-
der/ also/ das er das Erdrich niemand berührt/ vnd weß nit was/ prumlet/ trab mancherley Geberde/ als ob er ein ganz ernst-
liches Gebet thut: Welcher/ als ers einer viertel stund lang angetrieben/ erschrocklich anzusehen ward/ das er kein Menschen
mehr gleichet/ Dann er alle seine Glieder dermassen wandte/ das man frey hörte/ wie die Knochen auß einander giengen. In
summa/ er thut vil vnnatürlichs. Da dis vollbracht/ ward er wider wie vor/ doch ganz matt/ vnd als erschrocken: Daruff er auß
dem Circel gantzen/ den König gegrüßet/ vnd im angezeigt/ wie stark die Feinde/ vnd an welchem ort sie seiner warteten.
D ij Wie d





TARGET GROUP
UPPER SECONDARY

KEY ISSUE

Developing an historical overview by tracking the theme of the Judeo-Christian relationship over a broad span of time.

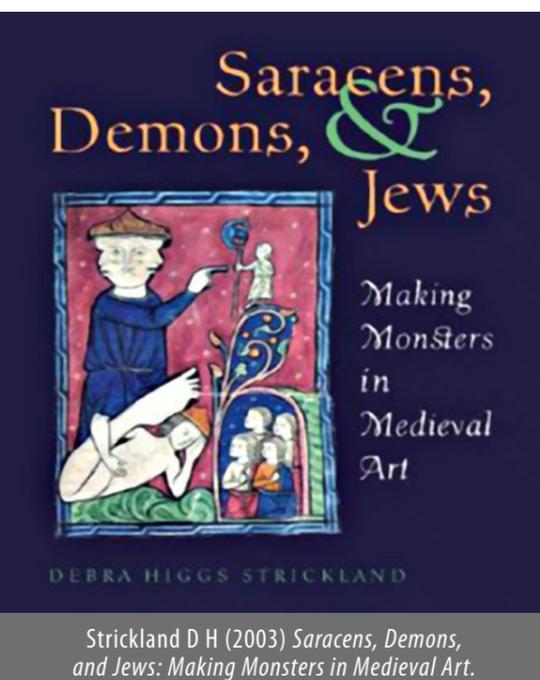
Offering explanations which require the bringing together of a range of political, economic, social and cultural factors.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

During the crusades, Ethiopians, Jews, Muslims, and Mongols were branded enemies of the Christian majority... [a book by Debra Higgs Strickland] reveals the outrageously pejorative ways these rejected social groups were represented--often as monsters, demons, or freaks of nature. Such monstrous images of non-Christians were not rare displays but a routine aspect of medieval public and private life. These images, which reached a broad and socially varied audience across western Europe, appeared in virtually all artistic media, including illuminated manuscripts, stained glass, sculpture, metalwork, and tapestry.

Debra Higgs Strickland introduces and decodes images of the 'monstrous races,' from demon-like Jews and man-eating Tartars to Saracens with dog heads or animal bodies... boundaries were effectively blurred between imaginary monsters and rejected social groups.

The title of this unit comes from the speech made by Shylock in William Shakespeare's play, *The Merchant of Venice*.



Strickland D H (2003) *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art*.

"I am a Jew. Hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer, as a Christian is? If you prick us, do we not bleed? If you tickle us, do we not laugh? If you poison us, do we not die?"

What point do you think Shylock was making in this speech?

TEACHING, LEARNING AND ASSESSMENT OPPORTUNITIES

EXERCISE 1

Look at the images in the resource section:

1. How can you tell which are the Jewish people in the images? (Look at what they are wearing as well as the way their physical appearance is presented)
2. In source D some of those shown as being in hell are Jews. How can you tell this?
3. These images offer various clues about why the Jews have had to suffer so much hatred and persecution in Europe over many centuries. What are these clues? Are there other reasons, not indicated here, to explain the hostility Jews have faced?
4. Which of these images would you select to be in Debra Strickland's book in order to illustrate the point she is making? Explain your decisions.

EXERCISE 2

NAZI PROPAGANDA POSTER



Nazi propaganda slide entitled

"As a member of a foreign race, the Jew in the Middle Ages had no rights of citizenship. He had to live in a ghetto in a separate quarter of the town..."

This propaganda was part of the Nazi government's justification for depriving Jews of any rights and enforcing segregation. Using the internet and other resources look for examples of Jewish ghettos in European cities in the middle and later ages.

Why were these ghettos created?

INTERNET RESOURCES

→ [Shakespeare Shylock, David Suchet.](#)



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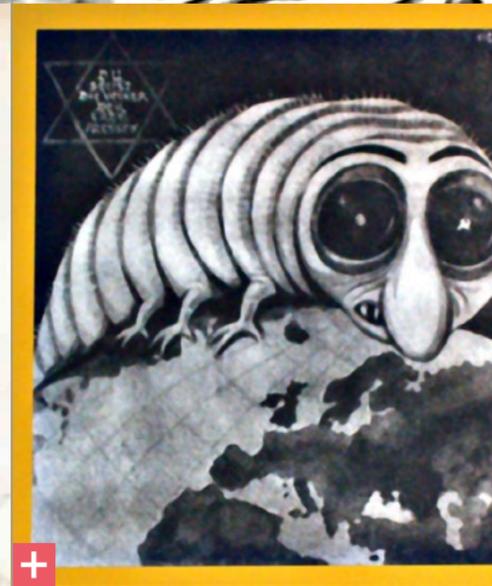
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TARGET GROUP
LOWER SECONDARY/UPPER PRIMARY

Ms Marie Homerova, CIEE Charles University, Prague

KEY ISSUE

Strengthening empathetic understanding in order to make fuller use of the historical record.

Responding to images in terms of the emotions and attitudes the artist is seeking to convey.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The Butterfly

The last, the very last,
 So richly, brightly, dazzling yellow,
 Perhaps if the sun’s tears
 would sing against a white stone...

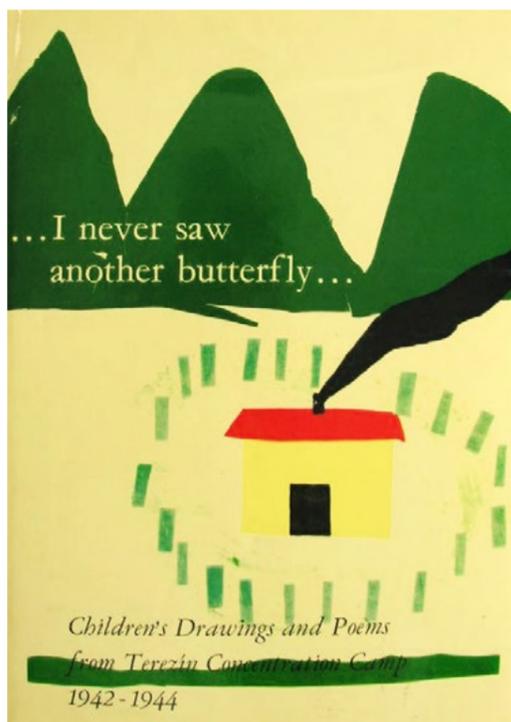
For seven weeks
 I have lived in here,
 Pinned up in this ghetto,
 But I have found my people here.
 The dandelions call to me
 And the white chestnut
 candles in the court.
 Only I never saw another butterfly.

That butterfly was the last one.
 Butterflies do not live here,
 In the ghetto.

Pavel Friedmann, 1921- 1944

TEREZIN (THERESIENSTADT)

The military town of Terezin (Theresienstadt in German) in what is now the Czech Republic was built in the 18th century. It consisted of a citadel, the ‘Small Fortress’, and a walled town, the ‘Main Fortress’. During the First World War the fortress was used as a political prison camp. Amongst the prisoners was Gavrilo Princip who had assassinated the Archduke of Austria and his wife in Sarajevo in 1914 thus bringing about the start of the War, and who died of tuberculosis in Terezin in 1918.



Cultural Activities, Helga Hoskova.

Cultural Life in Terezin

Despite the horrifying living conditions in the ghetto, where people starved to death, died of epidemics and lived in panic under the threat of deportation, many people strove to keep their human dignity. They defended themselves against the brutality and humiliation

through cultural activities. Outstanding Jewish artists, mainly from Czechoslovakia, Austria and Germany created paintings, drawings, some of them clandestine depictions of the ghetto’s harsh reality. Writers, composers, soloists, actors, university professors and teachers gave lectures, concerts or theatre performances. They performed exacting operas such as Carmen or The Bartered Bride. The artists designed the costumes, women made them, musicians and soloists and choirs rehearsed and performed. They gave concerts of music such as Verdi’s Requiem. Hans Krasa, the Czech avant-garde musician, composed an opera called Brundibar (Bumblebee) specifically for the Theresienstadt children. This opera was performed by the children in 1944. The concerts, even strictly prohibited jazz music, helped the desperate inmates to overcome the worst period in their lives. Although all the artistic activities and school classes were officially forbidden by the Nazis, the cultural life and school attendance never stopped. Not only adults, but also children, painted pictures, wrote poetry and in other ways tried to maintain a vestige of normality. Approximately 90% of these children and adults perished in the death camps, but their writings and pictures express their feelings and belief in the values of humanity.

TEACHING, LEARNING AND ASSESSMENT OPPORTUNITIES

EXERCISE 4



Jewish children marching in Terezin, Leo Haas, 1942.

This is also a painting of children in Terezin, but it is very different from the one in exercise 3.

1. Describe these differences as fully as you can. Look not only at what is shown in the picture, but consider also what the artist was trying to express about life in the ghetto.

2. Who did you think the two large figures in the foreground represent?
3. Why are the children painted the way they are?
4. What is in the background?
5. What do you feel when you look at the painting?

EXERCISE 5

VISUAL ART IN TEREZIN

■ The visual art produced in the ghetto represents a unique phenomenon. Hundreds of works of art by some 40 Jewish artists have been preserved. Art by victims under Nazi domination may be viewed as a form of documentation and witnessing. However, it was also a form of spiritual resistance. It is this that gives much of the work its historical significance - as evidence of the victims' perspective and their response to appalling oppression.

■ Deported there on in December 1942, Friedl Dicker-Brandeis, a prominent artist in the inter-war period, established several art schools for children of various ages in the ghetto. She gave art lessons and lectures to hundreds of Terezin children. Friedl was also busy searching constantly for paper, crayons and colours. For their drawing and painting the children used every little piece of paper in the most economical way. She helped to organise for them secret education classes and exhibitions, because she considered art as a way for the children to understand their emotions and their environment. In this capacity she was giving



Untitled, Friedl Dicker-Brandeisova, Terezin, 1944.

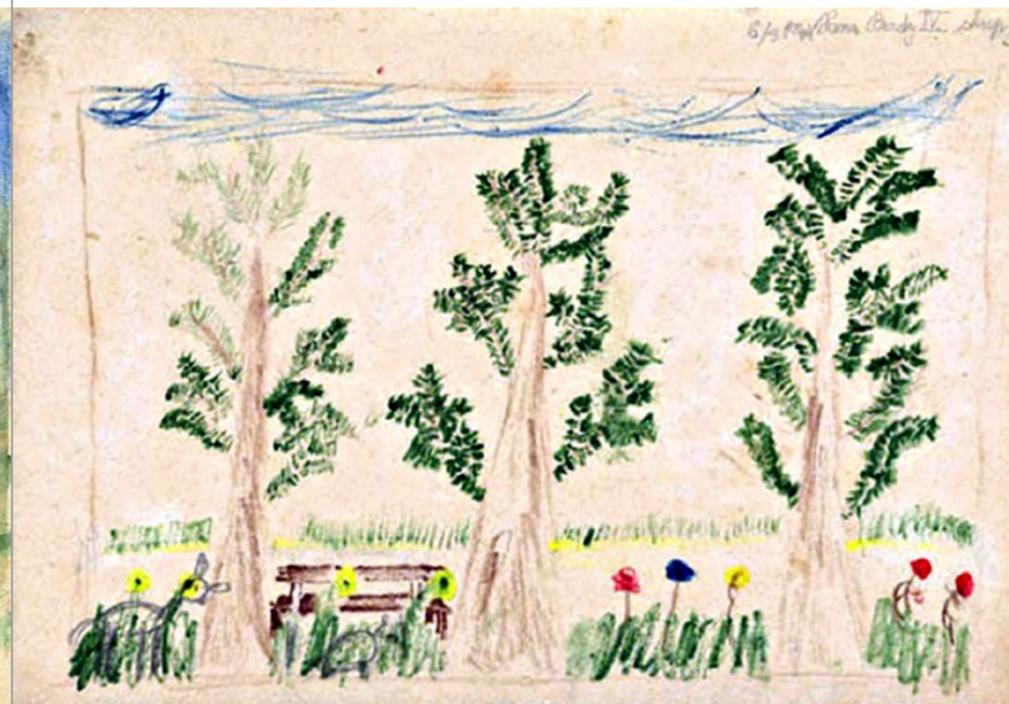
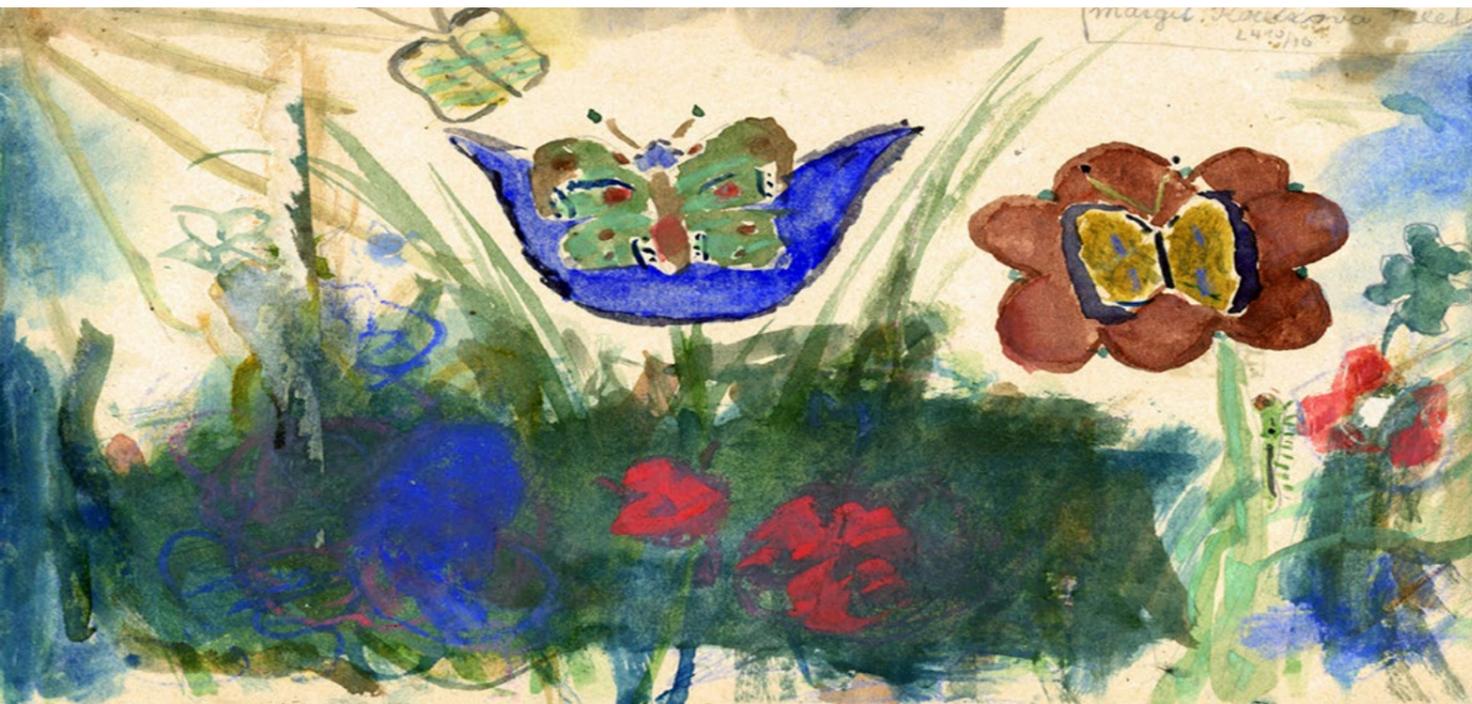
art therapy for the stressed children in Terezin. She persisted in pursuing her goal - «to rouse the desire towards creative work.», thus helping the children to overcome the harsh reality of their daily life which was full of horrors and starvation.

■ The 5,000 surviving art works of these children, only four of whom survived the Holocaust, became a means of coping with the extreme conditions of life in the camp. The surviving paintings of Jozef Novák, Jindřich Seiner, Hana Fischerova, Hana Lustigova, Helga Weisova and others show a remarkable degree of originality.

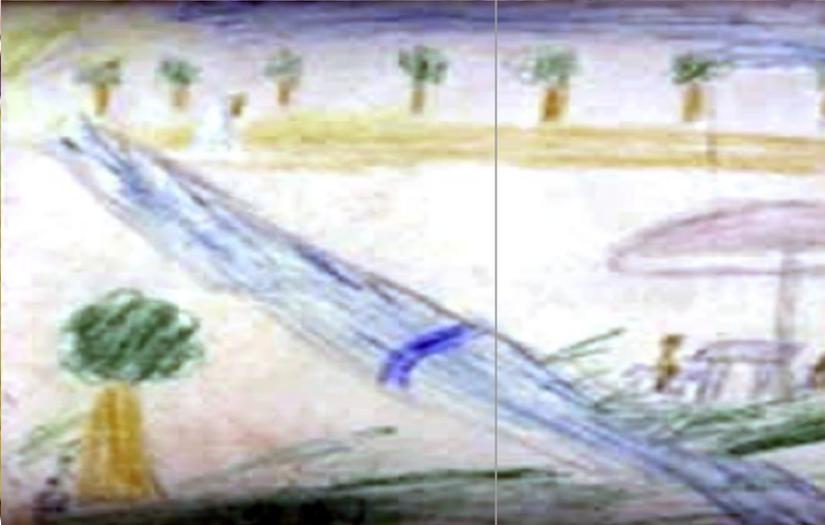
■ Ms Dicker-Brandeis and many of her students were deported in 1944 from Terezin to Auschwitz- Birkenau where they died.

■ Apart from the children's art, the camp's prominent adult painters were Leo Haas, Bedrich Fritta, Karel Fleischmann, Otto Ungar and Felix Bloch. Most of these well-reputed artists were from the former Czechoslovakia. Leo Haas, one of the best-known artists of the time, became a leader of the Zeichenstube (Drawing Office) in Terezin, an underground group that tried to depict the brutal realities of camp life.

1. What do you think Friedl Dicker-Brandeisova intended to convey in this painting?
2. It is called 'Untitled'. Why do you think this is?
3. Discuss what alternative title you might give the painting and why.



RESOURCES



LIVING TOGETHER IN DIGNITY IN CULTURALLY DIVERSE SOCIETIES

” Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.
Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 2

” Each Contracting Party shall take appropriate measures to safeguard and to encourage the development of its national contribution to the common cultural heritage of Europe.
European Cultural Convention

LIVING TOGETHER IN DIGNITY

Professor Barbara Welzel
TU Dortmund University, Germany

FRAMEWORK OF CONVENTIONS

UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS (1948)

■ **Article 1** All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

■ **Article 2** Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

■ **Article 22** Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realisation, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organisation and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.



| THEMES | TOPICS |
|---|---|
| IMPACT OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION | INTRODUCTION |
| DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION | VALUING INDIVIDUAL HUMAN LIFE |
| HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE HISTORY OF ART | LIVING TOGETHER IN DIGNITY IN CULTURALLY DIVERSE SOCIETIES |
| EUROPE AND THE WORLD | INDIVIDUAL AUTONOMY AND FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION |

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| HOW CAN ARCHITECTURE CONTRIBUTE TO A STRATEGY OF OPPOSING EXCLUSION AND DISCRIMINATION? |
| WHOSE STORIES DO MUSEUMS TELL? |
| PUBLIC REPRESENTATIONS OF NATIONAL DIVERSITY |

EUROPEAN CULTURAL CONVENTION (1954)

The governments signatory hereto, being members of the Council of Europe, [...] having resolved to conclude a general European Cultural Convention designed to foster among the nationals of all members, and of such other European States as may accede thereto, the study of the languages, history and civilisation of the others and of the civilisation which is common to them all, have agreed as follows:

Article 1 Each Contracting Party shall take appropriate measures to safeguard and to encourage the development of its national contribution to the common cultural heritage of Europe.

Article 2 Each Contracting Party shall, insofar as may be possible:

- encourage the study by its own nationals of the languages, history and civilisation of the other Contracting Parties and grant facilities to those Parties to promote such studies in its territory; and
- endeavour to promote the study of its language or languages, history and civilisation in the territory of the other Contracting Parties and grant facilities to the nationals of those Parties to pursue such studies in its territory.

Article 5 Each Contracting Party shall regard the objects of European cultural value placed under its control as integral parts of the common cultural heritage of Europe, shall take appropriate measures to safeguard them and shall ensure reasonable access thereto.

COUNCIL OF EUROPE – FRAMEWORK CONVENTION ON THE VALUE OF CULTURAL HERITAGE FOR SOCIETY, FARO (2005)

Article 1 Aims of the Convention

The Parties to this Convention agree to:

- recognise that rights relating to cultural heritage are inherent in the right to participate in cultural life, as defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; [...]
- take the necessary steps to apply the provisions of this Convention concerning: the role of cultural heritage in the construction of a peaceful and democratic society, and in the processes of sustainable development and the promotion of cultural diversity.

Article 7 Cultural heritage and dialogue

The Parties undertake, through the public authorities and other competent bodies, to:

- encourage reflection on the ethics and methods of presentation of the cultural heritage, as well as respect for diversity of interpretations;
- establish processes for conciliation to deal equitably with situations where contradictory values are placed on the same cultural heritage by different communities;
- develop knowledge of cultural heritage as a resource to facilitate peaceful co-existence by promoting trust and mutual understanding with a view to resolution and prevention of conflicts;
- integrate these approaches into all aspects of lifelong education and training.

The Convention of Faro from the year 2005 can be considered as an answer on the change processes in European societies. More and more they develop as cultural diverse societies. At the moment the Convention of Faro is the most important document for the discourse on “Living together in dignity in cultural diverse societies”. Teachers and pupils all over Europe therefore should read and discuss the document.¹

WHITE PAPER ON INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE: LIVING TOGETHER AS EQUALS IN DIGNITY (2008)²

This paper is a contribution to an international discussion on intercultural dialogue. The task of living together amid growing cultural diversity while respecting human rights and fundamental freedoms is one of the major demands of our times. ▶▶▶

¹ <http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Html/199.htm>

² http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/intercultural/publication_whitepaper_id_EN.asp

THE IMPACT OF 'SHARED HISTORIES': TWO EXEMPLARY 'LIEUX DE MÉMOIRE' IN EUROPE

The 'lieux de mémoire' of Coventry Cathedral and the Bridge of Mostar are examples of 'shared histories'. They are also references for a world-wide discussion on cultural heritage and peace-building after war and disastrous conflicts.



Winston Churchill visits the ruins of Coventry Cathedral following its destruction in the 'Coventry Blitz' of 14/15th November 1940.

COVENTRY CATHEDRAL

Coventry Cathedral, a medieval building in an industrial city north-west of London, was destroyed in World War II by the Nazi air-force. It is a witness to destruction, as are many other places in Europe. However, the site has been transformed into a monument of remembrance and a vow for conciliation.

Coventry Cathedral made itself into a reference for conciliation by:

- ▶ the rebuilding of the cathedral as a monument of remembrance;
- ▶ creating the 'Cross of Nails' and by giving such crosses as gifts to the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gedächtnis-Kirche Berlin and recently to the rebuilt Frauenkirche in Dresden;
- ▶ displaying a copy of the 'Stalingrad Madonna' (the original of the 'Stalingrad Madonna' is in Volgograd [former Stalingrad] Cathedral, a further copy is in the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gedächtnis-Kirche Berlin, making these three places a network of shared remembrance).

In 1962 the new cathedral was consecrated. To mark the consecration the *War Requiem* by Benjamin Britten was composed and premiered.

Information on Coventry Cathedral is easily accessible on the world-wide-web. Coventry Cathedral can be introduced to pupils as 'lieu de mémoire' for touching on many things:

- ▶ the history of World War II;
- ▶ the destruction of many of the European cities ('urbizid');
- ▶ reconciliation and the involvement of many people in the process of peace-making;
- ▶ as part of a network of places and monuments that promote the understanding of architecture, art-works and music.

All the countries of the Council of Europe can be connected to Coventry by mapping connections to one or more of the different aspects forming the 'lieu de mémoire'. One important aspect in the context of Coventry Cathedral as a 'lieu de mémoire' is the insight that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is a deliberate response to World War II and the Shoah. In the words of the preamble:

”Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people.”



THE BRIDGE OF MOSTAR

The Bridge of Mostar is a European 'lieu de mémoire' in a number of different ways. It is a striking example of the complexity of monuments. Today's bridge is a recent reconstruction of the Old Bridge. It crosses the river Neretva and connects two parts of Mostar, a town in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is an impressive landmark.

The original bridge was constructed in the 16th century (1556-1566) and was considered to be one of the most important examples of Ottoman architecture in the Balkans. The architect was Mimar Hajrudin (Hayreddin), a pupil of the famous Mimar Sinan. It was commissioned by Sultan Suleyman I. 'Stari Most' was a symbolic bridge between the Christian and the Islamic world, between West and East, it connected also Catholic-Croatian and Orthodox-Serbian areas.

On 9th November 1993 'Stari Most' was destroyed during the Croat-Bosniac War. This was despite the attempt to prevent such destructions after World War II by the "Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict" (1954).

After the ending of the Croat-Bosniac War an alliance of different partners (among them UNESCO, the World Bank and the Council of Europe Development Bank) decided to rebuild the bridge. It was re-opened on 23rd July 2004.

(Information on the Bridge of Mostar is easily accessible in the world-wide-web. It is especially interesting to read the explanation for its listing as a World Heritage site.¹

Whilst it is true that 'Stari Most' today is seen as a "universal symbol of the coexistence of communities", so far this is only from a universal point of view. In daily life in Mostar people do not cross the bridge but live in somewhat separated communities.² ▶▶▶

With the 'renaissance' of the Old Bridge and its surroundings, the symbolic power and meaning of the City of Mostar, as an exceptional and universal symbol of coexistence of communities from diverse cultural, ethnic and religious backgrounds, has been reinforced and strengthened, underlining the unlimited efforts of human solidarity for peace and powerful co-operation in the face of overwhelming catastrophes.

The World Heritage Committee:
Recognises the exceptional multicultural architectural features of the Old Bridge Area of the Old City of Mostar and its satisfactory interrelationship with the landscape, as well as the high quality, the skill and the technical refinement of the restoration of the ancient constructions, in particular the Old Bridge.

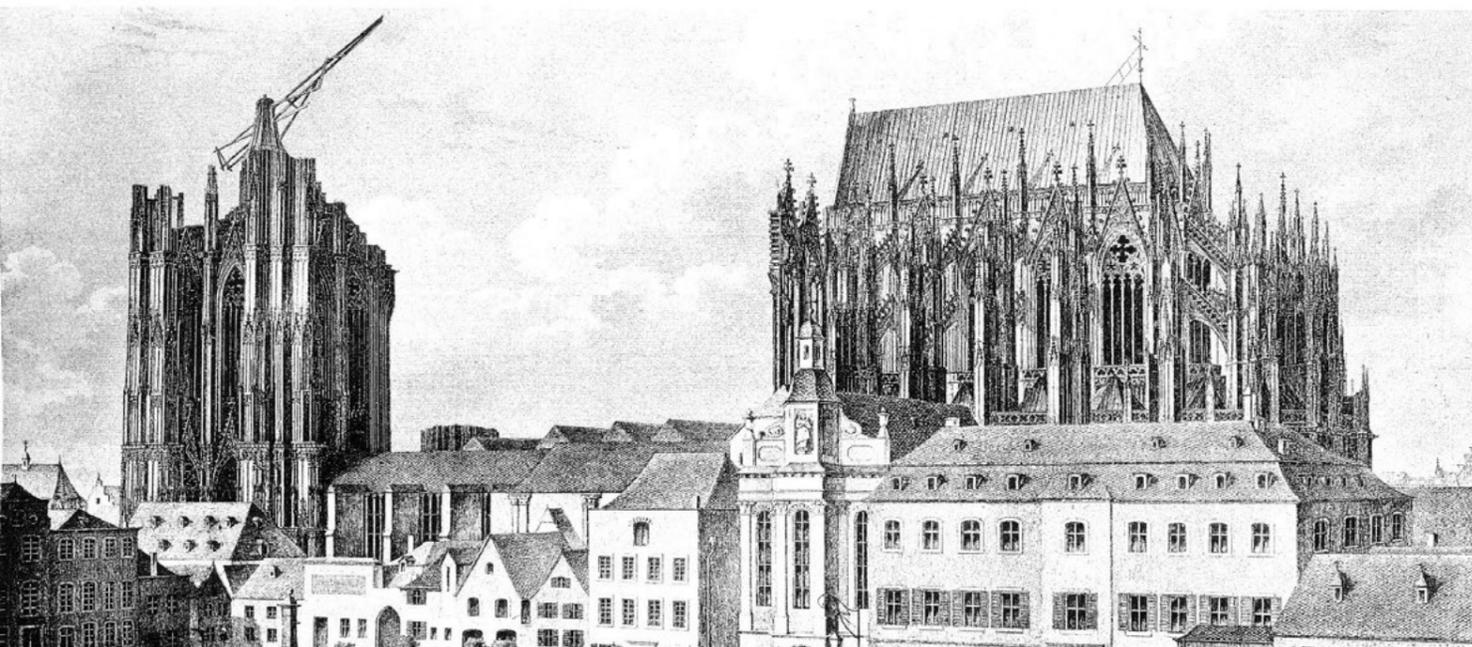
World Heritage Committee inscription (9th September 2005)

¹ See <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/946>

² In Nicosia (Cyprus) the Association for Historical Dialogue and Research (AHDR), which brings together history teachers and historians from all communities across the divide, has been working successfully in a similarly difficult situation where the concept of shared histories is highly problematic. (See Seminar Paper *Nicosia: Memory, Dignity, Diversity* by Marios Epaminondas).



The Bridge of Mostar ('Stari Most'), June 2006.



Cologne Cathedral before its completion in the 19th century, after: Max Hasak (1856-1934), Cologne Cathedral, 1911.



Cologne Cathedral, from the Southeast, 2007.



Cologne Cathedral, Interior, 2004.



Cologne Cathedral 2011, West-Façade; in 2011 scaffolding was erected on the north-tower.



Panoramic View of Cologne, 2009.

UNIVERSAL HERITAGE: DIFFERENT MEANINGS AND DIFFERENT HEIRS

Cologne Cathedral is a remarkable landmark. It is also an important 'lieu de mémoire' which in 2006 was recognised as a World Heritage site¹.

But the Gothic cathedral has even older predecessors going back to the beginnings of the Christianisation of this area. The building is considered to be one of the most important examples of French Gothic in the German-speaking countries. When, at the end of 19th and in the first half of the 20th century, research was linked to nationalism this was a matter for strong rivalry.

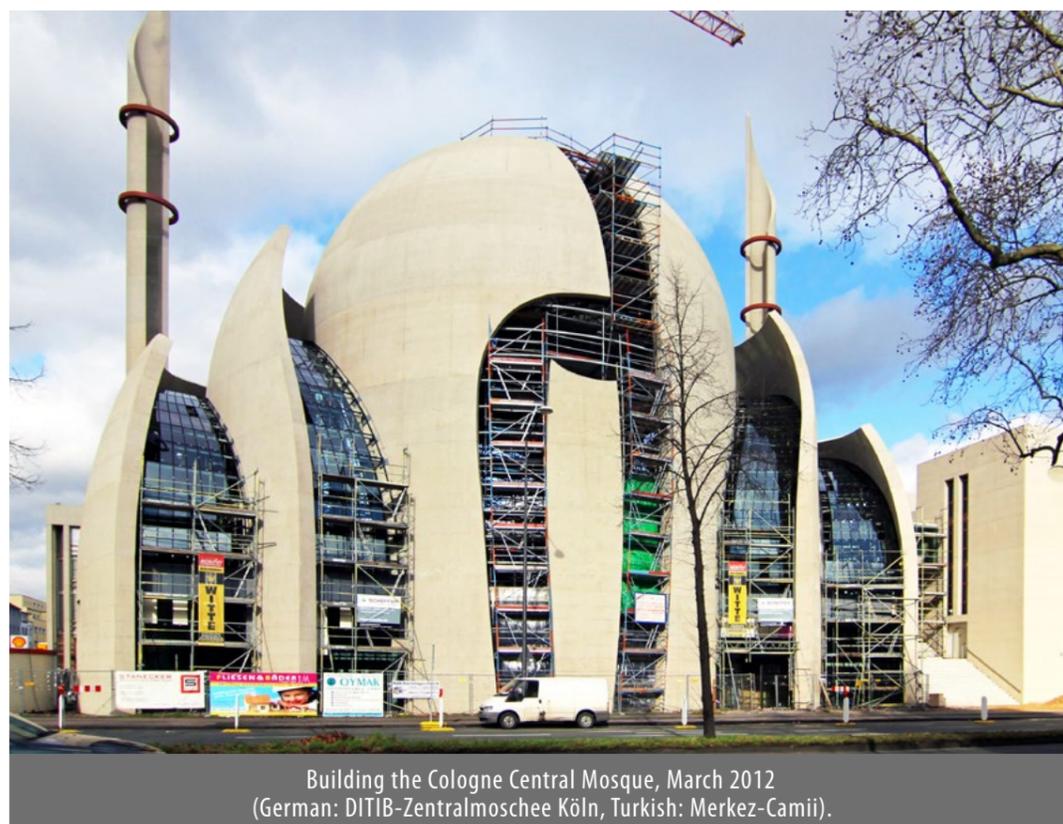
Begun in 1248, the construction of this Gothic masterpiece took place in several stages and was not completed until 1880. Over seven centuries, successive builders were inspired by the same faith and a spirit of absolute fidelity to the original plans. Apart from its exceptional intrinsic value and the artistic masterpieces it contains, Cologne Cathedral testifies to the enduring strength of European Christianity.

World Heritage inscription

In the 16th century work on the building of the cathedral had stopped. For more than 300 years the unfinished building dominated the city of Cologne. At the beginning of the 19th century different factions, including art-lovers, catholic intellectuals, national idealists and the Protestant Prussian Crown, demanded the completion of the building. When the medieval plan for the west-façade was discovered in 1814, building began again. In 1880 the completion of the cathedral was finally celebrated. The cathedral suffered as a result of bombing during World War II. Repairs to the building were finished in 1956; but maintenance work is constantly being carried out.

Cologne Cathedral speaks to us as an example of heterogeneous meanings in the course of history. At one and the same time different groups bring different views and interests to the monument. Historical research allows the withdrawing stereotypes. The monument could be seen as an 'agora' (gathering place) for seeking enlightenment by debating different views, examining the legitimacy of different approaches and looking to support them by research. ▶▶▶

¹ <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/292>



Building the Cologne Central Mosque, March 2012
(German: DITIB-Zentralmoschee Köln, Turkish: Merkez-Camii).

The City of Cologne is a typical big city. 40% of the young people are migrants, or come from a migrant background. Many of them do not have a Catholic background; and a considerable number not even a Christian upbringing. What does Cologne Cathedral mean to them? What do concepts like 'mankind's heritage' or 'shared heritage' mean to them?

Cologne Cathedral "testifies to the enduring strength of European Christianity" (UNESCO). In this respect it is an important monument of Europe; it strengthens understanding of European history. Already in the 19th century a considerable number of further layers of meaning joined the catholic point of view. Cologne Cathedral, therefore, testifies to the plurality of historic meanings in one and the same monument. Still today it is the most remarkable landmark in the whole region. It is part of the local identity. In sign language the two towers of the cathedral are the sign for Cologne.

In the process of cultural education we need to adopt a variety of approaches to looking at monuments enriched by historical information. Pupils from families who migrated to Cologne from other countries, for example, might compile a heritage map showing World Heritage monuments from their countries of origin.

Cities with a sense of identity shared by all their inhabitants nevertheless need places for the public and religious life of different groups. In Cologne, as in other cities, Moslems felt that they wanted to worship in a building of similar beauty to Cologne Cathedral. This opinion was shared by many people, including the former mayor. The foundation stone of the mosque was laid on 7 November 2009, and the topping-out ceremony took place on 2 February 2011. The opening ceremony is scheduled for 2013. The architects of Cologne Central Mosque are Gottfried and Paul Böhm, who live and work in Cologne. The architect Gottfried Böhm (born 1920) is renowned for his designs of catholic churches in the second half of the 20th century. In this project he is collaborating with his son Paul Böhm (born 1959). The building adopts Ottoman architectural motifs, such as the dome. The height of the two minarets is 55 metres. This compares with the 157 metres height of the towers of Cologne Cathedral.

There has been much public controversy over this project¹: should there be a building whose style of architecture is so obviously Islamic in the centre of the city with its Christian tradition? What does "Living together as Equals in Dignity" actually mean?

Such controversies over new buildings and the heritage take place in many countries and cities. With regard to the heritage, all conventions on the care of monuments give a clear message.² The ethical code formulated in different conventions, and strongly supported by the Council of Europe, is the proper response to the destruction wrought by World War II and earlier wars. It is this ethical code that should be part of history teaching.

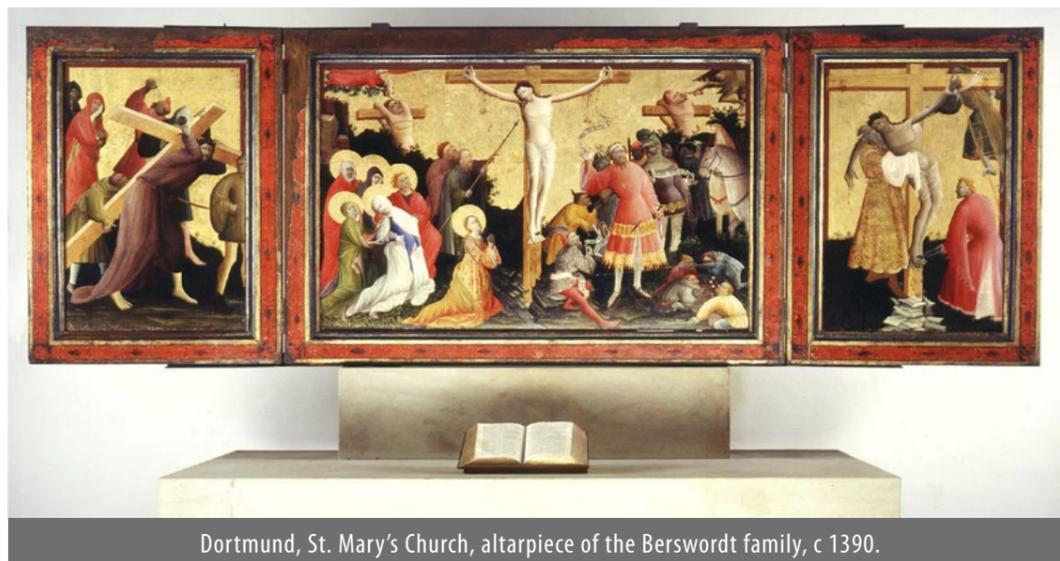
The shape of our cities and sites in Europe, including the heritage and new buildings, is an important challenge for our future. Pupils should understand the controversies in their villages, cities and countries, and even worldwide. ▶▶▶

¹ for example: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cologne_Central_Mosque

² see the conventions quoted above, also the "Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage", <http://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext>.

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Dortmund, St. Mary's Church, altarpiece of the Berswordt family, c 1390.

CULTURAL PARTICIPATION: PROJECTS IN DORTMUND

The altarpiece of the Berswordt family is a typical late-medieval object for a Christian (catholic) church. It is also an outstanding work of art. The Berswordts were an important family in the Hanseatic town of Dortmund. Members of this family lived in many European towns at that time and were part of the Hanseatic network in Northern Europe.¹

In Dortmund industrialisation transformed the city fundamentally. The city belongs to the 'Ruhrgebiet' (Ruhr district), one of the main centres of European industrialisation since the 19th century.² Today the Ruhrgebiet is the largest urban conglomeration in Germany and the fifth largest urban area in Europe.

The area and its cities were heavily bombed during World War II. In Dortmund about 90 per cent of the inner city was destroyed. Today the city presents itself mainly as a newly constructed town with nearly no old buildings. Only the four medieval churches in the centre of city have been rebuilt. Thus today they are the only authentic pre-modern (before 1800) witnesses of the history of this city. They own some of the most precious artworks of the late middle-ages in Europe.

¹ see also "Cultural Routes of the Council of Europe" http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/culture/routes/default_en.asp

² See: Theme 1: The impact of the Industrial Revolution; and "Zollverein: Coal Mine Industrial Complex" as World Heritage <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/975>



Children in a school in the north of Dortmund.

As in Cologne about 50 per cent of the pupils are migrants or have a background of migration. The families emigrated from (among other countries) the Maghreb, Turkey and the former Soviet Union.

In the training of teachers for art-history at the Technical University of Dortmund (under the direction of the author) we had animated discussions about the inclusion of these monuments in teaching activities. Why should the pupils learn something about Christian churches and catholic altarpieces? In the last few years we developed the rationale for including the most important heritage of the city in the education of pupils who grow up in Dortmund. We explained to teachers, church-officials, school-advisors and parents that all the young people growing up in Dortmund have the right to know the history and the cultural heritage of their city: not only the suburbs, but the whole city with its history that is also their town. All the pupils and their families who come from many parts of the world have the chance to be members of the heritage community.

It was, and remains, a real challenge to tell the stories in a way that connects the churches and their art objects somehow with the different young readers. Therefore we looked for 'connecting-zones' between the medieval time in Dortmund and the far reaching transfer of goods in the Hanseatic world. ▶▶▶



Dortmund,
St. Mary's
Church, details
of the altarpiece.



Silk-fabric
with an Arabic
inscription,
Central-Asia,
14th century, used
for a liturgical
vestment in St.
Mary's in Gdańsk
(Poland), today in
St. Annen-Museum,
Lübeck (Germany).

The painting of the 'Descent from the Cross' tells the Biblical story. A member of the council of Jerusalem, Josef of Arimathea, is taking the body of Christ from the Cross. He wears a garment which is tailored from a precious fabric. Such fabrics have been traded from the Far East on the Silk Road. The fabric shown here in the picture was probably woven in Mongolia. The name for such fabrics in the Hanseatic sources is "panni tatarici". Only a few of these rather expensive goods survived. One example is still preserved in a liturgical vestment of the main church in the Hanseatic city of Gdańsk, St. Mary's. This fabric is decorated with an inscription in Arabic letters, praising the sultan. The people of the late 14th century in Gdańsk valued this piece of luxury art to such an extent that they used it for a liturgical vestment for a Christian church. They knew that the object came from an Islamic country and adored its beauty, worth and its faraway origin. All these objects are ambassadors for a long tradition of cultural transfer – which was realised in a manner different to modern globalisation. For the Hanseatic world, research calls this phenomenon 'proto-globalisation'.

In his tremendous project "A History of the World in 100 Objects" in 2010, Neil MacGregor (the director of the British Museum) together with the BBC told an object-based history. He explained in how many ways 100 exemplar objects from the British Museum are connected with the whole world.¹

In Dortmund we continued our research on connecting-zones between the medieval objects and the countries of origin of many migrant families. We started to talk about the pigments which the painters used for their colours. For example, malachite, the stone used to make a specific green, came from Russia or Persia. Indigo-blue was made out of a plant and was imported from India. And so on. By changing and extending the narratives of art-history teaching we are able to realise an increasing participation in the cultural heritage for different members of the society.

¹ see: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/ahistoryoftheworld>



Training-project for future teachers of art-history and teachers or disabled persons at TU Dortmund University.

In another project, at Cologne Cathedral, colleagues talked to a blind man, who has been travelling to Cologne since childhood and had visited the Cathedral very often. Nobody, however, had ever told him that the building has tremendously high towers.

The "UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities" (2006/2008) is a considerable challenge: not to exclude, but to deliberately include pupils with different disabilities into the teaching of cultural heritage². We are encouraged to show to different persons and groups that they share the heritage with all the others. This aim is the reason why in our teacher-training programme we co-ordinate many projects where students and pupils from different schools and of different ages and social backgrounds meet for workshops. They visit a church, monument or museum together with university professors and the school teachers. Such heterogeneous groups make the experience a shared concern; a small but important training for "Living together in dignity in culturally diverse societies".

SELECTED LITERATURE ON THE PROJECTS IN DORTMUND

Franke B. Welzel B, with illustrations by Georgy F (2012): *Dortmund entdecken. Schätze und Geschichten aus dem Mittelalter. (Dortmunder Mittelalter-Forschungen 11)* Bielefeld.

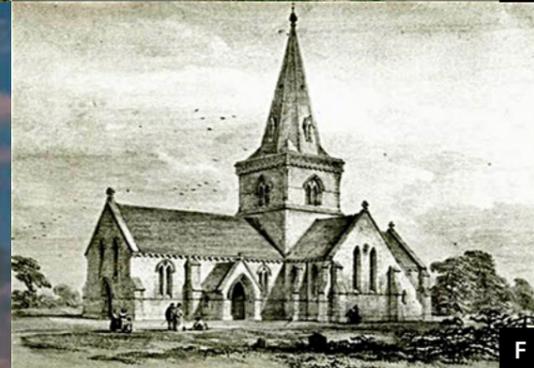
Welzel B (ed.) (2009) *Weltwissen Kunstgeschichte. Kinder entdecken das Mittelalter in Dortmund. (Dortmunder Schriften zur Kunst/Studien zur Kunstdidaktik 10)*. Norderstedt.

Welzel B (2013 forthcoming) *Kunstgeschichte, Bildung und kulturelle Menschenrechte*, in: Claudia Hattendorff/Ludwig Tavernier/Barbara Welzel (eds.), *Kunstgeschichte und Bildung (Dortmunder Schriften zur Kunst/Studien zur Kunstgeschichte 5)*, Norderstedt.

² See also - Whose stories do museums tell? Exercise 3



TARGET GROUP
UPPER PRIMARY



| | | |
|----------------|----------------|---------|
| ORTHODOX | PROTESTANT | MOSQUE |
| ROMAN CATHOLIC | JEWISH | CHURCH |
| BUDDHIST | MUSLIM | TEMPLE |
| SYNAGOGUE | CATHEDRAL | RUSSIA |
| TURKEY | CZECH REPUBLIC | ENGLAND |

TEACHING, LEARNING AND ASSESSMENT OPPORTUNITIES

RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS OF EUROPE

EXERCISE 1

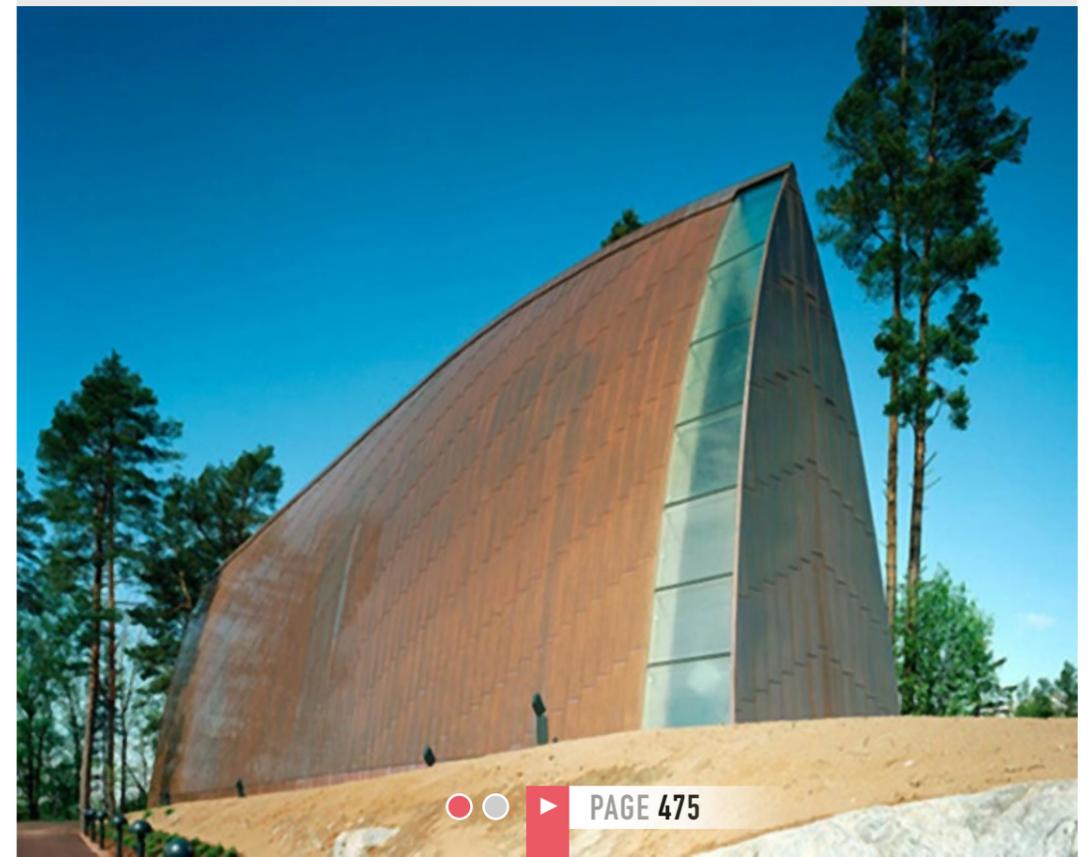
Look at these pictures of religious buildings all of which are in Europe. Below the pictures are words which tell you something about the various buildings.

1. Match the words to the appropriate building. (Some of the words you will have to use more than once).
2. What clues are there in the pictures to help you decide which the correct matching words are?
3. Think how you might check whether or not your answers are correct.
4. With which countries outside Europe would you particularly associate the buildings shown in pictures A, B and C?

EXERCISE 2

The photograph below is also of a church. It is an ecumenical church.

1. Check what the word 'ecumenical' means.
2. How does this church differ from the ones in the previous pictures? Why do you think there are these differences?





TEACHING, LEARNING AND ASSESSMENT OPPORTUNITIES

EXERCISE 3

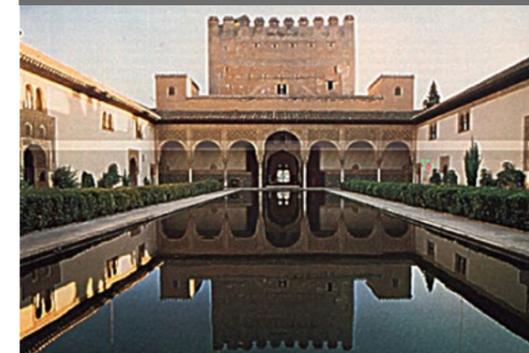
■ The image above is intended to send out a message about a problem with some buildings and exclusion.

1. What do you think that message is?
2. If you were designing a building how would you try to overcome the problem?



This is a building that wants to make people laugh.

This is a building where very powerful people work.



This is a building for people who want to feel peaceful.

?

What does the outside of the building look like? How does it try to show that everybody is welcome to come inside?
 How is it made to look cheerful?
 How big is it?
 What kind of activities can take place inside or outside the building?

This is a building for the whole community where everybody is welcome

EXERCISE 4

BUILDINGS GIVE MESSAGES

1. Each of the buildings in the photographs has been given a matching message. Do you agree with the messages, or would you like to suggest alternative?
2. One space has a message but no picture. This space is for you to design your own building which matches the message. There are examples of the kind of things you will need to think about when you are producing your design.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES SEMINAR PAPERS

- ➔ Human rights in practice: human rights theatre by Erdem Denk
- ➔ Nicosia: Memory, Dignity, Diversity by Marios Epaminondas
- ➔ A jointly narrated European history by Kerstin Schwedes



TARGET GROUP
TEACHER TRAINEES

KEY ISSUES

This unit looks at four ways in which the question 'Whose stories do museums tell?' might be explored with students at different ages and stages. The key issue to consider with students is that museums and galleries are not neutral spaces. The objects they choose to display, the way they display them and what they say about them inevitably reflect – deliberately or unwittingly, openly or covertly – a particular standpoint.

A good example of the way in which museums might work with schools has been the development by Mario Antas from the National Museum of Archaeology in Lisbon of a network of school archaeological clubs.

➔ www.clubesdearqueologia.org

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Educational research has shown that people follow a definite process in developing their attitudes toward cultural diversity. Most people stop their cultural development somewhere along the way, often with disturbing results.

The hierarchy of developing cultural attitudes is:

- ▶ Awareness;
- ▶ Understanding/knowledge;
- ▶ Tolerance/acceptance;
- ▶ Appreciation.

Helping students advance at least to tolerance/acceptance of people from other cultures should be our minimum goal as educators. Yet most multicultural curricula, including museum exhibits and publications, focus on relaying information about other cultures, an approach that brings students only to the second level, that of understanding and knowledge. One of the failings of our educational system has been to assume that knowledge of other cultures alone will automatically change attitudes. In fact, understanding/knowledge can be one of the most dangerous places to stop along this hierarchy. For example, Nazi propagandists used 'facts' about ethnic and political groups to reinforce stereotypes and elicit tacit public support for their systematic persecution.

To advance along the hierarchy to tolerance, acceptance, and finally, appreciation, students must be challenged beyond the acquiring of simple knowledge to the changing of previous attitudes. To effect such changes, we must prepare students with the critical thinking skills necessary to form judgments. They need to reach their own conclusions about other cultures rather than simply trusting what others, even well-meaning educators, tell them.

Teach methods as well as content

Rather than spoon-feeding easy answers, schools and museums can help foster higher-level thinking skills by encouraging students to ask thoughtful questions. Simply learning facts stalls students at the understanding/knowledge level of the hierarchy. They must learn to reach their own conclusions, withholding judgment until all evidence is gathered and then critically analysing each resource. This critical thinking process teaches students the most effective prejudice-reducing skill applicable to our diverse society. Museums can provide sources for analysis and can model sound, intellectual practices.

(From *The Museum as Resource*, S K Donley, in *Building Museum & School Partnerships*, Beverly Sheppard, Editor. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Federation of Museums and Historical Organisations, 1993)¹

1. Do you agree with Donley's analysis?

¹ See [http://www.learningdesign.com/Portfolio/museum/museum/museumschool.html](http://www.learningdesign.com/Portfolio/museum/museumschool.html)

TEACHING, LEARNING AND ASSESSMENT OPPORTUNITIES

EXERCISE 2



■ This exercise is for upper secondary students and looks further at the role of national museums. The national museum is a European invention, established to define and stabilise knowledge and national identities in a continent possessing a rich history of expansion, innovation, migration and territorial conflict.

■ Referring to the EuNaMus report and to SOURCES 1, 2 and 3 in the resources section, students might:

1. Debate the role of national museums, their desirability and what better alternatives – if any – there might be.
2. Suggest what kind of national museum they would create given unlimited resources and unrestricted authority.
3. Consider whether national museums keep conflict alive or are agents of reconciliation.
4. Consider whether national museums represent present day diversities.

EXERCISE 3

■ This exercise is for upper secondary students and draws on the exhibition trail in Birmingham's museums and art galleries: *Talking about... Disability and Art, Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery*

■ *Talking about... Disability and Art* explored and interrogated images of disability in paintings from Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery's displays of fine art. Disabled professionals and artists provided a range of interpretations and responses to paintings, and visitors accessed these via audio-visual points alongside the artworks. The project focused on eight paintings in the Museum's permanent collections that showed a representation of disability. Some of the works were by very well-known artists but most had not had their connection with disability highlighted before. The paintings included very direct forms of disability representation along with others that explored visual language and the artist's personal experiences.

■ Six of the paintings were:

- ▶ The Blind Fiddler by Willem Van Herp, 1600/1700
- ▶ The Blind Men of Jericho, a copy of a painting by Nicholas Poussin, 1650-1700
- ▶ The Death of Chatterton by Henry Wallis, 1855-56
- ▶ The Blind Girl by John Everett Millais, 1856
- ▶ The Finding of the Saviour in the Temple by William Holman Hunt, 1854-60
- ▶ Light Gathers, Several Pleasures, Pastorale, Fields: Distant Sounds by Barbara Delaney, 1995-97¹

These paintings are shown in SOURCE 4 in the resources section

1. Which of these paintings are most obviously concerned with issues of disability? How sympathetically or otherwise does the artist portray disability?
2. Choose one or more of the paintings; carry out any research that you think is necessary on the painting, the artist and the context; produce an audio guide lasting for about five minutes that might be used by somebody looking at the painting and wanting to understand it as fully as possible.

¹ the artist, Barbara Delaney says: "To me, these four small paintings in the Birmingham Museum & Art Gallery collection mean a long-term celebration of overcoming a temporary visual disability I incurred in the mid 1980s. Light in landscape has always been a basic influence on my paintings; so I went for long daily walks with my two dogs on Hampstead Heath, and very gradually my vision recovered completely - although the hospital had held out little hope."



■ The capacity of museums to contribute to the handling of conflicts is a vital capability, though one rarely exploited in institutions centred on nation-building. Conflict resolution requires selective or necessary histories of a particular kind, which can offer plural perspectives and narratives whilst simultaneously encouraging cross-community empathy.

■ The museum response to conflict today can be placed along a continuum, from efforts that add to conflict to efforts that seek to neutralise it to efforts that aim at genuine reconciliation.

ADDING TO CONFLICT

■ Museums that represent present current hostilities from a partisan perspective, making museums partners in political conflict and increasing tensions as well as damaging professional credibility.

NEUTRALISING CONFLICT

■ Museums that neutralise the status quo and ignore or obscure contentious issues. This is a dominant mode for national museums seeking to be nonpartisan, but only works within a strong national consensus. Diverse audiences can question its deflections.

■ Museums that orchestrate diversity and acknowledge difference but domesticate it into 'united in diversity'. This approach is commonly used by exhibitions on national popular culture to represent regional and class differences and, today, new immigrant groups.

PROMOTING RECONCILIATION

■ Museums that frame community consensus appeal to values of democracy and human rights as universal goals actively promoted in the democratic world. Within a certain culture this is more or less regarded as impossible to deny, and is the approach used in promotions of a 'modern' European identity.

■ Museums that distance for a new future attempt to put the past behind in order to encompass a future free from it. However, too rapidly creating history as distances silences needed voices and can make the past return in destructive modes.

■ Museums that promote working through past atrocities openly address conflict with the goal of understanding historical trajectories, acknowledging questions of guilt, and accepting repercussions for the present to move into the future. ■■■

RESOURCE 1
**BOSNIA-
 HERZEGOVINA'S
 HISTORY MUSEUM
 RETAINS THE SCARS
 OF THE SIEGE
 OF SARAJEVO**

RESOURCE 2
**NATIONAL MUSEUM
 SILENCES DENY
 CITIZENSHIP
 TO MINORITIES**

RESOURCE 3
**NEUTRALISATION
 AND OBJECTIVITY**

RESOURCE 4
**PAINTINGS
 ABOUT DISABILITY
 IN BIRMINGHAM
 MUSEUM
 AND ART GALLERY**
 © BIRMINGHAM MUSEUMS TRUST



The Norske Folkemuseums's Pakistani apartment.

SOURCES

National Museums Making Histories in a Diverse Europe, European National Museums (EuNaMus), Report no 7, p 47

Some museum visitors find their stories missing from the national narrative. Minority groups at museums studied in Estonia, Greece, Ireland and Scotland spoke of what it means to be omitted, both from the nation's past and its present, to live with the expectation that their lives and experiences were of no value to the wider community in which they lived. Even where national museums appear not to engage in discrimination against particular groups, they possess assumptions concerning the cultural and religious backgrounds of their visitors. There is a widespread and implicit assumption that visitors will be Christian and white. These assumptions contribute to the establishment of historically-misformed national stereotypes and actively produce 'others', confirming a false racial and ethnic homogeneity of the nation. In doing so they seem to deny full citizenship to minorities and perpetuate notions of 'the other'. Such positioning has had grave consequences for European nations in the past.

National museums that are willing to admit to the historically distant mobility of tribes, armies and cultural influences, and celebrate the spread of Roman culture, are yet unable to acknowledge the contribution of more recent migrants.

RESOURCE 1
 BOSNIA-
 HERZEGOVINA'S
 HISTORY MUSEUM
 RETAINS THE SCARS
 OF THE SIEGE
 OF SARAJEVO

RESOURCE 2
 NATIONAL MUSEUM
 SILENCES DENY
 CITIZENSHIP
 TO MINORITIES

RESOURCE 3
 NEUTRALISATION
 AND OBJECTIVITY

RESOURCE 4
 PAINTINGS
 ABOUT DISABILITY
 IN BIRMINGHAM
 MUSEUM
 AND ART GALLERY

© BIRMINGHAM MUSEUMS TRUST



Socialist Realist Art in the National Gallery of Art in Tirana.

RESOURCE 1
 BOSNIA-
 HERZEGOVINA'S
 HISTORY MUSEUM
 RETAINS THE SCARS
 OF THE SIEGE
 OF SARAJEVO

RESOURCE 2
 NATIONAL MUSEUM
 SILENCES DENY
 CITIZENSHIP
 TO MINORITIES

RESOURCE 3
 ◀ **NEUTRALISATION
 AND OBJECTIVITY**

RESOURCE 4
 PAINTINGS
 ABOUT DISABILITY
 IN BIRMINGHAM
 MUSEUM
 AND ART GALLERY
 © BIRMINGHAM MUSEUMS TRUST

■ The skilled or diplomatic deployment of words and images, and the permitting of silences, give objects academic distancing which suggests that their placement and interpretation are 'disinterested'. Abstraction, a focus on objects rather than people, interpretive minimalism and homogenisation further contribute to a sense that objects justify their place as of right and that the histories presented are real, reconstructed and true. ■■■



+



+



+

RESOURCE 1
BOSNIA-
HERZEGOVINA'S
HISTORY MUSEUM
RETAINS THE SCARS
OF THE SIEGE
OF SARAJEVO

RESOURCE 2
NATIONAL MUSEUM
SILENCES DENY
CITIZENSHIP
TO MINORITIES

RESOURCE 3
NEUTRALISATION
AND OBJECTIVITY



+



+



+

RESOURCE 4
PAINTINGS
ABOUT DISABILITY
IN BIRMINGHAM
MUSEUM
AND ART GALLERY

© BIRMINGHAM MUSEUMS TRUST



TARGET GROUP

UPPER PRIMARY/LOWER SECONDARY

BACKGROUND
INFORMATIONDetail of the Chinese Arch, Nelson Street
Rory Walsh © RGS-IBG.Liverpool Cathedral entrance statue
Rory Walsh © RGS-IBG.

The extracts below are taken from a self-guided walk in the city of Liverpool focusing on some of the multi-cultural landmarks of the city. This was one of 20 walks in the UK created by the Royal Geographical Society (with IBG) as part of the Walk the World project in celebration of the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games.¹ (Text and images © Royal Geographical Society (with IBG).

**MULTICULTURAL MELTING POT:
A FREE SELF-GUIDED WALK IN LIVERPOOL**

A walk through Liverpool is a journey across the world. Over the last few centuries, Liverpool has welcomed migrants from China, Germany, Nigeria, Sweden, Jamaica, Greece, Kenya, Ireland, Pakistan, the Ukraine and many other countries.

These people have made their home in Liverpool. Some came in search of work in the city's docks and industries. Others fled from persecution in their home countries. Some disembarked from ships at Liverpool and chose to settle here rather than continue their journey across the Atlantic.

This walk explores the imprint of immigrants on the city in the form of religious buildings, community associations and shops. You will discover some unique architecture, beautiful sculptures and unexpected monuments. Be prepared for some surprises!

¹ See <http://www.walktheworld.org.uk>

Welcome to Liverpool! We are in one of the major cities of northern England with a population of just under half a million. But Liverpool's people are tremendously diverse. They include Britain's oldest Black African community and Europe's oldest Chinese community.

Liverpool was also home to one of the earliest mosques in Britain and has the largest Chinese arch outside China. Over the last two centuries, Liverpool has attracted economic and social migrants from across the world. People who settled here brought with them their different cultures, religious beliefs, food and languages. Today Liverpool is a multi-cultural melting pot.

This walk takes in 18 sights that reveal the links between Liverpool and some of the 206 Olympic and Paralympic Nations. These international connections tell a story of how different immigrant communities have shaped the city. We have found links to over 70 different participating nations but we'd love to hear from you if you find any others on or near the route.

The walk will also give you some ideas of how to look for international links near your home.



Part of 'A case history' / Rory Walsh © RGS-IBG.

**International baggage:
a Case History sculpture**

Here on the corner of Hope Street and Mount Street are what look like piles of discarded luggage. This collection of cases, trunks and bags are all made from concrete. This is a public art work. Pieces like this have become increasingly obvious on the streets of Liverpool, especially since the city became the European Capital of Culture for 2008. In fact, after London, Liverpool is the British city with the second most sculptures per head of population!

This sculpture is called 'A case history'. It was made in 1998 by John King. Look around the bags and cases for bronze labels on some of them. They feature the names of famous Liverpudlians with connections to Hope Street and the nearby area. Many of them were associated with countries around the world. Look out for Paul McCartney's name on a case with a New York label. Another interesting name to look for is Josephine Butler. She was a Victorian social reformer who fought for women's rights and opposed slavery. She often travelled through Europe in her campaigns, notably to Switzerland and Italy. Also look for the name Kwok Fong. He was a Chinese sailor born in 1882. He arrived in Liverpool in the 1900s on a Blue Funnel ship. Known as 'Uncle Fong' he helped many Chinese migrants settle in the city and founded one of Liverpool's first Chinese restaurants. As well as the Irish community we heard about earlier, Liverpool has a significant Chinese population. We'll find out why later in the walk.

Country links - China, Italy, Switzerland,
United States of America

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

In 2004, Liverpool's cultural and religious diversity was celebrated in a year-long programme of projects and events called 'Faith in One City'. Their aim was to bring Liverpool's religious communities together. As part of this programme, a plaque was unveiled here that celebrates some of Liverpool's religious communities. It looks a little like a ship's wheel and is inscribed with the words from Psalm 33 verse 6: "Behold how good and joyful a thing it is brethren to dwell together in unity!"

Look closely and we can see figures showing people in a circle around the world. Look as well for the names of eight religions. Judaism and Christianity originated in present-day Israel and Palestine. Islam originates in Saudi Arabia. Buddhism, Hinduism and Sikhism began in India. The Baha'i faith has its origins in Iran. The Rastafarian faith originates from Jamaica. Each one of these faiths has members in Liverpool who have settled here from across the world. Liverpool is certainly a modern multi-faith city.

TEACHING, LEARNING AND ASSESSMENT OPPORTUNITIES

EXERCISE 1

Using the example of the Liverpool walk, and/or others on the website, it would be possible to work with students to develop a similar experience within your own locality or a locality with which you are familiar.



The Faith in One City plaque Rory Walsh © RGS-IBG.



Princes Road Synagogue Rory Walsh © RGS-IBG.

INDIVIDUAL AUTONOMY AND FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

” Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 19

” The exercise of these freedoms, since it carries with it duties and responsibilities, may be subject to such formalities, conditions, restrictions or penalties as are prescribed by law and are necessary in a democratic society, in the interests of national security, territorial integrity or public safety, for the prevention of disorder or crime, for the protection of health or morals, for the protection of the reputation or rights of others, for prevention the disclosure of information received in confidence, or for maintaining the authority and impartiality of the judiciary.

Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, Article 10, Freedom of expression

” The intersection between art and the social and political sphere is rich in history. At its core art is about true freedom. Art is the unbridled ability for expression and free speech. Art affords the artist the unique ability to register the horror of an event, in a way that statistics cannot. Its function is to remain forever as a reminder that this inhumanity or injustice occurred.

Art and Human Rights, Voice Our Concern, Amnesty International

WHEN ART COLLIDES WITH HISTORY: AUTONOMY AND FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION IN THE HISTORY OF ART

Chris Rowe

Education Consultant, United Kingdom

This paper is written from the perspective of a historian; I have to declare I am very much a historian, not an expert on art history. What follows in the paper is an attempt to define some of the important interactions between art and history.





First, two images to show art as historical myth. These grandiose paintings present striking images of the past and were much admired in their day but they have little to say about 'real history'. Trautmann's view of the Trojan Wars says quite a lot about Homer's *Iliad* and the attitudes of 18th century Europeans to classical civilisations but has no basis in historical fact. Koch depicts the victory of Germanicus over the Roman legions in 9 AD in a way that owes everything to the patriotic fervour of Imperial Germany on the occasion of the 1900th anniversary – but there is little or nothing that could be accepted as an authentic image of real-life events. Both paintings, as with thousands of others, are examples of art as myth and misrepresentation, not history.

Next, two images to show art as historical evidence. These paintings are about more than myth. There is much accurate period detail in Vrancx's battle scene (one military historian said it is as near as we can get to a photograph of 17th century warfare). Turner's famous painting shows vividly a big historical theme, the end of the age of sail and the impact of the industrial revolution. Both these paintings could be used effectively by history teachers in conjunction with other historical evidence.



Now four images to show art as a protagonist in history. In each case here, the art is not supplementary evidence about history but plays a central role – the art is the history. The cave painting (as with similar ones found in southern Europe) provides almost everything we know about the life of the time and the cultural development of the people. The *Codex Mendoza* was not intended as a work of art (it actually records the tribute due to be paid to the Empire) but its preservation by the Spaniards after the demolition of Aztec civilisation provides irreplaceable insights. The image of the little Vietnamese girl (and its mass media circulation) played an active part in changing public opinion about the war. The 'art event' staged by *Pussy Riot* became a focal point of opposition and dissent and is likely to be at least a significant footnote in future histories of early 21st century Russia. ▶▶▶

When discussing the interaction and ‘collisions’ of art and history and how these interactions relate to autonomy and freedom of expression, I think it is necessary to take a flexible view of what actually constitutes works of art. Historians tend to think in terms of ‘visual sources’. It might well be argued that several of the images shown so far are very lacking in artistic merit, or do not even qualify at all as ‘works of art’.

Another contentious point is who works of art belong to. Without wanting to be considered as a ‘post-modernist’ or as a ‘structuralist’ I think it is important to consider that works of art have multiple belongings that go beyond the individuals who created them. Art works become the ‘cultural property’ of a whole society. Defining autonomy and freedom of expression, therefore, becomes complicated by the ways in which works of art take on a collective identity and ‘ownership’; and by changing perceptions over time.

It is also important to consider the distinctions between history and memory. Works of art often figure prominently in acts of commemoration. It is difficult enough to analyse the interactions of art and ‘real history’ but even more difficult in the case of memory.

CONSTRAINTS ON AUTONOMY AND FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

Autonomy and freedom of expression are not exactly the same thing. The very concept of autonomy accepts the existence of limits; autonomy is something less than outright independence. Freedom of expression is rather more ambitious implying the absence of any constraints (especially in the idealised, romantic view of the ‘unchained’ artist that took hold of European culture from the late 18th century. In fact, works of art are invariably subject to many actual or potential constraints, as the following examples illustrate: ▶▶▶



POLITICS

Art banned or attacked by political pressure

1 Goebbels at the opening of the *Entartete Kunst* (Degenerate Art) exhibition in Munich in 1937

RELIGION

Art attacked because of perceived offence against religion

2 The destruction of Catholic churches in Lyon in 1562 by radical Protestants

CULTURAL NORMS

Art attacked because it has offended against ‘taste and decency’

3 Huge female statue by Damien Hirst installed in the English seaside resort of Ilfracombe in 2012

4 *Seated Woman* by Egon Schiele, (1914)

PATRONAGE

Restrictions on freedom of expression due to dependence on patronage

5 Lorenzo De Medici, 15th century Florence

SELF-CENSORSHIP

6 The journalist Sylvia Harden (1926) by Otto Dix

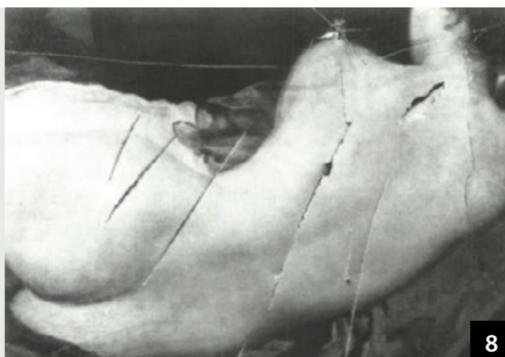
7 The ‘Mohammed cartoons’ published by the Danish newspaper *Jyllands Posten* in 2008

Unlike many artists in Germany after 1933, Otto Dix was not banned, persecuted or forced into exile. He simply kept quiet and avoided provoking the Nazi regime. Another example of self-censorship was the reaction of the media to the controversial Danish cartoons. Although the cartoons were widely reported and the issue of free speech was hotly debated, the images themselves were not shown in the mainstream media in Canada, the US and the UK. This (highly unusual) unofficial self-censorship was due to concerns about inflaming hostility among Muslims. The motives may have been admirable but it was nonetheless a major restriction on freedom of expression.

PROBLEMS OF PERMANENCE AND SECURITY

8 In 1914 Velázquez's painting of Venus which was in the National Gallery in London was severely damaged by a supporter of the suffragette movement. More recently, in 2012 Mark Rothko's painting *Black on Maroon* was defaced by supporters of the 'Yellowism' art movement, while on display at the Tate Modern in London.

Art needs preserving and protecting. This may involve expensive security measures or major restoration. This can lead to art works being damaged, or artistically compromised; or kept away from public view in inaccessible private collections.



8

HISTORY AND MEMORY

One of the central 'battlefields' of history in art is commemoration – how to signify the most passionate memories of the past in ways that are meaningful to the present and the future. Commemoration of the past is often difficult; so difficult that it may be a generation or two after historic conflicts that commemoration is possible at all. It can also be highly divisive because it is based on a one-sided, perhaps even accusatory, view of the past. Above all, commemoration is always in danger of enshrining myth rather than reality. If we believe in art and history living in a shared world without dividing lines, then what we might term the 'art of commemoration' would be a good place to start.

9 The memorial at Pohorelice in southern Moravia, erected to commemorate the 'death march' of Sudeten Germans expelled from Czechoslovakia in 1945. This is an example of the time wounds can take to heal, in this case 60 years of silence and denial, before formal acts of acknowledgment became possible.

10 The destruction of the Bamiyan Buddhas by the Taliban, 2001. A key example of failure to respect and protect the cultural monuments of the 'other'

11 The Stari Most (Old Bridge) at Mostar before its destruction in 1993 and of the bridge under reconstruction. A key example of the 'multiple belongings' (Ottoman, Habsburg, Yugoslav, Bosnian, World Heritage site) of a cultural monument. The 'freedom of expression' represented by the rebuilding of the bridge depended on support from international agencies.

12 The Frauenkirche in Dresden, in ruins in 1958 and after completion of its restoration in 2006. Contrasting examples of an accusatory memorial with a Cold War flavour and of a more multi-perspective memorial concerned to show reconciliation.



9



10



11



12



This paper has attempted to define some of the issues that complicate the interaction of art and history; and the ways in which autonomy and freedom of expression can be restricted or denied. Our aspiration should be to foster mutual respect and 'peaceful coexistence'. As a historian, I believe the best route towards achieving this goal is a commitment to multi-perspectivity at all levels of education.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES SEMINAR PAPERS

➔ Ludmila Aleksashkina

➔ Snjezana Koren

➔ Andreja Rihter



TARGET GROUP
UPPER SECONDARY

KEY
ISSUE

Understanding the reasons why, and the basis on which, totalitarian and authoritarian regimes have sought to limit freedom of expression in the visual arts.



FORBIDDEN ART
IN THE THIRD REICH

PAINTINGS BY GERMAN ARTISTS WHOSE WORK WAS BANNED FROM MUSEUMS AND FORBIDDEN TO EXHIBIT.



IN 1932 CARL HOFER PAINTED 'CASSANDRA' A WARNING OF 'COMING DOOM AND DEFEAT'

'Der Neue Mensch' (The New Man) by Otto Freundlich, a photograph of which was used as the cover illustration of the exhibition catalogue.

BACKGROUND
INFORMATION

In 1937, Nazi officials stripped German museums and galleries of works of art that the Party considered to be degenerate. Of the thousands removed, 650 were chosen for a special exhibition of 'Entartete Kunst' (Degenerate Art). The exhibition opened in Munich and then travelled to 11 other cities in Germany and Austria. In each place where they were shown, the works were badly displayed and surrounded by graffiti and hand written labels mocking the artists and their creations. There were over three million visitors to the exhibition.

In the resources section are some of the works that were in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition.

Also in 1937, coinciding with the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition, the first of the *Grosse deutsche Kunstausstellung* (Great German art exhibition) was opened. This exhibition, held at the palatial *Haus der deutschen Kunst* (House of German Art), displayed the work of officially approved artists. At the end of four months *Entartete Kunst* had attracted over two million visitors, nearly three and a half times the number that visited the nearby *Grosse deutsche Kunstausstellung*.

In the following years there were a further seven 'Great German Art Exhibitions'. Some of the works that were exhibited are shown in the resources section



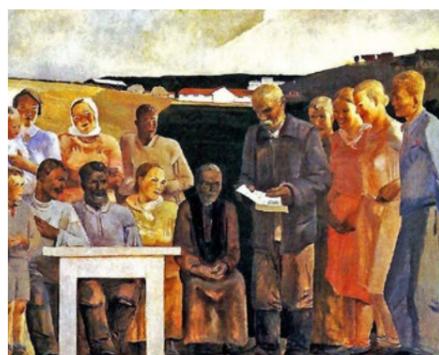
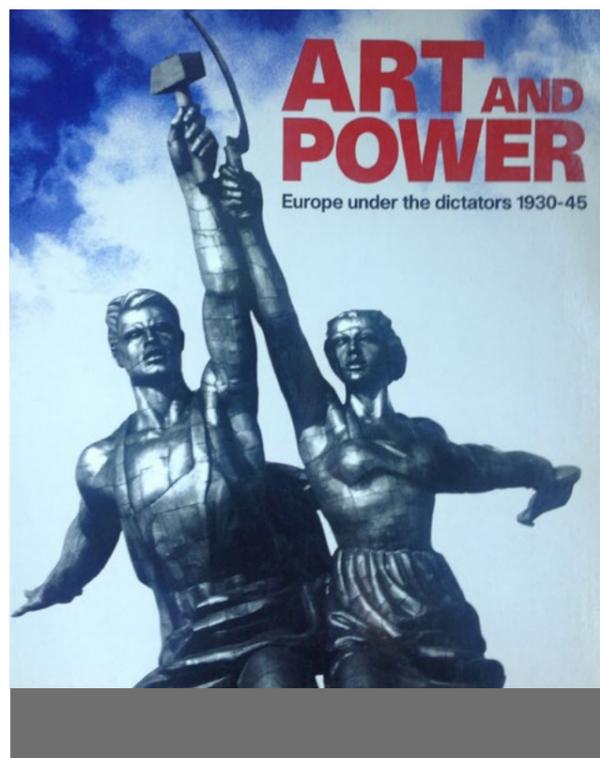
Adolf Hitler visiting the 'Degenerate Art' exhibition, 1937.

TEACHING, LEARNING
AND ASSESSMENT OPPORTUNITIES

EXERCISE 1

Look at the examples of 'Degenerate art' and of 'Great German art' in the resources section and construct answers to the following questions:

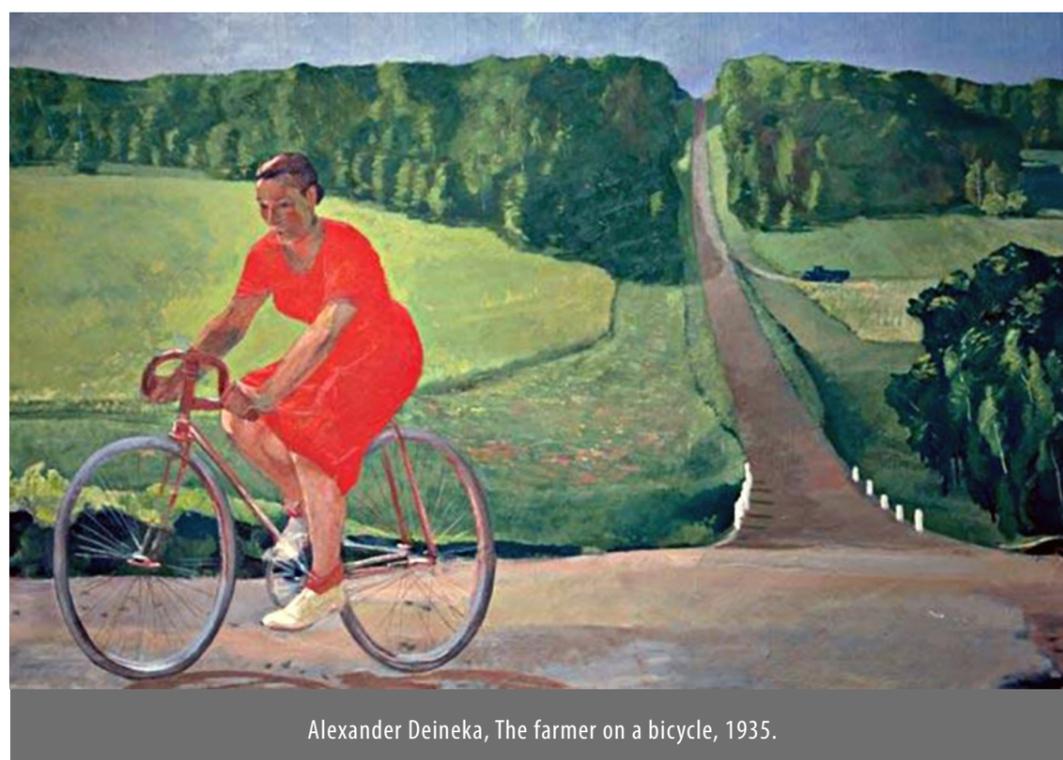
- Choose two of these works of art, one from each group, and compare them in terms of content, style, the artist's intention and in any other ways that you think are significant.
- On the evidence of these two sets of paintings and sculptures, why do think the Nazi Party judged one set to be 'degenerate' and the other 'great' art? Having done that, what other evidence can you find to explain this distinction?
- What did the Nazis seek to achieve by labelling art in this way? Is there any evidence to indicate whether or not they were successful?
- The two photographs below show the different ways in which the exhibitions were staged. What impact do you think this might have had on the people who visited them?



Alexander Deineka, Collective farm meeting, 1934.



Alexander Deineka, Dance, 1934.



Alexander Deineka, The farmer on a bicycle, 1935.

EXERCISE 3

Below are three examples of 'socialist realist' paintings by the Russian painter Alexander Deineka. They were painted during the time of Stalin's rule in the USSR.

1. On the evidence of these paintings, what do you think was meant by the term 'socialist realism' in art?
2. The subject of two of the paintings is agriculture and farming. What images of farming life do they convey? How accurate do you think such images are of the period of collective farming?

EXERCISE 4

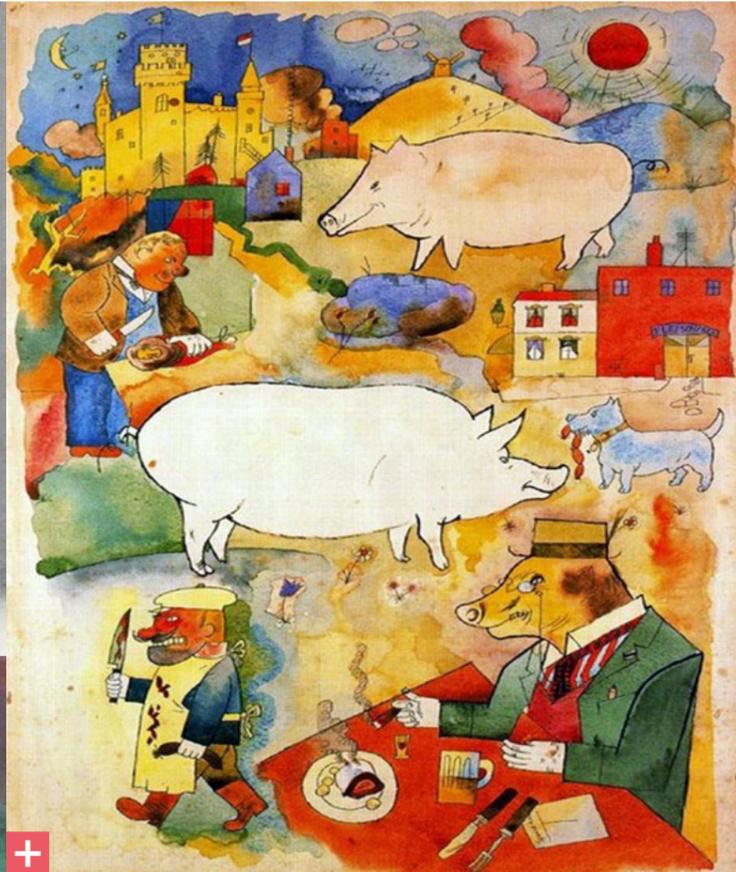
Look at this website to read the story of 'The Desert of Forbidden Art'.
 ➔ [collectionof:](#)

INTERNET RESOURCES

- ➔ [Art in Nazi Germany](#)
- ➔ [Research sheds new light on Nazi-era art](#)

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES
SEMINAR PAPERS

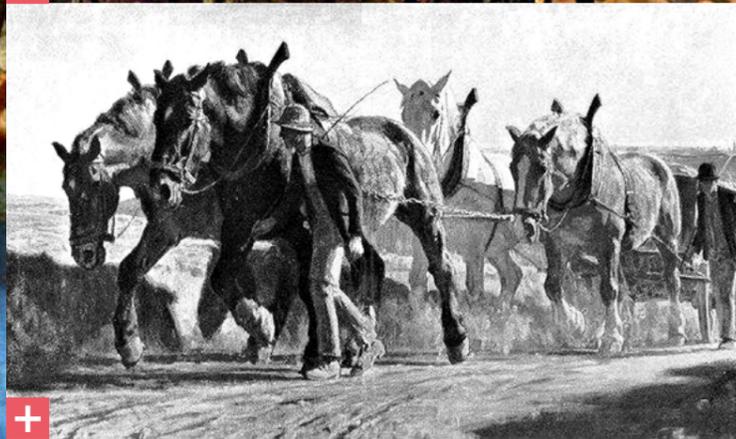
- ➔ **Individual life space and freedom of expression as reflected in art**
by Ludmila Aleksashkina
- ➔ **"Clash on the left" (1928–1952) and the question of freedom of expression**
by Snjezana Koren
- ➔ **Individual autonomy and freedom of expression as reflected in art through the eyes of a curator in a cultural institution.**
by Andreja Rihter



EXAMPLES OF 'DEGENERATE ART'

EXAMPLES OF 'GREAT GERMAN ART'





EXAMPLES OF 'DEGENERATE ART'

EXAMPLES OF 'GREAT GERMAN ART'



TARGET GROUP
 TEACHER TRAINEES

KEY ISSUE

Exploring the use of imagery to express and support political and social ideals in the context of 18th century Europe.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

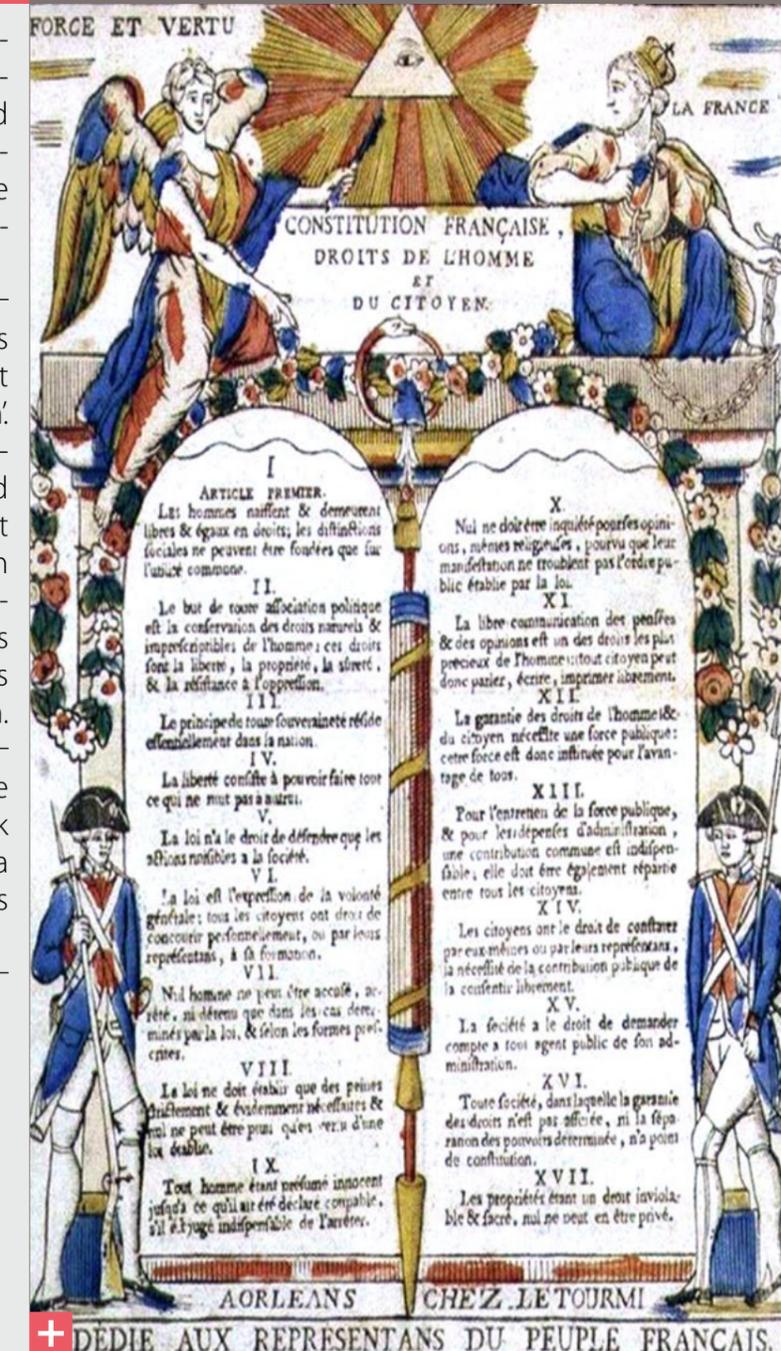
The Age of Enlightenment (or 'the Enlightenment' or the 'Age of Reason') was a cultural movement of intellectuals in the 17th and 18th centuries which began first in Europe and later extended to the American colonies. Its purpose was to reform society using reason, to challenge ideas that were grounded solely in tradition and faith, and to advance knowledge through use of the scientific method. It promoted scientific thought, scepticism and intellectual interchange, and opposed superstition, intolerance and some abuses of power by the church and the state.

Originating about 1650 to 1700, it was sparked by philosophers such as Voltaire and scientists such as the physicist and mathematician Isaac Newton. What is often termed the 'Scientific Revolution' was closely tied to the Enlightenment, as its discoveries overturned many traditional concepts and introduced new perspectives on nature and man's place within it.

The political ideals of the Enlightenment influenced the American Declaration of Independence, the United States Bill of Rights, the French Declaration of the Rights of man and of the Citizen, and the Polish–Lithuanian Constitution of May 1791.

In art the Enlightenment's emphasis on reason was best expressed in what is usually referred to as 'neoclassicism'. The neoclassic approach often expressed powerful dissatisfaction and criticism of the existing order. The most typical representative of this approach was the French artist Jacques-Louis David (1748–1825), whose most famous work, 'Death of Socrates', illustrates his respect for the Greco-Roman tradition.

David became closely aligned with the republican government and his work was increasingly used as propaganda with the 'Death of Marat' proving his most controversial work.¹



+ DEDIE AUX REPRESENTANS DU PEUPLE FRANCAIS.

¹ Adapted from Wikipedia

SOURCES

Adapted from *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity: exploring the French Revolution*
 (<http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/>)

How is one meant to look at these images of the French Revolution? How can one see the Revolution in these images?

What different purposes were they meant to serve? Confronted with so many different images, how can one sort them out? A first important criterion to consider is the subject matter.

The attack on the Bastille on 14 July 1789, for example, was a real battle with guns and cannons, opposing the Paris population, which sought to liberate prisoners from a hated prison, and with the king's troops garrisoned in the fortress. Many prints were engraved to tell the story of this astonishing victory.

For the first time, the will of the people appeared to be an irresistible force. Many observers considered that this event had a profound symbolic significance and most of the prints sought to communicate this idea and celebrate a new political consciousness. Thus, images do not simply show what happened. They give the events political meaning and importance.

It was easier to describe an event than to communicate its political meaning. Representations of battles, assemblies, ceremonies and processions tended to follow well-established conceptions. How could an engraver or a painter make the viewer realise that a particular event had a specifically revolutionary character?

To get this point across, there were several options. Titles and captions, and sometimes even very long texts could be joined to the image. Certain details could be numbered with reference to an explanatory key indicating who and what was represented.

Still another way to communicate the significance of the event represented was to introduce symbols and allegories.

This could be done either discreetly without disturbing the generally realistic effect, for example, by placing a symbol on a flag; or overtly, by employing unrealistic elements such as inscriptions in unlikely places or allegorical personifications in the air. With regard to this last option, one must remember that during the Revolution in France (and that goes for any other time and place in history) there was a shared visual and political culture among contemporaries.

HOW TO READ IMAGES

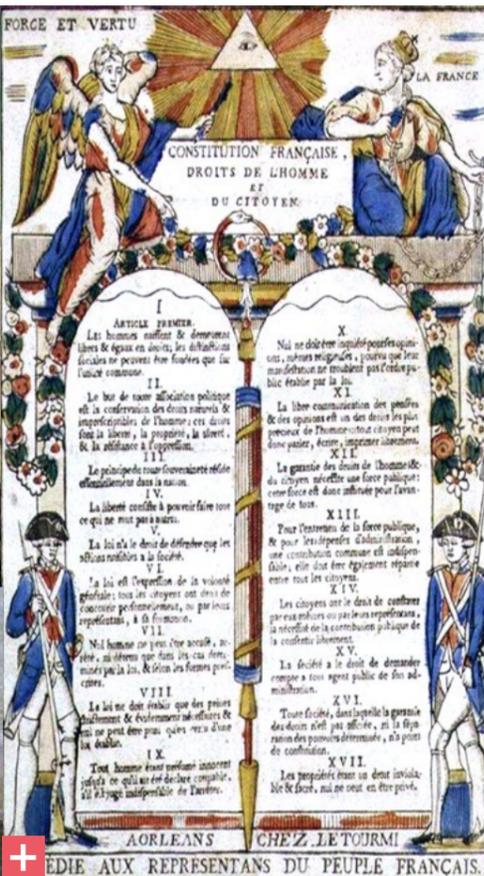
This could range from simple notions and images that almost everyone might understand to rather complicated references and allusions comprehensible only to a certain part of the public. Today, it requires an effort to perceive some of these meanings. But some symbols and allegories are recurrent and easy to understand.

Ever since ancient Greek and Roman times, western culture has illustrated ideas through allegorical figures and symbols. From the 16th century on, books were published indicating precisely how to represent different allegories with figures for everything from A to Z, from Abundance to Zeal. The figure of Liberty, for example, was always represented holding a pike or staff topped with a cap or bonnet, an allusion to the cap worn by freed slaves in ancient Roman times.

The attribute or element identifying the figure usually had a visual life of its own. Hence the cap can appear in a composition even without the figure and convey the idea of Liberty. The French revolutionaries were particularly fond of symbols and allegories. This was because so many keywords during this period, such as Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, Unity, the Law, the People, were celebrated with a fervour that was until then reserved for the monarchy and for religion.

In other instances, as had been done for centuries, allegorical compositions served to illustrate elaborate ideas: the victory of the Revolution over its enemies, or the advent of a new political and social order. It was a traditional practice to resort to allegory to comment on real situations, an aspect of the visual culture of the time which can be particularly difficult to understand today. ▶▶▶

CASE STUDY 1:
IMAGES
OF THE FRENCH
REVOLUTIONCASE STUDY 2:
IMAGES
OF THE ADOPTION
OF THE 1791 POLISH
CONSTITUTION



HOW TO READ IMAGES

CASE STUDY 1: IMAGES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION



CASE STUDY 2: IMAGES OF THE ADOPTION OF THE 1791 POLISH CONSTITUTION



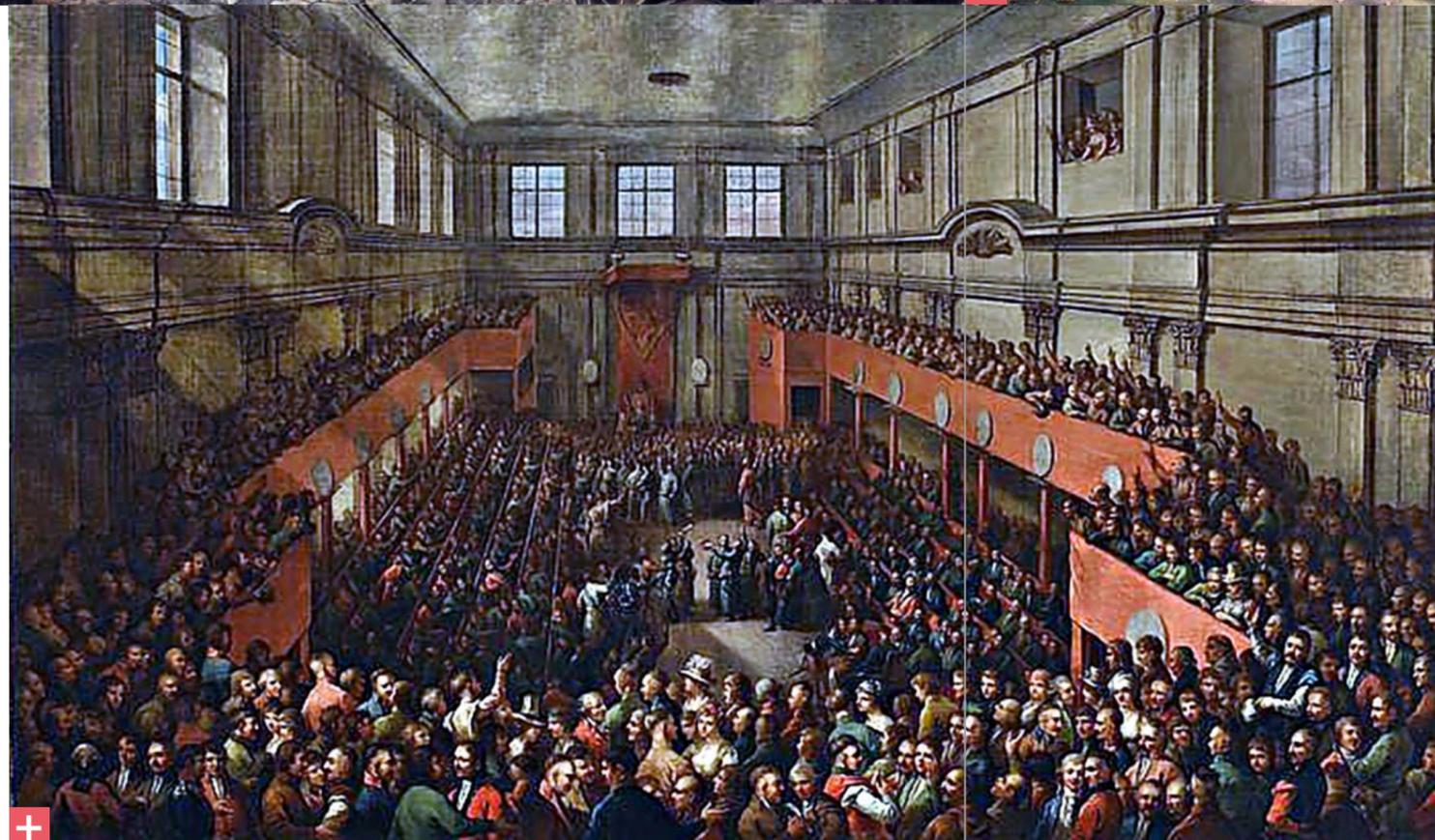


HOW TO READ IMAGES

CASE STUDY 1: IMAGES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

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CASE STUDY 2: IMAGES OF THE ADOPTION OF THE 1791 POLISH CONSTITUTION





TARGET GROUP PRIMARY

Angelos Palikidis, Democritus University, Greece

KEY ISSUE

Developing the ability to use a range of questions in order to understand the historical significance of pictorial images.

TEACHING, LEARNING AND ASSESSMENT OPPORTUNITIES

USING IMAGES

- ▶ Images should be a valuable tool in the teaching process;
- ▶ Images can be used at the beginning of the teaching process and function as the reference point for further examination of the historical issues;
- ▶ The questioning approach may progress from the more immediately apparent to the more in-depth; or from the foreground to the background of the image;
- ▶ Or, additionally, from the particular event depicted to wider phenomena or topics.

READING IMAGES



- ▶ Represents the enemy withdrawing, losing heart, quitting the weapons and his flags.
- ▶ On a symbolical level, it represents the conflict between good and evil, of virtue against injustice.



- ▶ The divine, usually in the form of the Virgin Mary, supervises the fighting from above, blessing and supporting the Greek soldiers.
- ▶ The heroism of soldiers is underlined by the scenery - fighting in an inhospitable landscape.

TEACHING, LEARNING AND ASSESSMENT OPPORTUNITIES



Tassos, the liberation of Athens (coloured lithograph).



AN APPROACH MODEL: QUESTION TYPOLOGIES

- ▶ Focusing questions: help students to concentrate on particular points in the image and help them observe and detect crucial details
- ▶ Analysis and interpretation questions: could be used in combination with other historical sources (even older textbooks of the same country or textbooks of other countries in order to find out how they present or interpret the same historical event or phenomenon)
- ▶ Questions or activities encouraging and motivating personal expression, imagination and creativity

FOCUSING QUESTIONS

1. What do you think the people are doing?
2. When did the event happen?
3. What is written on the banners?
4. Some men into the crowd are raising flags. Identify the flags.
5. Find out about the various discrete groups which are taking part in the event.

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION QUESTIONS

1. What are the people's demands?
2. Why are they raising various flags?
3. Find images, photographs or artefacts which depict the same event and compare them with what is depicted here.
4. What do you think about the artist? Was he an eyewitness to the event? Find more information about him, his political ideas and his participation in the Resistance Movement.

PERSONAL EXPRESSION-CREATIVE ACTIVITIES-HISTORICAL IMAGINATION

1. Choose a person in the crowd and try to understand what he/she feels. If it were you, what would you say to the others?
2. Find other sources that describe the event and try to create an artefact.
3. If you were a journalist, how would you describe what is happening in the picture?
4. What do you think the people in the picture expected post-war society to be like? Were their expectations confirmed or not? (this question leads to the events of December 1944 and the Civil War 1946-1949)

HUMAN RIGHTS AS REFLECTED IN THE HISTORY OF ART SEMINAR PAPERS

**INDIVIDUAL LIFE SPACE
AND FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION
AS REFLECTED IN ART**
Lyudmila Aleksashkina

**HUMAN RIGHTS IN PRACTICE:
HUMAN RIGHTS THEATRE**
Erdem Denk

NICOSIA: MEMORY, DIGNITY, DIVERSITY
Marios Epaminondas

**THE ROLE OF THE ICONOGRAPHIC
AND HISTORICAL PATTERNS
IN THE ARTISTIC EUROPEAN PRODUCTION
DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR**
Micol Forti

IMAGES AS HISTORICAL EVIDENCE: PERSONIFICATIONS OF NATION
Professor Lauri Kempainen

**“CLASH ON THE LEFT” (1928-1952)
AND THE QUESTION OF FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION**
Snjezana Koren

**“IMAGINING THE BALKANS”:
A TRAVELLING EXHIBITION
ABOUT RECONCILIATION
THROUGH HISTORY AND MEMORY**
Anthony Krause

**INDIVIDUAL AUTONOMY
AND FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION
AS REFLECTED IN ART
THROUGH THE EYES OF A CURATOR
IN A CULTURAL INSTITUTION**
Andreja Rihter

**‘MY GRANNY’S LIFE IS PART
OF EUROPEAN HISTORY’:
A JOINT EPA AND EUROCLIO PROJECT**
Eszter Salamon

A CONJOINTLY NARRATED EUROPEAN HISTORY
Kerstin Schwedes

**VISUAL NARRATIVES
OF THE TRANSATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE:
HUMAN RIGHTS SEEN ‘THROUGH A LENS DARKLY’
IN ENGLISH HISTORY TEXTBOOKS**
Dean Smart

INDIVIDUAL LIFE SPACE AND FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AS REFLECTED IN ART

Lyudmila Aleksashkina

Russian Academy of Education
Russian Federation

THE IDEAS: INDIVIDUAL AUTONOMY, INDIVIDUAL LIFE SPACE

The concept of autonomy (Greek: *autos* – own, self, *nomos* – law) has various meanings in different contexts. In politics autonomy means self-government, a self-governing state. In educational situations an individual autonomy implies a great measure self-reliance of students. As to phenomena reflected in art (in fine arts, literature) obviously we speak mainly about self-determination, an *individual life space* (ILS) in mental and social spheres.

■ Individual life space supposes an *ability* and a *right*:

- ▶ to have one’s own views on life, people and other things;
- ▶ to share, follow some ideals, religious or social doctrines;
- ▶ to choose one’s own way, an occupation, a profession and so on.

■ Individual life space is an *integrative phenomenon*. It includes at least the following interrelating components:

- ▶ individual thinking, convictions;
- ▶ individual position in social situations;
- ▶ individual action.

■ As humans are social beings some *frames* of an individual life space exist in each case. An individual life space, an individual autonomy (even in the most radical meaning of ‘one’s own law’) does not mean being outside of mankind, or any rules and laws. Throughout history each society had some borders for individuality. In contemporary society a border exists as well. It is – not to violate human rights and the freedom of others.

■ Individual life space has a long history full of dramatic episodes of interrelations with a *social environment*.

- ▶ Individual life space is one of the natural human features, but it was not and is not recognised in many cases.
- ▶ Humans need a will and sometimes real courage to keep their individual life spaces in a social context.
- ▶ Sometimes individual ideas, positions, actions prove to be appreciated and supported by a lot of people (according to the interests of different groups, historical circumstances and other conditions); they become a base for wide social movements.



INDIVIDUAL LIFE SPACE IN ART

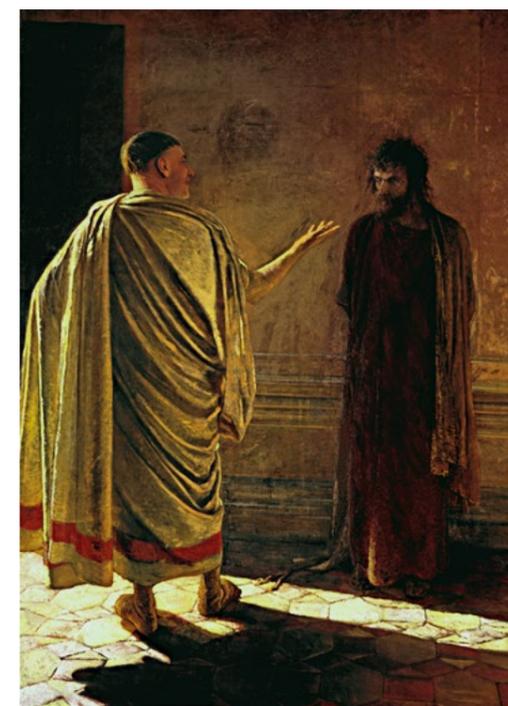
As to art (fine arts, literature) a general idea is obvious: each art-work impresses a human individual space.

First of all there is the individual space of a creator – a writer, a painter or a sculptor. It consists of an artist’s ideas, imaginations and in many situations influences the choice of a topic, subject and characters. Even in the case of a commissioned work the view of the painter determines an image of a personality or an event a great deal. The next grade (not by significance but in correspondence with the logic of creating) is an individual space of heroes in art pieces.

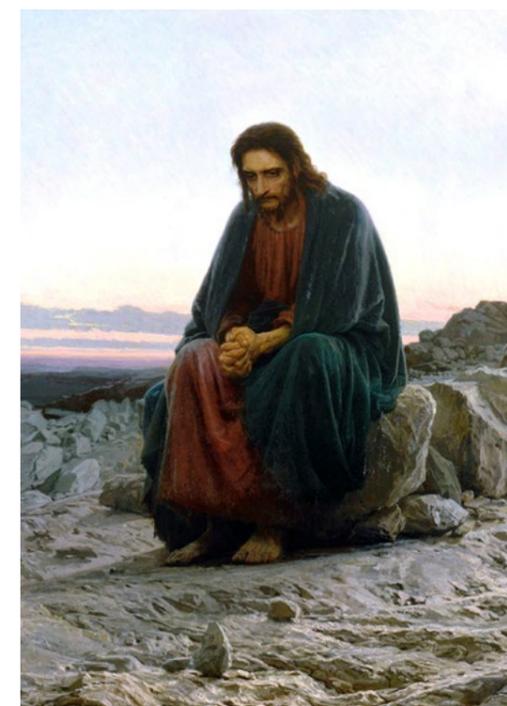
Who are the characters, figures, whose individual space (or autonomy in the direct sense) has been shown, for instance, in a European painting in the late Medieval and Modern periods?

- ▶ Both well-known and ordinary people in portraits. This genre assumes (it is an important criterion) an inner world of heroes is revealed. The Renaissance epoch implemented this approach in the most fruitful way. Such characteristics of a hero’s individual space as an inner harmony and dignity were expressed in works of great painters of that time (each of the well-known portraits, beginning from ‘La Gioconda’ can be used as an illustration).
- ▶ People of faith. In religious societies faith influenced the individual space of each person greatly. Numerous images of people in religious meditation are typical for the medieval and the early modern art. (Christ, prophets and preachers, holy men and women).
- ▶ A person, who reflects on a reality creates an individual world (in philosophy, literature, fine arts, music, etc.). The number of such heroes increased significantly from the time of the Enlightenment and especially in the 19th and first half of the 20th centuries.
- ▶ A person acting in accordance with his or her convictions, going his or her own way (an inner directed person). Freedom of expression is demonstrated in this case in the most evident way.

Generally speaking, art of a definite epoch put on the scene characteristics of an individual life, which are important for this society because of either a widespread, or a lack of, status.



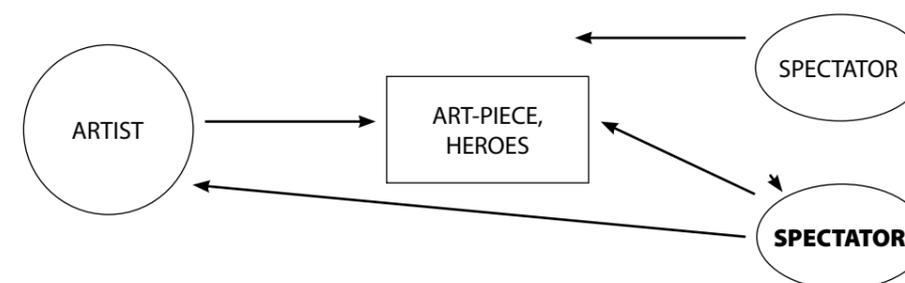
Nikolay Ge, What is truth? Pontius Pilate and Christ, 1890 (Tretyakov State Gallery, Moscow).



Ivan Kramskoy, Christ in the desert, 1871 (Tretyakov State Gallery, Moscow).

DIDACTIC (EDUCATIONAL) ASPECTS

In educational situations the following scheme of dialogue between individual spheres should be taken into consideration.



Each participant – an artist, a hero, a spectator has some freedom of expression. For a painter it is a choice of the topic, the hero, the art manner and the means of artistic expression. A hero expresses some characteristic features and values, presented by the painter but corresponding to the individual status and activities of a hero. A spectator has freedom of evaluation, based on his perceptive abilities and experience. ▶▶▶

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"CLASH ON THE LEFT" (1928-1952)
"IMAGINING THE BALKANS"▶ INDIVIDUAL AUTONOMY AND FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION
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■ Art (painting) has an effect as an *educational resource* presenting individual life space and freedom of expression thanks to the following features.

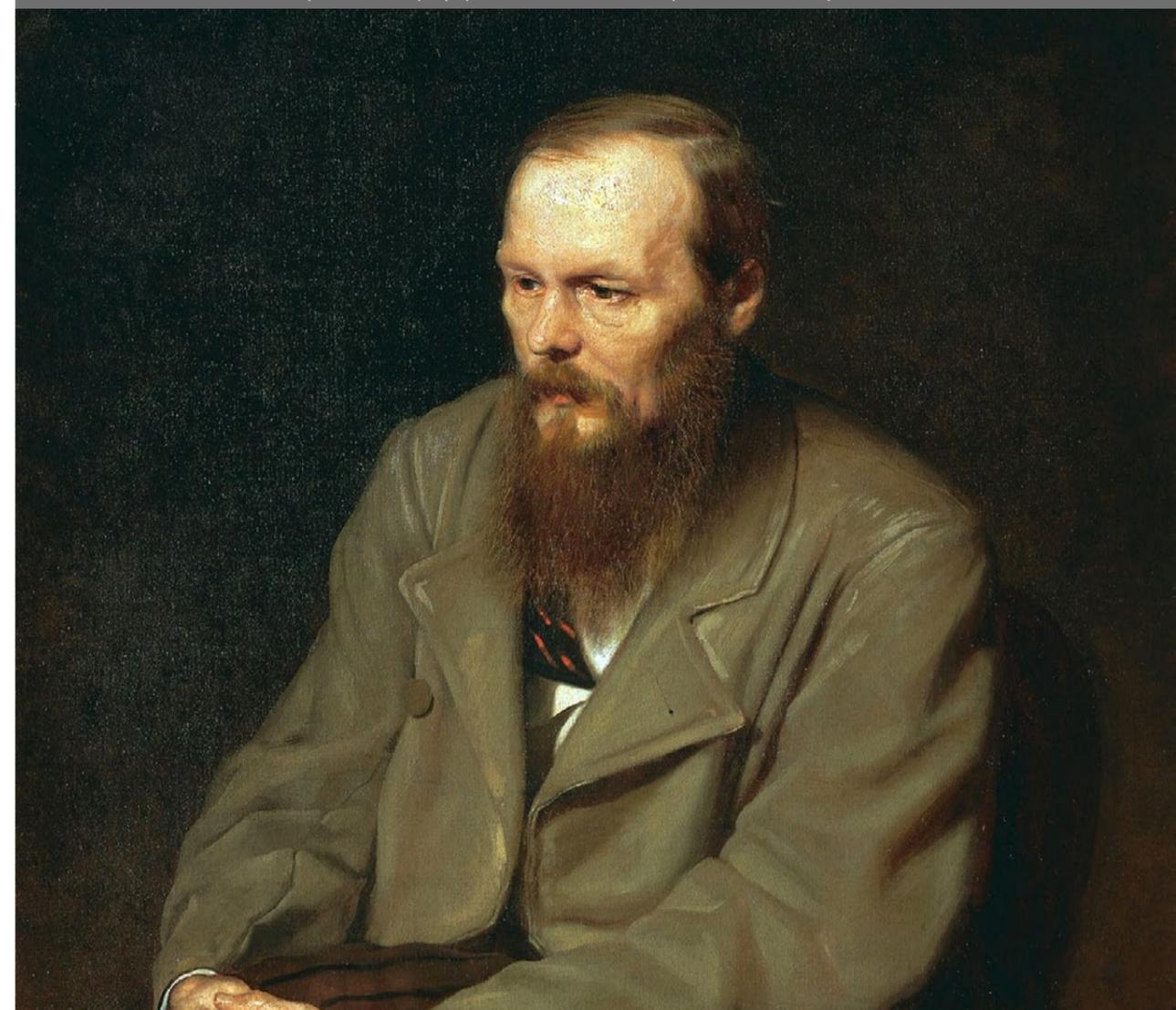
- ▶ Personalities are presented in various situations and appearances: thinking, making a choice, expressing their position; a variety of genres (portraits, genre pictures and other) makes it possible.
- ▶ A portrait shows the feelings and emotional state of heroes visually, often in an expressive manner, attracting a spontaneous empathy to the heroes.
- ▶ Usually the attitude of the painter to the hero and the situation can be seen; that is important for a spectator as a background for a dialogue.

■ The best case is when a spectator is able to feel and to understand messages both of the heroes and of the author. In order to recognise individual positions of a hero, a spectator should at least: (a) know some facts of the hero's biography; and (b) imagine historical and private circumstances. The background for such knowledge is largely created in history lessons.

■ For instance, an adequate perception of the well-known portrait of Martin Luther by Lucas Cranach (hero in meditation) and of the engraving "Martin Luther burns the Pope's Bulla" (hero in action) appears if a spectator knows the main facts of Luther's biography, key events and consequences of the Reformation. Similarly, we appreciate individual values and the courage of the hero on the picture "Boyarynya Morozova" (1887, by Vasily Surikov) as we know, that this woman from a notable and rich family belonged to the 'old faith' in the Russian Orthodox Church in the 17th century. As she did not want to reject her faith after the Church reform in Russia in the 17th century, she was arrested and died in exile in an earthwork prison. The other art-work is the portrait of Fyodor Dostoyevsky (1878, by Vasily Perov). In order to interpret the image of the famous Russian writer created by the painter, a spectator should take into consideration crucial events of the hero's life and remember the plots and ideas of his novels. ■ ■ ■



Vasily Surikov, Boyarynya Morozova, 1887. (Tretyakov State Gallery, Moscow).



Vasily Perov, Portrait of Fyodor Dostoyevsky, 1878. (Tretyakov State Gallery, Moscow).

HUMAN RIGHTS IN PRACTICE: HUMAN RIGHTS THEATRE

Erdem Denk

Ankara University
Turkey

Respect for human rights is one of the basic dimensions of social life and can only be realised if it is elaborated upon, embraced and internalised starting from an early age. In this context, one of the best things that can be done is to provide children with a suitable atmosphere and means that will enable them to discuss and work out human rights issues. There are a few crucial components of this task.

■ **F**irst of all, human rights issues should be selected and handled in line with sociological/local needs and problems in the wider context of universal principles and understandings. So, the human rights problems most commonly witnessed in our wider society - i.e. the right to life, equality, living together in diversity, freedom of speech and social rights - should all be handled with care in a holistic manner.

■ **A**nother crucial component of this task is embracing a methodology that is not too academic, didactic and/or scholastic but rather an interactive one that will enable children to elaborate on, speak out, contribute and benefit freely. In this context, drama and so-called theatre sport has been the medium/methodology used in the programme. More specifically, the ‘forum theatre’ technique has been the main learning tool adopted, as it gives every participant (child) the opportunity to actively contribute, freely change the course of the drama and even construct the eventual performance.

■ **A** human rights expert, a pedagogue, a dramaturge and a drama leader have taken part in the programme, as well as four members of the Theatre Society of the Faculty of Political Science, Ankara University. The programme is performed with the active participation of 12-16 children of 8-9 years old selected from different primary schools representing different socio-cultural areas of Ankara.

■ **U**sing relevant creative drama methods the following concrete purposes were targeted:

- ▶ elaborating on the right to life;
- ▶ understanding the equality and co-existence culture and transforming this into appropriate behaviour;
- ▶ grasping freedom of expression and realising the basic parameters of a social environment that allows this;
- ▶ getting information about what the social rights are.



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▶ HUMAN RIGHTS IN PRACTICE

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THE ROLE OF THE ICONOGRAPHIC AND HISTORICAL
PATTERNS IN THE ARTISTIC EUROPEAN PRODUCTION

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SOME OBSERVATIONS

Having carried out the programme, the following remarks can be made: although a highly ambitious one, it was immediately realised that the programme is a quite difficult, hard and even risky task.

■ Firstly, it is not that easy to run a programme aimed at a heterogeneous group composed of children from different socio-economic backgrounds. Each has a different understanding of the problems and expectations of daily life. Moreover, they understandably find it a bit difficult to socialise with others, which in turn affects their final performance/participation.

■ Secondly, a four week programme carried out at weekends (three hours per each Saturday and Sunday) is not sufficient to make children comfortable so that they can actively, freely and contentedly contribute at all stages of the modules.

■ Thirdly, it is immediately seen that the social environment of the children plays a great role in their intellectual understanding. Bearing in mind that their social (family, school, play-groups, friends etc.) environment is not conversant with the points handled in the programme, it has become obvious that children cannot get into the purposes and goals adopted. In other words, training the children is not enough and their 'social trainers' should also be taken into account. So, to have a truly running programme, the whole society should also be taken into account, especially the families and school teachers. Finally, this is even the case for those conducting the programme, i.e., drama leaders, actors and actresses, dramaturges, who are also (would-be) parents!

■ On the other hand, there are still grounds for optimism. This is simply because human rights are a very key issue in daily/social life. Raising awareness is still the main task, but it should apparently be defined as 'creating awareness'. We still need a society that has a better understanding and practice of human rights and choosing children of early ages (pre-teen ages) as the target group is the correct thing to be done. Young brains and hearts can thus be encouraged, guided and oriented towards a human rights-friendly social life. If the concrete groups for such programmes are put together correctly (i.e., more homogenous small groups to be merged with other groups at later stages), such programmes are quite promising.

■ Finally, the point that strengthens this expectation is the very policy adopted in Human Rights Theatre right from the very beginning. Any human rights programmes (towards children and adults alike) should, and in fact must, determine its subjects, purposes, goals, means and methodologies in line with its socio-political problems and needs. That is to say, living in a multicultural society would definitely mean/associate different things in different societies, in different cities, and in different regions and nations. So, emphasising, say equality between blacks and whites would not mean anything at all in a greater part of Ankara. Similarly, wearing different clothing, having categorically different given names or having different occupations might not mean anything in some societies; whereas these can be dividing lines in another society in which, say, black and white live together without any racial problems at all.

■ In short, every such programme should select its target group and target issues sensitively to its particular socio-political and socio-economic context. ■■■

NICOSIA: MEMORY, DIGNITY, DIVERSITY

Marios Epaminondas

Association for Historical Dialogue and Research (AHDR)
Cyprus

” ...they set out in search of that city; they never found it, but they found one another;” Italo Calvino, *Lost Cities*

The city of Nicosia is produced and imprisoned by the hegemonic views of its history. The island’s colonial past and the conflicting nationalisms constitute the political context within which they were formed -and transformed over the course of the last century. These hegemonic views constitute epistemological frameworks incorporating modes of observation, interpretation and remembrance, which are evoked consciously or unconsciously in the public discourse about the city. Some of their underlining principals are:

- ▶ Communities are perennial, unaltered entities.
- ▶ Differentiations within communities and evidence of discontinuity with perceived ancestors are unfortunate exceptions.
- ▶ The voice of the community is the voice of the dominant group within it.
- ▶ Each community (and/or its perceived ancestors) has its own cultural production and heritage.
- ▶ Each community’s heritage may have a different level of belonging in the city.
- ▶ Artistic, material production has an ideal form. Hybridity is considered an anomaly.
- ▶ Evidence which contradicts these principles may become invisible.

■ These hegemonic views of Nicosia, although informed by historic research on the city, are not sustained by historic research alone. They are maintained by what could be the response to conflict, loss, and division: fear, pain, shame, pride and indifference. They impose images, memories, feelings. They illuminate certain histories, beauties, sins and they obscure others. As a consequence they allow only certain elements of the city to be visible and worthy. By doing so and given that the material production is always related to human activity, they might downgrade the dignity of current and historical communities of Nicosia. They also pass the implicit message that the apparent current diversity of the city comes as an anomaly to a clear cut past. ▶▶▶

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■ The work of the Association for Historical Dialogue and Research (AHDR)¹ challenges the foundations of these traditional hegemonic views of Nicosia and proposes new ways to understand the city based on multiperspectivity. By unveiling the limitations and unravelling the motivations of the traditional hegemonic views, AHDR’s approach historicises them and transforms them into perspectives whose validity can be scrutinised. By proposing new perspectives, which have been hitherto invisible and by allowing the articulation of voices which have been silenced, it can reclaim dignity for the people or communities which are related to them. In addition to that, by providing tools for the handling of multiple perspectives through disciplined argument it allows for an open, democratic dialogue to take place, a fact which can lead to a more comprehensive understanding of the city.

■ A major achievement of the AHDR is the establishment of the Home for Cooperation (H4C)², a multifunctional educational, research and cultural centre, in the UN controlled buffer zone of Nicosia. The Home for Co-operation officially opened its doors on 6 May 2011, as the first ever shared space for Cypriots from all over the island to engage in historical inquiry and advance contemporary understanding, dialogue and peace building. The H4C houses workspaces for NGOs, a conference and exhibition hall, meeting rooms, a library and a café. It aims to break the common perception of the buffer zone, by contributing to its transformation from a dead zone, into a zone of co-operation.

■ Against this background the city itself is reframed, so taking a city walk becomes an educational act, which can re-create the Nicosia of many interconnected histories and communities.³ The example of Nicosia is evidently connected to the contemporary circumstances confronting all cities in Europe, where traditional understandings of urban heritage and the contestation over space, identity and representation raises questions about the limits of ‘living together’ and ‘belonging’. Assuming an open, informed and critical approach towards our past, we can restore the properness of diversity, hybridity and multiple identities. Consequently, we can open up the possibilities for a dignified coexistence of all in our cities. In such a context, citizens can become empowered agents able to learn and make history at the same time. ■ ■ ■

1 For more information about the work of the AHDR, including Policy Recommendations, Research Findings and Supplementary Educational Material see www.ahdr.info

2 www.home4cooperation.info

3 See <http://www.ahdr.info/viewarticlecat.php?cid=37>



The Home for Co-operation, buffer zone, Nicosia, Cyprus.

THE ROLE OF THE ICONOGRAPHIC AND HISTORICAL PATTERNS IN THE ARTISTIC EUROPEAN PRODUCTION DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Micol Forti
Vatican Museums¹

¹ http://mv.vatican.va/3_EN/pages/MV_Home.html

I would like to approach a central theme in the history of European art and culture of the 20th century, or actually in fact to retrace even if only very briefly, that artistic production which was confronted by and lived through the drama of the Second World War, and in the end to condemn it.

In particular I would like to suggest a possible teaching unit based on comparing different iconographic patterns, heterogeneous and relating to the subject matter, which belong to different ages and geographical areas, but which have been made topical and interchangeable by virtue of new content.

The Second World War was characterised by its very nature, as a ‘total war’, involving the entire territory in which it was fought, engulfing European culture, overwhelming large masses of people, yielding a vast power, much beyond the traditional reaches of the organic armies, on a scale that had never happened before.

This meant not only political participation, standing up against all forms of totalitarianism, from Italy to Germany, Hungary, Poland, from Spain to the USSR, but at the same time sweeping away the integrity of the connective tissue of European culture.

The art from this period reflects, and in some ways stimulated, the formation of a new and profound sense of civic and civil participation, based on a common membership, on a new sense of the values of peace, equality, freedom and respect.

This is obviously a vast and hardly synthesised topic which has seen the involvement of many artistic movements: Abstract, Realism, Expressionism, Surrealism, Dadaism, which have given rise to a plethora of formal variations and interpretations. ►►►

■ Within this vast territory, I would like to suggest two guidelines by which we could read the works that I will present for common reflection.

1. In this historical context, art is not only able to be an act of denunciation, but also to offer a clear foreshadowing, a disarming intuition of the tragic direction which events will take. Indeed, art confirms its ability not to look the other way, not to be self-referential, not to abstract artistic research from its essential social and civil role, just as any language, any form of communication, must do. Art helps us to develop a historical political and civil consciousness.
2. To deal with the relationship between art and war means to keep in mind, as Georges Bataille noted, the unbreakable bond that exists between the work of art, or “the production of similes”, and the aggression or “destruction of similes.” Each act of conflict, of violence of abuse, any breach of common values and of common rights, requires a statement of “dissimilarity”, not recognising the other as similar, even if the similarity was the origin of the conflict.

■ These two assumptions were my main references in building this sequence of images: a sequence based on the attempt to rebuild the strength of iconographic models and visual effects that artists have used, chewed on, hacked, stolen, and even betrayed, from the boundless reservoir of images which is the history of art: a history that European culture has matured, developed and exchanged, over the centuries, including the customs, cultures and languages of its various countries, each profoundly different, one from the other.

■ This true collective vocabulary, from which artists have drawn without the need to translate or to decode, without stylistic or ideological affinity has been the fundamental and unifying substrata which has ensured that the act of denunciation and condemnation, along with the possibility to narrate and give testimony to these events, was not isolated but rooted in the common shared culture.

■ As often happens in the dramatic moments in the history of mankind, models taken from the sacred histories and mythologies are the main references used to denounce the suffering and violence caused by man’s inhumanity to man.

■ Two of the emblematic works that herald the drama of future events, both executed in Dresden in 1933 and 1934 are two triptychs (in the typical form of the altarpiece): *The War* of Otto Dix and the *Thousand Year Reich* by Hans Grundig. Evident in both is the explicit reference to the Isenheim altarpiece by Matthias Grünewald, one of the artists who best represented the human and pitiful aspect of death through physical suffering.

■ But the grotesque power of the two works is rooted in the visions of Hieronymus Bosch in which the deformation of human nature is a mirror of the ‘loss of simile’ to which I have already referred. It is difficult to establish the borderline that separates the grotesque vision of a dream from a nightmare. It will be only a few years later, in 1936, that Dali will look into the depths of Goya’s paintings in *Soft Construction with Boiled Beans - Premonition of Civil War*, almost as if with Cervantes’ literary power.

■ The explosion of the Second World War prompted much more explicit models.

- Women that mourn the dead, desperately hold out their empty hands, as in the *Pietà* by Käthe Kollwitz, which looks to the *Pietà* of Van Gogh; or throw up their arms in the air, as in *Arms Raised* by Julius Gonzales, which is either a defensive gesture, as in the *Niobe*, or a desperate gesture as in ‘sacred representations’, from the 15th century until the present, as in the powerful representation of Georges Mérimon.
- Women have also been killed and massacred: in Carlo Levi, *Dead Women (The Lager Foreseen)*, 1942, with bodies piled up as depicted in *The Massacre of the Innocents* by Giotto; or as in *Woman Massacred* by Leoncillo where the woman’s body almost disappears under the weight of her clothes, reminiscent of Anna Magnani in the famous final scene of Rossellini’s *Rome, Open City* (1945).



SEMINAR PAPERS

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▶ THE ROLE OF THE ICONOGRAPHIC AND HISTORICAL
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IMAGES AS HISTORICAL EVIDENCE
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▼ INDIVIDUAL AUTONOMY AND FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION
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▶ The use of *The Massacre of the Innocents* as a model is particularly interesting because the tangle of bodies and screams that characterises the scene drives artists not only to use it for its iconographic impact but also to ascertain its power in extreme abstraction, until the screaming and the pain can be crystallised in the power of forms. A painting as premonitory as *Massacre* by André Masson in 1931 or a commemorative work like the *Sketch for the Gate of the Fosse Ardeatine* by Mirko Basaldella in 1949, along with the *Untitled Compositions* by Paul Klee in 1940, an almost disjointed babble of language are all wonderful examples of how extreme abstraction is able to build a poetic syntax which is deeply rooted in the history of images.

▶ Besides battles, in war there are also explicit acts of aggression: shootings, prisons, concentration camps etc. The shooting in the country which drove Guttuso to commemorate the death of Garcia Lorca looks back to Goya’s famous painting *The Third of May, 1808*. Other images taken from Rembrandt underlie *The Crucifixion* by Sutherland in 1946. Dead bodies are often abandoned: on the ground, seen foreshortened, like *The Dead Christ* by Mantegna, almost trampled as in *The Secular Crucifixion* by Pirandello in 1930 or in the dramatic composition *For Bread*, also in 1930, by the Hungarian artist Gyula Derkovits, a self-taught carpenter who never ceased to denounce the solitude created by the absence of freedom and fundamental human rights.

■ War is the epitome of inhumanity; it is the inability to see the other as an equal. The woman driving a dark horse in a murderous mad rush killer in Rousseau’s painting has its roots in the essential rhetorical language of the 14th century and brings with it the blindness that is the primary source of violence. *The Devourer of Men* by the Austrian, Axl Leskoček, and the Bulgarian, Marko Behar, depict a new Polyphemus or a Saturn devouring his children, bringing out the darkness that lies behind the mythological models set beyond an historical time, beyond reason and nature. This is why a mother who runs to save her child is for the sculptor Antonietta Raphael a *Niobe*, because the escape, the fear and the pain cannot be limited to the context in which they are happening, but they belong forever in the history of humanity.

■ A corrupt humanity infected by their own sins: it is an easy quote of the famous painting *The seven deadly sins* by Otto Dix as well as of the paintings by Geoges Grosz. But I would also recall an amazing succession of nameless faces made of mud, plaster and rust by Jean Daligault, abbot of the diocese of Bayeux, who died in Dachau concentration camp. Only the sculptures by Honoré Daumier of the unscrupulous lawyers, the corrupt judges, those wrongly condemned and the protected criminals may be compared to the understated drama captured by Daligault in his representations of the people he met in the concentration camp.

■ The works I have cited are all different from one another. They present various examples of resistance: the kind of resistance that Masson rendered the protagonist of one of his paintings in 1944 which explicitly referred to another symbolic work which, although it spoke of death immediately become the symbol of the ability of people to oppose any form of massacre: *The Guernica* by Pablo Picasso. This large canvas immediately became a new iconographic reference for its ability to express violence, and by expressing it, rendering it a comprehensible reality.

■ As an archival document, a witness, a historiographical artwork, art is never absolute. It cannot be universal. It cannot contain the whole truth. Art is an act - that is, something which acts and continues to act in our conscience, sprouting, leaving sediments which shed light on a particular aspect of our humanity. It is therefore necessary to learn, when looking at works of art, to see and to understand that which we have survived so that history, freed from the pure past, can help us to open the present. ■■■

IMAGES AS HISTORICAL EVIDENCE: PERSONIFICATIONS OF NATION

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AN EXERCISE FOR PUPILS AS ART HISTORIANS DEVELOPED BY MARJO RÄSÄNEN

Pupils are given an assortment of paintings from different eras and different countries. Their task is to classify these pictures in various ways based on such factors as: use of colour, materials, techniques, symbols, atmosphere, style and other factors which they suggest are significant. Pupils have to consider either individually or in groups the following questions:

- What was your initial reaction to the painting?
- Is there anything in the painting or about the painting which is difficult to understand?
- Are there any symbols used by the artist in the painting?
- Is the painting intended to show a historical event?
If so how accurate do you think it is?
- When do you think the painting was produced?
And why have you arrived at your decision?

■ **N**ow look at the paintings again and think about them as portrayals of nationalism. If you wanted to produce feelings of patriotism and love of country in people which painting do you think would do that most effectively today? If you had been living in the 19th century would you choose the same painting or not? In both cases explain how you arrived at your decision.



“CLASH ON THE LEFT” (1928-1952) AND THE QUESTION OF FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

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In 1933 a book was published in Zagreb – entitled *Motifs from Podravina* (Podravina is a region in Croatia) – which provoked a strong reaction from critics and the public. It was actually a map containing 33 drawings by the painter Krsto Hegedušić. Hegedušić belonged to an association of artists called ‘The Earth Group’ that was established in 1929 and existed until the police ban in 1935. Painters, sculptors, architects and others who belonged to the group were trying to join their ‘left’ orientations, a critique of bourgeois society and the notion of class struggle with artistic issues. The group promoted an art which is social and engaged (abandoning *l’art pour l’art* principle) and which reflects the social milieu from which it originated. Its programme included the fight for social justice through art, popularisation of art through workshops, exhibitions, lectures, press etc. and educational work among the wider masses (Hegedušić himself worked with peasant painters in the village of Hlebine). Their paintings and graphics were dealing with the motifs of rural life, villages, workers’ suburbs, work, poverty, death and violence – topics which were not common and even shunned in the mainstream works of art. Hegedušić’s own painting had affinities with Otto Dix and George Grosz, and with the famous peasant scenes of the 16th century painter Pieter Bruegel.

But it was not only the drawings but also a preface, an introductory text by the writer Miroslav Krleža, that drew the attention of intellectual and literary circles, especially among those inclined towards the political left. Miroslav Krleža played an important role in the shaping of social literature in the inter-war Yugoslavia and published some essays (for example, on George Grosz) that offered an ideological conception of socially engaged literature and art. In the time when he wrote his introduction to *Motifs from Podravina* he was a well-known and influential writer, even internationally, and in left circles he was considered as an authority. It is not clear whether he was already at that time a member of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY), but he was very close to the party leadership and they appreciated his influence and his cultural role. ►►►

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■ Krleža was one of those intellectuals who were attracted to the social experiment in the USSR and the idea of building a new society, but he was also not blind to shortcomings in the 'first country of socialism'. Already in 1926, after his visit to the Soviet Union, he wrote some mildly critical remarks about the state of individual freedoms in the USSR (in the essay *Excursion in Russia*). He kept his distance from everyday political engagement and revolutionary action and his artistic elitism prevented him from complying easily with party directives and discipline in his artistic endeavour. In addition, Krleža was never comfortable with simplified forms of socialist realism (or, more precisely, by vulgar applications of principles of socialist realism) and he would not tolerate the untalented and mediocre. His literary characters were often introspective, pessimistic, depressed and resigned defeatists who doubted the power of reason and did not believe in optimism and the historical inevitability of the progress of human society.

■ In brief, Krleža believed in social engagement, but not in schematic, simplified and often vulgar forms of writing and reductionist images of the world. His introductory text to *Motifs from Podravina* was his answer to some early criticism of his works that came from the left. In this essay Krleža defended the thesis that *Beauty* has a metaphysical and trans-historical dimension: it can transfer our present excitements through centuries with the same intensity as today. Therefore, the question of art and beauty cannot be grasped with simplified *truths* because the creative talent is not a question of reason. He opposed the idea of using arts as a tool for achieving certain political goals ("While aesthetic mystifiers from the right argued that Beauty is 'neutral and dignified', rationalists from the left argue (and especially since 1848 shout ever more loudly) that Beauty has to belong to people [...] Monks of St. Francis of Assisi think that they can comprehend 'the real beauty and eternal truth' only in processions, in religious cloth; in this respect, a Jacobin aesthetics is no different from the Jesuit one: both of them deem that the lyrics, as well as guns, are only the tools."). He did not reject a social and critical engagement of art and literature, but he strongly believed that art should be protected from dilettantism. Therefore he ridiculed advocates of social tendency in literature and art as incompetent ("...mostly ignorant, almost always malicious, and above all untalented...") and untalented zealots ("...he, who has no voice or hearing cannot sing, and even if he sings *la Marseillaise*, it is embarrassing to listen to him...").

■ This essay produced turmoil in the circle of social literature writers and launched a fierce polemic. It marked an escalation of the so-called 'clash on the (literary) left' that had been brewing since the late 1920s. The conflict started as a debate among left intellectuals about the social function of literature and art. It was given additional impulse after the second conference of the revolutionary writers in Kharkov in 1930 which demanded from writers a clear social engagement: they were supposed to expose bourgeois society and social injustice to criticism, and to advocate revolutionary ideas.

■ At the beginning, the main actors of the debate were some left-wing intellectuals – writers, artists, poets, philosophers and scientists. For example, one of them in his answer sent a clear message to Krleža: "Permeated with love and faith in life, we continue our journey, with or without Krleža and, if needs be, against Krleža." (Bogomil Herman, *Quo vadis, Krleža?*, 1933) But, this question was also a very important issue for the then illegal CPY. It was already banned at the beginning of the 1920s and, because it could not act on the political stage, art and literature became an important field for the promotion of its goals and for its propaganda activities. At that point, however, the CPY wanted to silence the polemics because it found these attacks on the leading figure of the social literature harmful for its wider cause.

■ But, it was Krleža who would not stop. When he was not writing polemical essays, he published some books that posed new challenges and irritated his opponents. In 1936 he published a book *Ballads of Petrica Kerempuh* (Petrica Kerempuh is a public entertainer or a jester, a Croatian version of Till Eulenspiegel) that was a literary realisation of the aesthetic concept presented in his introduction to *Motifs from Podravina*. He wanted to show that it is possible to write a socially engaged literature without vulgar simplifications and schemas and without sacrificing artistic value. His main character in *Ballads*, Petrica Kerempuh, explains Croatian history 'from below', from the perspective of the oppressed, mostly peasants, which was in sharp contrast with the then common narrative in historiography whose main protagonists were monarchs and nobility. In 1938 he published a novel (*On the Edge of Reason*) whose main character, the Doctor (a personification of the writer himself), expresses scepticism towards universal truths and towards the possibility of one 'right' viewing of the world, describing it as just another form of the religious viewpoint of the world. This was a slap in the face for Party doctrine.

■ The debate reached its climax at the end of 1930s when Krleža started to publish a literary journal *Pečat [The Seal]*. Among his co-workers were some artists, poets, philosophers and scientists who were stigmatised by the CPY as Trotskyites. Krleža and his co-workers wrote many polemical texts in which they denied the Party authority in arts. The most important among them was Krleža's *Dijalektički antibarbarus* published at the end of 1939. One issue, however, was never openly mentioned in these texts but, as Krleža and some others later claimed, it was always in the background of the debate. It was the question of 'Siberian graves' or, as Krleža called it, a "gallery of dead acquaintances", by which he was referring to the deaths of numerous Yugoslav communists who perished in Stalinist purges. Rumours about what happened in the USSR had already reached Yugoslavia, and among those who were killed were some of Krleža's old acquaintances and friends. ▶▶▶

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At that moment, the CPY decided that the polemics went too far. The new party leadership, with the new secretary general Josip Broz Tito, first wanted to stop the discussion without confrontation with Krleža. Tito and Krleža met a couple of times, but this did not permanently stop the polemics. But, when Krleža started the *Pečat*, he entered into an open conflict with the CPY leadership. His text *Dialectical antibarbarus* strengthened the divisions among left intellectuals at a time when Tito, after the period of intensive faction fighting in the CPY, was trying to tighten his power over the Party and secure its monolithic structure.

Therefore, both in his reports to the Comintern, as well as in some articles in party newspapers and journals (for example, in the article *Trotskyism and its supporters*), Tito accused Krleža and his co-workers of being revisionists, 'Trotskyites' and 'enemies of the working class'. In 1940 the CPY even prepared a book containing a collection of articles (among them a couple of articles by some leading party officials and members of the Central Committee of the CPY, Edvard Kardelj and Milovan Đilas) that settled accounts with Krleža and his followers and presented the party line in literature, art and science. This clearly showed that the CPY did not accept Krleža's claim that the conflict was only about literature, and treated it primarily as a political conflict. Krleža and his co-workers were politically marginalised and isolated, boycotted by the left intellectuals and party members. They ceased to publish the *Pečat*, which eventually brought the polemics to an end. This decision was obviously influenced by the anticipation of the war which started in Yugoslavia a couple of months later.

In April 1941 the Axis attacked and occupied Yugoslavia. During the war Krleža stayed in Zagreb and did not join the partisans led by Tito and the CPY. The explanation offered by Krleža was that he feared he would be harmed by his former opponents. Immediately after the war, the CPY took power in Yugoslavia and the new communist authorities firmly followed Soviet models in the arts and culture. Krleža, however, was still important for the Party: according to some, in May 1945 Tito sent some men to secure Krleža's house in Zagreb so that he would not be harmed in acts of retaliation at the very end of the war. Krleža was given an option: if he were to have his place in the new society, he should forget about his pre-war engagement concerning the "clash on the left". Allegedly, a high party official told him: "This battle for you is lost." Krleža eventually accepted to become an editor of a literary journal but abstained from any political engagement.

During the Stalin-Tito conflict, Krleža firmly supported Tito and won his confidence. The break with the USSR also signalled a shift in culture and the arts. Krleža worked on shaping a new cultural paradigm after the abandonment of socialist realism. For example, in 1949 he initiated the exhibition of medieval art of the peoples of Yugoslavia that was held in Paris in 1950. From 1950 he was in charge of the Lexicographic Institute in Zagreb which today bears his name. At that time, Krleža became a central persona in the Yugoslav literary and cultural scene. Although his works and ideas did not reverberate always very well with younger generations of modernist writers, they appreciated his role in the "clash on the left" that already in the 1970s had become a matter of interest for researchers.

The "clash on the left" obviously haunted Krleža too, because he returned to it over and over again in his interviews and speeches. He would not allow, however, his most provocative text, *Dialectical antibarbarus*, to be published again as long as he was alive (eventually it was published after his death, in 1982). But shortly before his death he wrote a *Memorandum for future researches of the "clash on the literary left"* (1980). He died in 1981, a year after Tito's death.

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"IMAGINING THE BALKANS": A TRAVELLING EXHIBITION ABOUT RECONCILIATION THROUGH HISTORY AND MEMORY¹

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The regional exhibition "Imagining the Balkans" has been developed by the UNESCO Venice Office within the framework of the "Culture: a Bridge to Development" initiative, to enhance cooperation and dialogue among the South-East European national history museums. It is a travelling regional exhibit, focusing on the constitution and evolution of modern nations in South East Europe during the 'long 19th century'.

■ Five regional meetings have been organised by the Venice Office in Thessaloniki (2010), Berlin (2011), Turin (2011), Ljubljana (2012) and Bucharest (2012), to discuss regional cooperation schemes, and further, the contents of the exhibit.

■ The five meetings have comprised museum directors and experts from Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Greece, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia, Slovenia, "The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia" and Turkey. All experts were appointed by the UNESCO National Commissions. Also invited to the meetings were senior representatives from European museums (German Historical Museum in Berlin, Germany; Museo del Risorgimento in Turin, Italy); professional organisations (ICOM/International Committee for Exhibitions and Exchange; ICOM/International Association of Museums of History) and European academic networks (EUNAMUS).

■ The museums participating are: National History Museum (Albania), National Museum of Slovenia (Slovenia), Museum of Republic of Srpska (Bosnia and Herzegovina), National History Museum (Bulgaria), Croatian History Museum (Croatia), Leventis Municipal Museum of Nicosia (Cyprus), National Historical Museum (Greece), Njegos Museum (Montenegro), Museum of Macedonia ("The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia"), National History Museum of Romanian History (Romania), Historical Museum of Serbia (Serbia), German Historical Museum (Germany).

■ The exhibition was inaugurated on 8th April 2013, in Ljubljana, Slovenia, at the National Museum of Slovenia, on the occasion of the Meeting of the Council of Ministers of Culture of South East Europe (COMOCOSEE) and will then travel in the South East Europe region. ▶▶▶

¹ <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/venice/resources-services/host-facilities/special-events/imagining-the-balkans/>

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GENERAL OBJECTIVE

This exhibition tells the story of the constitution and evolution of modern nations in South East Europe. It has been produced with the belief that Nations and their History need not be just a matter of division.

■ The political, social and cultural practices and ideas, accompanying these processes, are illustrated through visual artefacts that demonstrate the gradual transformation of traditional societies functioning within imperial regimes into modern societies with a focus upon nationality as the foremost marker of identity. Within the region, neighbours have often been described in terms of dichotomies and past or on-going disputes.

■ This show is structured around a different principle. The complexities of historical change in South East Europe during the ‘long 19th century’ are explained through the presentation of shared key processes and experiences, common features and historical interactions, including with the rest of Europe, rather than on the lines of exclusive and contrasting parallel national histories and narratives.

■ Named after the title of Maria Todorova’s book *Imagining the Balkans*, it seeks to renew our vision of social, political, economic and cultural changes in South East Europe. For the first time, history museums from all over the region, and beyond, have overcome their borders, have worked together and combined their collections, in order to show that each unique national destiny is inextricably linked and interrelated with a common regional, and a broader universal, destiny. This exhibition is a collective project of national history museums seeking to foster intercultural dialogue and reflection upon shared identities and memories.

STRUCTURE OF THE EXHIBITION:
THEMATIC CHAPTERS

COFFEE SHOP

■ The development of a ‘coffee culture’ amongst the ruling elites and its subsequent spread into the rising middle classes during the 19th century was an important indicator of social changes, whether under Ottoman or Austro-Hungarian influence: enhancement of public spaces, democratisation of personal time and space, and new models of sociability and conviviality. This exhibition opens with a coffee shop, so as to unite collective memories and personal stories.

LIVING IN THE OLD WORLD

■ South East Europe, with the advent of enlightenment ideas, the spread of national ideologies and industrial technology from the late 18th century onwards, went through tremendous changes. Yet the remains of this ‘Old World’, while gradually eroding and vanishing, continued to show many commonalities in the ways of living among the diverse peoples and groups coexisting in the region.

TRAVELLING, COMMUNICATING

■ The development of trade, technologies and modern transport and communication systems put the traditional segments of this evolving modern society in closer contact with one another, exposing them to the conditions existing outside of the region. The flow of new ideas and practices, as in the rest of Europe, was considerably enhanced.

A NEW SOCIAL ORDER AND THE RISE OF THE MIDDLE CLASSES

■ The progressive enrichment of those parts of society which were able to grasp the emerging developments in international economy led to the formation of a boisterous middle class. New divisions appeared in society, together with the new values they embraced. A certain amount of democratisation enabled this civil society to participate in the running of the state. ▶▶▶

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CREATING AND DIFFUSING KNOWLEDGE

■ The pursuit of learning and the diffusion of knowledge were much enhanced during this period. Modernity required practical knowledge to meet its needs. Also, the search for identity naturally led to a quest for one’s roots into the past, and both secular and religious traditions were correspondingly questioned or updated.

MAPPING

■ Discovering, defining and delineating one’s territory on maps became a very important goal during the 19th century. Studying the natural and human-made characteristics of one’s land was not just a way to delineate it, but was also part of an effort to understand, control and exploit one’s own resources.

USING HISTORY, MAKING HEROES

■ History has played a crucial role in defining national identity, mobilising people, shaping their destinies and conforming objectives common to a whole nation irrespective of social, economic, cultural or other considerations. History became a channel through which national memories were fixed and transmitted, and used for their legitimising potential.

PUBLIC CELEBRATIONS

■ Public celebrations have always been a means to strengthen the cohesion of a group and to provide some visible structuring of its form and of its aims. The new society that emerged during the 19th century created, like in the rest of Europe, a number of events that served as rallies of national consciousness and exchange of information.

IMAGE OF THE NATION

■ National groups relate themselves to specific iconic images and symbols, which were disseminated at every possible occasion and became so familiar as to be considered essential for the group’s identity. Every citizen sharing the new bonds of society was also a vector of its specific image, thought of as unique and exclusive.

CONCLUSION: WHOSE IS THIS SONG?

■ Having followed a path of national restructuring of their societies, the people of South East Europe may find themselves still separated by all sorts of real or imagined borders. This exhibition has tried to illustrate to what extent and in which spheres the countries from the region have evolved in parallel ways. When we look into such parallel historical processes, South East Europe appears in its true dimensions: a place of interactions and of historic change. ■■■

INDIVIDUAL AUTONOMY AND FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AS REFLECTED IN ART THROUGH THE EYES OF A CURATOR IN A CULTURAL INSTITUTION

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My first encounter with the contents of art, culture and education was in 2001 at the Rotterdam conference on *Arts and Culture in Education: Policy and Practice in Europe*. Back then the experts used both terms: cultural and arts education. After the conference in The Hague in 2004, the endorsement of the EU Glossary on Arts and Cultural Education and the 2006 acceptance of Road Map for Arts Education, the term ‘arts education’ came into general use. In Slovenia in 2007 at the Ministry of Culture, in cooperation with the British Council and UNESCO, we organised a major seminar on *Cultural Education in Elementary Schools*. The ensuing evaluation at the beginning of 2008 resulted in a collaborative venture between the Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of Education, University of Ljubljana’s Academy of Fine Arts and Ljubljana Faculty of Education. The tasks were: to update the elementary schools curricula; to prepare advanced training for experts in schools; and to consult on developing stronger links and co-operation between elementary schools’ cultural institutions. The work continued in 2008 when the National Guidelines and the Programme of Cultural Education in Elementary Schools was prepared.

■ The arts form a large and very significant part of cultural education. The objectives of such education are connected not only with the arts, but also with those fields of culture that are directly linked with the arts. Linking the artists and their works, the time in which they were created, and knowledge of art techniques – these are the basic contents of approach to arts and artists’ works. However, it is important that these contents should be expanded and included in other subjects. Thus, when we speak about arts education it should not be conceived in too narrow a way.

■ Especially significant are the new contents of the arts education that have just started to appear in school curricula. These are, for example: media education, intercultural education and homeland education. A peculiarity of arts education is the intertwining of various content. Therefore, the right strategies for the presentation of content, texts and objects of art are most important.

■ I would especially like to emphasise the significance of cultural components in intercultural education, the aim of which is not only to get acquainted with the arts of different cultures, but primarily to understand how the otherness of a culture is a result of a special way of signifying a culture. ►►

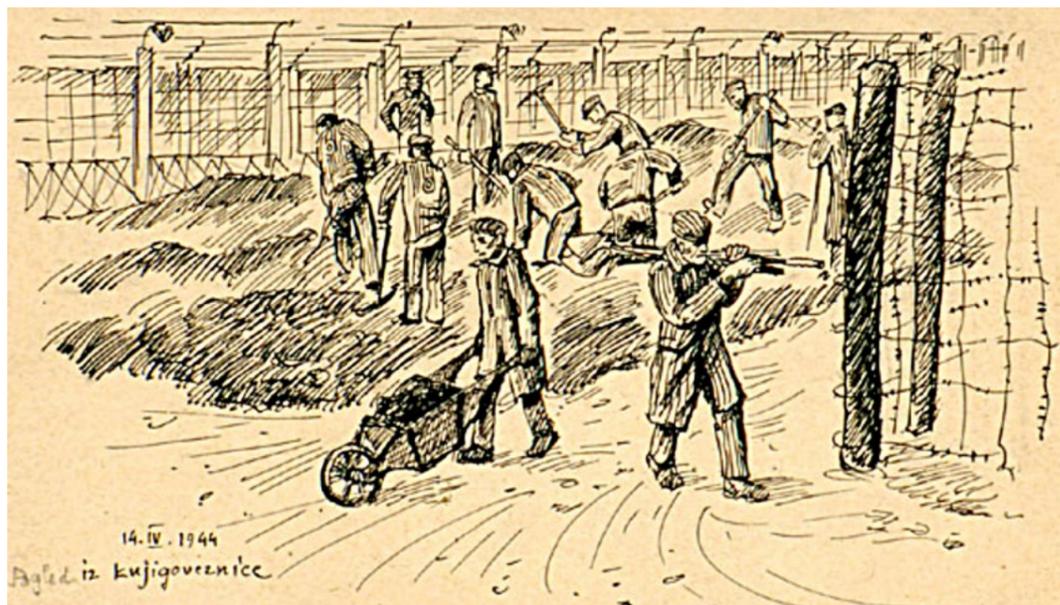
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Vlasto Kopač: A View from the Bindery, 14 April 1944, pen and ink.

- The sub-collection of drawings is the largest sub-collection of the Slovenian Museum of Modern History visual art collection; it includes 14,173 works. They predominantly depict life during the Second World War (created during the war and afterwards) – during the national liberation war, among the partisans, in concentration camps, prisons and in exile; the struggle of the working class for social rights in the interwar period (art usually styled as socially critical), post-war efforts to rebuild the demolished country and the time of the post-war social changes. With its central part, drawings and graphics of Slovenian artists (among the partisans, in concentration camps and prisons), the sub-collection is unique not only in Slovenia, but also in Europe.

■ The majority of art objects in the collection have a documentary value, being a part of the legacy of testimony about the national liberation struggle of Slovenians. These visual art documents cover all the layers of partisan life and struggle, from the images of fighters and commanders, the wounded, combat scenes, partisan hospitals, printing presses, to the descriptions of the atrocities made by occupiers, their plundering and arsons, depicting the suffering in the concentration camps and prisons, with images of people deprived of liberty, placed in the context of terrifying inventory of Fascist and Nazi death factories. Particularly valuable are the works of Slovenian painters and self-taught artists from the Nazi concentration camps, where such creativity was strictly forbidden.

NATIONAL GALLERY OF MATICA SRPSKA, NOVI SAD¹

■ In 2011 two museum institutions, the National Gallery of Matica Srpska and the Belgrade Museum of Yugoslav History, staged an exhibition with a catalogue, *Comrade President's Collection of Paintings*, as the initial inventory from 1958 was named. It consists of 1,131 'easel' paintings. At the time of Tito's death in 1980, over 850 works were placed in various parts of the residential complex, as indicated in the inventory. Most of the paintings were stocked in the *Museum of Gifts* which Tito used as a reserve fund of his private collection, where 729 paintings were registered, while more than 150 paintings were displayed in the main building of the complex – the Residence. The systematisation of the collection was first outlined in 1986, for the exhibition "To Tito with Respect" held at *The Museum Space* in Zagreb.

■ For the purposes of a new systematisation and articulation of the collection, from a historical distance, it was necessary to establish the attitude towards the art collection at the time, to determine and identify the model according to which the collection was conceived and thus to redefine its characteristics through the unbreakable bond with its owner. Beginning with the premises postulated by Krzysztof Pomian, this art collection has been perceived as that of a ruler – Josip Broz Tito – the man at the top of the social hierarchy. Hence, the art works became a constituent part of his environment, as the bearers of meaning – *semiophores*, within a specifically organised space. It is here where the communication follows the lines of the visible – invisible (the ruler/the people/the world), through a web of intertwined symbols/representations, that the first glimpses of the collection were seen in a developed, epistemologically grounded ruler's discourse. Employing the rhetorical technique of *artificial memory* – the rediscovery and application of which, in the late Renaissance age, largely influenced the organisation of *Kunst und Wunderkammer* as one of the earliest models of musealisation – the author decided to memorise/store the chosen art works, within the virtual space of Tito's Belgrade Residence (due to the fact that the building was destroyed in the NATO bombing of 1999), utilising their locations within the Residence, as documented in the inventory. Thus, the chosen works have the highest significance, being crowned the bearers of groups – thematic units – creating a web of symbols in a typically bourgeois and patriarchal interior. ►►►

¹ <http://www.galerijamaticesrpske.rs/index-en.html>

■ Hence, a group of paintings was displayed in the dining hall, entitled *Food in Painting*; situated within the entrance hall, were mostly *Landscapes from Native to Imaginary*; while the salons, exhibited paintings which emphasised the status, taste and affinities of the master of the residence, including representations of women, labeled *The Harem of Paintings*. In the grand study downstairs – the largest room in the Residence (196 m²), a public space *per excellence*, not solely due to the fact that distinguished guests were received here, but predominantly because this was the only ‘visible’ space which, thanks to the photos and TV broadcasts, could be seen by the wider public – were exhibited paintings belonging to the historical genre – *Through the Imaginary Battles to the ‘Battles’ in Interpretation*. In the private apartment on the first floor – the salon and the study – the space which was under lock and key, where access was strictly controlled, there were two of Tito’s portraits and other, highly versatile, paintings, for instance: *Clothed Dog* by Joseph Stevens (1856), *Village Festival* by Krsto Hegedusic (1930) and *The Ambusher* by Paja Jovanovic.

■ Whatever the urge may have been behind the emergence of a collection, the best way to understand the collecting impulse, in the words of Mieke Bal, is to think of a collection as a text, a narrative, and of a collector as a narrator, motivated above all and more than anything else by *fetishism*.

■ Analysing the common motifs, Bal puts forward Bourdieu’s ‘aesthetic impulse’ as the least seemingly politicised one, since it is expressed in a tautological and politically utopian way. It is due to this, however, that it is also the most misused one, as an intrinsic motion towards the definition of humanity via the projection of a privileged group. In order for the aesthetic impulse to become a goal in itself, Bal states that, one has to be rich – so rich, that one does not have a care in the world.

■ Therefore, in the multifaceted narrative of *Comrade President’s Collection of Paintings*, Josip Broz Tito is seen as the narrator who, in both the private and the political context, created his collection in a *fetishistic way*, because the key to its opening and deciphering was in his hands. The crucial moments of its genesis on the historical stage are exhibited, using the existing archival material. The paintings were then observed, as much as possible, through his eyes in series as syntagmas of a narrative, in other words, as a lucid dream, whose sequences containing the highest amount of projected meaning, have been consecutively analysed.

■ The exhibition was a highly resonant event, offering special interpretative programmes for children and the school-age population. The stories from the Socialist time are increasingly interesting for young generations who know the period from the accounts given by their parents and grandparents. Besides, the works of visual art, being the constituent or accompanying parts of the story, were incredibly telling sources.

■ It is also a historical account about the artists who lived through their special period of censorship, the period of creating memory of the past and life of today.

■ Historians-curators are much more aware than historians-professors and school teachers of how important the art collections in museum institutions are and how many accounts they tell.

■ How might we sensitise people, especially the young, towards the arts? Art may be seen as a key to understanding oneself and others, while culture is the framework within which we perceive it.

■ I shall conclude by citing again the Slovenian professor and author, Jani Kovačič:

” Human dignity is an extremely highly placed aim, it encompasses freedom, responsibility and – fantasy. It is best seen in inventions and most enduringly in the most credible cultural inventions, art being one of the first and most important. Hence the self-evidence, consequently - the nearness, and hence the freedom of art. Therefore everyone can so easily say: don’t you tell me about culture!”¹

¹ Jani Kovačič, *Ne ti men’ o kulturi!*, Kultura in umetnost v izobraževanje - popotnica za 21. stoletje, Ljubljana 2008, p. 67.

‘MY GRANNY’S LIFE IS PART OF EUROPEAN HISTORY’: A JOINT EPA AND EUROCLIO PROJECT

Eszter Salamon

European Parents’ Association (EPA)¹

¹ <http://www.epa-parents.eu/>

Most of Europe, especially Central and Eastern Europe, has been burdened by ethnic misunderstandings ever since the 19th century. The generations of today’s parents and grandparents have seen many changes, lived through wars, revolutions and changes of system.

■ There is an old joke about an old man, Mr. Kohn who was born in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, lived in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the Soviet Union and Ukraine - but he never left the town of Munkács in his life. What was more he was Jewish.

■ It is easy to imagine how different a point of view he will have of the peace treaty ending the First World War, the 1930s and 40s, the Second World War, Soviet politics or the Perestroika from that of the official national opinion of present Hungary, Slovakia or Ukraine. His personal history will be very different from the personal history of his neighbour who was born Hungarian, Russian or Ukrainian. Their grandchildren may go to the same school, even the same class, where they learn history from the same book and the same teacher. At the same time they will listen to their respective grandparents’ and parents’ stories of the past 80 years and get confused. Children all over Europe will hear a different account of the same history event depending on social status, nationality and religion, but will still be learning the truth.

■ There are a number of projects, websites and archives that gather accounts of personal history, but still it is very difficult for an average teacher or parent to help children understand how different the account of the same event can be and why, while telling the truth depending on your role, social position, etc. The core paradigm of EPA is that parents are the first educators of their children and have the greatest impact, so involving parents and history teachers in the same project just seemed natural.

■ A private foundation in Hungary, *Our Century in Central Europe Foundation*, was established in 1991 to gather and distribute the personal histories - or more precisely personal accounts of historical events - of people, especially those in culture, arts, politics and the media. The foundation is working to help people learn more about the history of Europe, and especially Central and Eastern Europe, because they believe that it is necessary to know and learn from past events to secure our future. During the past 20 years they co-financed a TV-series by a film director and history scholar, Péter Bokor, called *Századunk* (Our Century), an account of modern history based on authentic film excerpts, personal histories and interviews with historians. ▶▶▶

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■ The foundation decided to widen its scope of activity and bring their expertise to a European level. In the European Year of Intergenerational Solidarity, in partnership with the European Parents' Association (and its Hungarian member organisation ESZME) a new programme is being launched using the experiences, personal accounts of the past 80 years of grandparents and parents, giving expert support to processing them and helping young people understand the diversity of memories of the same events. The main goal of the project is to create a common understanding of these different points of view. This initiative is in line with the programme "Reflecting Remembrance – Teaching History for a Common Culture of Remembrance" of EUROCLIO. Also it fits perfectly into the agenda of the EU 2012, being the year of intergenerational solidarity and 2013 the Year of Citizens.

■ The programme, the foundation and EPA would like to join forces with EUROCLIO and its respective national member organisations to build a database and to offer techniques and methods for teachers and parents in order to help children understand the history of the past decades for openness and help to establish understanding towards a diverse and peaceful Europe. We think it is an important project because in most countries in the area intolerance and radical views are strong. By the success of this programme we can reach a point when the common history textbook of the region can be written – as it was done in Western Europe – although the reminiscences of the past decades seem to be an unbreakable barrier.

■ In order to help this we would like to involve experts from countries from outside of the region to have an unbiased professional viewpoint.

■ Participating children make a video/audio recording or a written account (not preferable) of memories by grandparents on their personal history. During the first pilot the topic was a typical Sunday when the grandparent was the present age of the grandchild. The recordings are of 2-3 minutes and they deal with a certain impression or theme in small, compact units. The group listens to all recordings together in class or as extracurricular activity and they share their thoughts on each other's production. Thus children get an overview of the history of their family and friends, the emotional ties among generations is strengthened and the information flow between generations becomes better. This way of acquiring and processing information happens as a common experience where there are no taboos or periods not talked about.

■ The target groups of the project are children, parents, grandparents, teachers and other NGOs. The project's main focus is not on schools, but the outcome can be used in teaching as supplementary material.

■ In order to achieve our goals, the adults involved are trained at a multiplier training to teach children the 'tools of the trade', like the right way of asking questions. Some technical support is provided to record personal history – students can apply for the use of technical equipment, and methodology support is provided to help the written/audio/video recording of personal history items in the form of downloadable material and webinars. There is going to be a multilingual website set up and operated that serves as a training tool as well as a means for the recording of children to be broadcasted. Also a Facebook page is set up to be a communication channel on the work of children and memories of grandparents involved.

■ The themes and structure of the Project are set up so as to make it possible for any European country to join (eg. providing the possibility of making multiple subtitles for interviews). Multiple viewpoints could be presented at the same time vertically (eg. 1949-55) or horizontally (eg. September 1961) as well as certain historical events (eg. first landing on the Moon) or everyday life events (eg. wedding receptions).

■ Initially the project does not tackle sensitive points in history but plans to bring them forward at a later point in order to avoid generating too much conflict at the start. Meanwhile we advertise the fact that learning tolerance is impossible without addressing conflicting different views in a civilised way.

■ The actual final outcome of the project is a very modern, 21st century teaching tool, supplementary material to be used in schools. It is attractive for children because they can gather experience using modern technology (especially multimedia) with an active presence in social media while involving family, neighbours and a wide range of stakeholders on a local level.

■ The participating NGOs, schools and European citizens join forces to build a personal history database, provide teaching methods on teaching history using personal accounts and – as a final goal – help establishing understanding towards a diverse and peaceful Europe. It can also help the writing of a common history textbook of the region (still missing - there is only a common history textbook for old member states of the EU).

EPA – THE EUROPEAN PARENTS' ASSOCIATION

■ The umbrella association has more than 50 members from Iceland to Cyprus, Norway to Malta and represents about 150 million parents and European citizens. EPA offers organised representation for parents at European institutions and bodies. We link together national parental associations as well as other NGOs in fields connected to parenting. We foster co-operation and the sharing of best practices. ■■■

A CONJOINTLY NARRATED EUROPEAN HISTORY

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The great diversity of cultures and identities in Europe implies many challenges for the future – one of the most important of which is the task of creating a united future without stifling different memory cultures and marginalising areas of society by excluding them as ‘the others’.

■ In my contribution I focus on one of the main objectives of the project *Shared Histories for a Europe without Dividing Lines*: suggesting how to increase awareness of different interpretations of European history within a global context.

■ My supposition is that attempting to agree on narrating a common European history in a written book – struggling to reach an agreement between representatives of the old member states – disregards the fact that because of migration, most of the nations in Europe are already globalised. This requires narrating an innovative European history to include most inhabitants of today’s Europe.

- ▶ Firstly, I will therefore concentrate on the subject of European identity and attempts to strengthen it by publicising a written History of Europe.
- ▶ Secondly, a small exemplary study shows how the concept of some of the social ‘others’ in one of the core member states is still built up. Relating to the item *Gastarbeiter*, visual images of the past are still repeated in some of today’s German textbooks.
- ▶ Finally, I would like to draw attention to a research project called EurViews of the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research. Its collection of critically commented sources may also be deployed for creating additional teaching materials that allows concepts and interpretations of Europe and Europeanness conveyed in textbooks worldwide during the 20th and 21st centuries to be put side by side. ▶▶▶

CREATING EUROPEAN IDENTITY WITH A CONJOINTLY NARRATED HISTORY

Propagating European identity has been a task for European international organisations like the Council of Europe for many decades. As of 1973, nine member states of the European Communities had already tried to define the European identity in their *Declaration on European Identity* (Copenhagen, 14 December 1973). Their aim was nothing less than to ensure the “survival of the civilisation which they have in common.”¹

They declared the following from the beginning:

“The Nine wish to ensure that the cherished values of their legal, political and moral order are respected, and to preserve the rich variety of their national cultures. Sharing as they do the same attitudes to life, based on a determination to build a society which measures up to the needs of the individual, they are determined to defend the principles of representative democracy, of the rule of law, of social justice — which is the ultimate goal of economic progress — and of respect for human rights. All of these are fundamental elements of the European identity.”

In fact since 1973, the construct of Europe – and also the construct of its identity – has altered a lot, especially because of the eastward enlargement of the EU. From a present-day perspective paragraph 22 of the mentioned *Declaration* from 1973 sounds like a prophecy:

“The European identity will evolve as a function of the dynamic construction of a United Europe.”

Also the *Europäisches Geschichtsbuch/Histoire de l’Europe*, which was first published in 1992 in France and Germany, intended to narrate the history of a United Europe for pupils, their parents and teachers. To do so, in 1988 Frédéric Delouche had gathered a team of 12 historians of different European countries to write the 12 chapters of a history book. Its content was translated and published in several European languages in the following years. The aim of this privately initiated ambitious project is formulated in the foreword: “To distill from the past what is meaningful for the concept of *Europe* to give pupils, their parents and teachers an orientation.”²

¹ Document on The European identity published by the Nine Foreign Ministers on 14 December 1973. In Copenhagen [http://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/1999/1/1/02798dc9-9c69-4b7d-b2c9-f03a8db7da32/publishable_en.pdf; 28/11/2012].

² Frédéric Delouche: Préface, in: *Histoire de l’Europe*, Paris, 1992, pp. IV, V.



The European textbook by Frederic Delouche.

In fact, this book was not used in school education very often because it did not fit curricular and didactical requirements.³ Its illustrations conjure the traditional imagery of Europe. In addition, the texts trace the difficulty in finding a version accepted by all historians of different nations. Sometimes the negotiation processes have led to the acceptance of the lowest common denominator.⁴ This kind of leveling out the differences does not make clear the perception of European diversity. In contrast, by concealing the differences, neither are multiple perspectives imparted nor is the handling and understanding of contrasting concepts taught to pupils.⁵ ▶▶▶

³ Dieter Offenauer: Wer kennt Daniel O’Connor? Das Europäische Geschichtsbuch: ein Beispiel zur Entnationalisierung von Bildungsinhalten, in: UNESCO heute, 41/ 1994, pp. 294-297; Ben Smulders: Das Europäische Geschichtsbuch – Ansätze für ein identitätsstiftendes europäisches Geschichtsbild? In: Die europäische Dimension in Lehr- und Lernmitteln, Bonn 1995, pp. 147-158; Adrian Augustini: Das europäische Geschichtsbuch: visionär oder überflüssig? [http://www.uni-giessen.de/cms/kultur/universum/geschichte/phaenomen-europa/geschichtsbuecher-1; 05/12/2012].

Jooke van der Leeuw-Roord: A common textbook for Europe? Utopia or a crucial challenge? In: Jan-Patrick Bauer, Johannes Meyer-Hamme and Andreas Körber (Ed.): Geschichtslernen – Innovationen und Reflexionen. Geschichtsdidaktik im Spannungsfeld von theoretischen Zuspitzungen, empirischen Erkundungen, normativen Überlegungen und pragmatischen Wendungen. Festschrift für Bodo von Borries zum 65. Geburtstag, Herbolzheim 2008, S. 43–60.

⁴ *Europäisches Geschichtsbuch*, 1992, Der Erste Weltkrieg, p. 324: Über die Schuld am Ausbruch des Krieges wird immer noch diskutiert [...]. Dennoch bleibt die Frage nach dem Schuldanteil jedes beteiligten Landes offen.”

⁵ Even in 2007 Annette Schavan formulated the wish that all pupils of the EU shall have a common history textbook [http://www.epochtimes.de/schavan-wuenscht-sich-gemeinsames-europaeisches-geschichtsbuch-90189.html; 05/12/2012].

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EUROPEANNESS IN GLOBALISED NATIONAL CULTURES AND THE POWER OF TEXTBOOKS PRESENTATIONS

In fact, the diversity of today's cultures in the European Communities has increased. On the one hand, different and even contrary cultural memories of shared history exist among the various European member states. On the other hand, even in Europe's nation states homogeneity of collective memory is fiction. Cultural diversity does exist and is even fed by the increasing effects of globalisation and migration.

Caused by mobility within the EU, as well as by immigration from outside, Europe is a cultural melting pot. Art history – as a science of social-political relevance – has to pull its weight in order to create a climate of conscious respect and togetherness. Firstly, it must preserve the rich culture of Europe by giving all of its inhabitants the chance to acquire its history and cultural heritage; and secondly, it must take part in shaping tomorrow's culture without being marginalised. This is not only a question of participation, but also of National Gallery of Matica Srpska, Novi Sad and of respect for human rights as Barbara Welzel has brought out.¹

¹ Barbara Welzel: Kunstgeschichte und kulturelles Gedächtnis: Zur Integration historischer Kunstwerke in Bildungsprozesse. In: Klaus-Peter Busse and Karl-Josef Pazzini (Ed.): (Un)Vorhersehbares Lernen: Kunst - Kultur - Bild, Norderstedt 2008, pp. 161-169 [= Dortmunder Schriften zur Kunst. Studien zur Kunstdidaktik, 6]. Barbara Welzel: Verantwortung für das kulturelle Erbe. In: Kunst + Unterricht, 333/ 2009, p. 42.

To consider how pupils are taught to see immigrants in one of the European core countries, it is useful to have a look at how immigrants, especially *Gastarbeiter*, are represented in German textbooks for history and politics. In 2005, Dirk Lange pointed out that immigrants have become a distinctive token of modern societies, whereas most of the German textbooks that were analysed accentuate differences between immigrants and Germans. They do not pay attention to many immigrants feeling that they have assimilated or having German citizenship. The process of acculturation is not presented in an adequate manner. Positive effects of immigration are not really made a subject of discussion.² These findings were confirmed by the study of Tammo Grabbert in 2010: immigrants are still shown as the 'others'.³

In fact, up to today things have not really changed. Samples taken from textbooks of history and politics for the German tenth grade pupils demonstrate that building up a dichotomy between Germans and immigrants (as not Germans) can still to be found. Relating to the German *Wirtschaftswunder* (economic miracle), the relevant role of the *Gastarbeiter* is not mentioned. Instead it is pointed out that the integration of these immigrants and their children has not been successful. Pictures that are meant to illustrate the texts show immigrants of lower occupational groups working doing road construction or selling fruits. Relating to the *Kopftuchdebatte* (headscarf discussion) in Germany, women in Dubai are presented as wearing a burka. For sure, all of that does exist - but emphasising only this stereotype can lead to cement prejudices in carrying further images of the past. Biased pictorial presentations tend to amalgamate the identity of Germans with an immigrant background with that of apparently less civilised people. Anyway, they still remain the 'others' even though they already have been a part of the German population for a long time. ▶▶▶

² Dirk Lange: „Migration“ im Politikbuch – Acht Thesen zur Kritik und Innovation. In: Journal für Politische Bildung, 4/ 2005, pp. 30-36.

³ Tammo Grabbert: Migration im niedersächsischen Schulbuch, in: Polis, 3/ 2010, pp. 14-17.

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IN A NUTSHELL: ONE HISTORY OF EUROPE OR SEVERAL NARRATIONS OF EUROPEAN HISTORY?

While we are still debating about creating a European identity among the nation states that form the European Community, globalisation has already taken its toll on the societies of the member states. European diversity is not only fed by the continuing growth in the number of member states and their regions, but also by migration processes pervading the societies and leading to multiple entangled identities.

■ The concept of Europe changes consistently and the idea of European identity is modulated in an ongoing discourse. Therefore, it cannot easily be stimulated by a *Book of European History*, which already risks being outdated on its publishing date. For instance, the national history of the newer European member states could not be integrated in the already existing chapters. Their contribution to European history only starts with their membership in the EU.

■ Textbooks communicate national or socially desired concepts of identity. They are always politically relevant. They can portray conflicts and can even trigger such disputes but at the same time they can also be used as instruments of understanding. Generations of pupils are influenced by textbooks’ narrations. History textbooks – even though they inform about the past – can provide the seeds for the perception of the present and the shaping of the future. Therefore, the construction of the self and others especially in the combination of authored texts and illustrations has to be observed carefully for not putting at risk the aim of living together in dignity in culturally diverse societies.

■ Understanding the ideas of others assumes at first knowing them. That also means to get to know about what pupils are taught at school relating to concepts of the self and the others. To make more transparent these different concepts, that sometimes have developed over decades, the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research began work on a new internet project in 2008. The multilingual edition *EurViews* aims to collect concepts of Europe and Europeanism that are transported via history and geography textbooks all over the world from the 20th century until today. An international team of authors is compiling a comprehensive edition of texts, maps and illustrations that will be accessible in the original language and in German and English translation. All of these historical and contemporary sources are contextualised. Thus the edition allows diachronic and synchronic comparative analyses and provides a unique stock of source material. Chosen sources could also be didactically edited for the use at school. This additional teaching material can demonstrate the permanence, correlation and altering of concepts of the self and the other relating to Europe. It can, therefore, also sensitise material for social intercourse with supposed outsiders that actually belong to the society and will form a growing part of the community in future. ■■■

VISUAL NARRATIVES OF THE TRANSATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE: HUMAN RIGHTS SEEN ‘THROUGH A LENS DARKLY’ IN ENGLISH HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

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For now we see through a glass, darkly...
King James Bible, 1 Corinthians 13:12

Textbooks remain a key pedagogical tool in classrooms across Europe, and represent the principal means of instruction after teachers themselves. Their importance in influencing children and young people’s understanding cannot therefore be underestimated, and how they present significant topics is worthy of study, although textbook research is a much underdeveloped field in Britain, leaving teachers with a largely unproblematised tool, and a perhaps restricted reflectivity about the genre, effectively seeing textbooks through a glass darkly. Shining some light on textbooks and how they present key subject content and the pedagogic structures they imply is therefore helpful in better understanding what young people might learn from their textbook encounters, both intended and unintentional.

■ Marsden (2001:121) concludes that British textbooks take a seemingly value neutral position on the past, presenting information in an “academic, detached and emotionless,” narrative form that Hawkey & Morgan (2005:60) describe as the ‘English textbook style.’ They contrast this to French textbooks in which they claim content is often accompanied by a value based commentary, giving a judgement about events of the past and therefore giving a strong steer to learners about what position they should take in relation to the past. English textbooks also avoid using an explicitly civics lens, covering content as narrative rather than positioning historical events as ‘lessons’ about human rights over time. While some topics with a strong human rights connection are taught the focus is on “teaching, not preaching” (Salmons, 2003). ▶▶▶

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A CONJOINTLY NARRATED EUROPEAN HISTORY

▶ VISUAL NARRATIVES OF THE TRANSATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE

■ England is unusual in Europe in that there is no state control of textbooks, and an increasingly liberal National Curriculum for History, despite political rhetoric about standards, to which relatively few state secondary schools are subject, and which private (fee paying) schools have never been compelled to follow. History as a curriculum subject is more highly valued by politicians than many pupils, with only 35% of English pupils studying it to examination level at age 16. To contextualise this however history has maintained its position in terms of uptake despite an increasing range of subjects on offer in schools. Ofsted, the national inspection service, demonstrates that history is generally the best taught secondary subject within the 11-18 age range, and is remarkably consistent in achieving good results (Ofsted 2010). The free market in school textbooks has seen a small group of dominant commercial textbook publishers. Individual school history departments choose which books to buy, how to use them, and what topics to emphasise, skim over or neglect. Most departments therefore have a choice of three or four different textbooks available for any year group to use. English textbooks are printed in full colour, with at least one image of an artefact, a photograph or artwork, and often two or three per page and are therefore image rich. Textbooks tend to cover topics in double-page spreads which works well because there are very few topics to be covered. This brief presentation of the topics shapes learners' encounters with the past, and impacts on their understanding of themselves and others; Barthes (1964) has classified these brief encounters as signifiers. Since the content is delivered from an Anglo-centric position encounters with ethnic others are skewed, and people of colour are anchored to specific narratives, predominantly shown only in relation to a small number of topics in English history textbooks.

■ Smart (2005) demonstrates that the seventy textbooks for core National Curriculum History units for 11-14 year olds in England available at the time contain 5698 images containing Caucasians, and 437 pictures of people of colour. This may not be a cause for concern: a western European history showing 'white' western Europeans through a thousand years of history. However, although Britain has been a multiethnic society for thousands of years (Fryer (1982); Ramdin, (1999); Levy & Smart (2000)), people of colour appear in relation to specific anchors only.

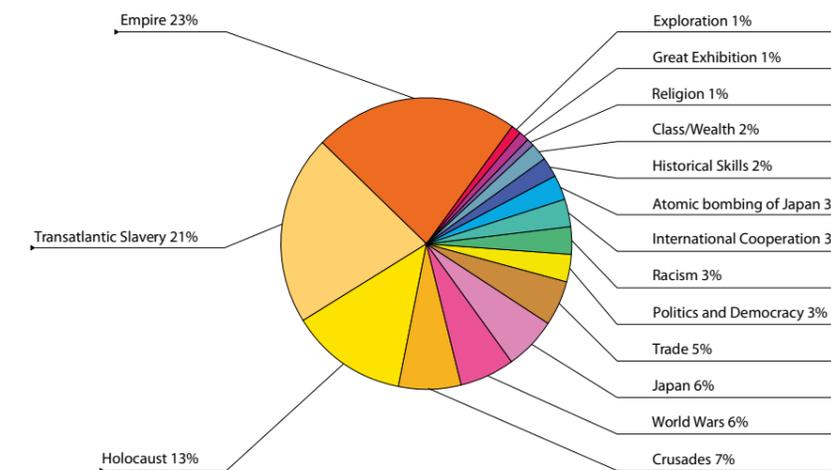


Figure 1. Topics in which people of colour appear in History textbooks for 11-14 year olds in England (Percentages are based on the 437 images in which people of colour are depicted).

■ Young people therefore encounter people of colour only in relation to specific circumstances and may come to associate minorities only in association with particular dimensions of history, and often with negative connotations and circumstances. African-Caribbean people, for example, are mainly shown in relation to the historic transatlantic slave trade, a topic which is the focus for 21% of the 437 images where people of colour are shown, and in which they were principally represented in images with negative and oppressive connotations. The historic slave trade is therefore the principle marker in providing a sense of the African Caribbean experience of history, as well as being a key case study of the denial of human rights. Very few images show Africans outside of slavery narratives, leaving pupils with a very restricted understanding of African civilisations, which suggests pupils are left to rely on their own or their teachers' stereo-typical views of Africa or misconceptions in the average of five lessons spent on studying the slave trade. Indeed research shows young people have a poor grasp of a topic even *after* being taught it, having an image of domestic servitude not field slavery. Textbook coverage varies from one paragraph (Creswell and Lawrence (1993)) to 16 pages, does not represent current historiography, and may lack sensitivity to some issues of representation or positionality.

■ Restricted textbook narratives also have an impact on the teacher. In national research on teaching about the transatlantic slave trade teachers reported a lack of confidence in teaching elements of the topic (Fisher (2003), Amidu (2004), and Smart (2005)), fearing they would not have the subject knowledge or pedagogic skills required, that there might be strong views about the subject from pupils' homes, and that there might be parental reactions. ▶▶▶

SEMINAR PAPERS

HUMAN RIGHTS AS REFLECTED
IN THE HISTORY OF ARTINDIVIDUAL LIFE SPACE
AND FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION
HUMAN RIGHTS IN PRACTICE
NICOSIA: MEMORY, DIGNITY, DIVERSITYTHE ROLE OF THE ICONOGRAPHIC AND HISTORICAL
PATTERNS IN THE ARTISTIC EUROPEAN PRODUCTION
IMAGES AS HISTORICAL EVIDENCE
"CLASH ON THE LEFT" (1928-1952)
"IMAGINING THE BALKANS"INDIVIDUAL AUTONOMY AND FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION
'MY GRANNY'S LIFE IS PART OF EUROPEAN HISTORY'
A CONJOINTLY NARRATED EUROPEAN HISTORY

▶ VISUAL NARRATIVES OF THE TRANSATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE

Little coverage is given in the textbooks to the complexity of transatlantic slavery. It is a British led trade with a homogenised victim group: the diversity of people taken, their differing tribal and community origins, who was 'favoured' in capture - the young, healthy and especially the male members of African societies - is not much covered. However, there is often a focus on the brutality of capture, for example artwork showing neck braces used to subdue and restrict men and to prevent potential resistance, which is itself mentioned very little. Extensive use is made of 19th century abolitionist propaganda about the slave trade in telling a visual story of brutality in textbooks for 11-13 year olds, usually without acknowledging provenance. For example an image from Robson (1992) which shows a half-naked 'black' woman being branded by what appears to be a sailor, while another man looks on. This image presents brutality, exposure, and voyeurism/passive observation and implied approval by the bystander/accomplice. The costume for both men is from a period historically later than that of the period covered by the study unit, for which the book was created, suggesting that this is an image from after 1750, used because this was a convenient/available image to illustrate the author's point. One must question this dominant narrative of victimhood and suffering, brutalisation, but we would be wary of using similar images in relation to, for example, the Holocaust. Why then is it acceptable to show them in relation to this topic. Is it because the events were longer ago? Or is there some deeper, more concerning explanation?

It is possible that the narrative may be changing; some textbooks are beginning to carry the notion of resistance in text or image. Overwhelmingly however the mass campaign in Britain against the slave trade by white citizens is given credit, with 19th century engravings of the slave ship *The Brooks* detailing how many human beings were confined as cargo. This image is the most frequently used image of people of colour found in the 70 textbooks (Smart 2005). Most images that appear in textbook narratives of the Transatlantic Slave Trade were produced by creators of European origin rather than from the enslaved people's own positioning, and often relentlessly present visual horror stories with Africans out of control of their own destiny. In this 'white' European abolitionists have traditionally been shown as the heroes of the abolition movement, and patronising and disempowering images of persons of African origin are shown. Despite this abolition is a historically significant narrative; the abolitionist campaign was the first mass citizen lobby campaign and had success only after decades of effort, involving people at all levels of society and a popular movement to act in the political arena nationally and internationally.

The issue of pride in Britain's role after deciding to abolish the trade is an interesting one, with textbooks recounting how Britain abolishes slavery in 1833, and intervene in other nations' engagement with the Transatlantic Slave Trade, stopping ships and freeing enslaved people. Even so longer term legacy is not well covered by textbooks, or in lesson time, with white teachers failing to engage with the long term impact of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and therefore not looking at aspects of the roots of racism in Europe throughout the 19th and 20th centuries.

Why then is it like this? Not, I think conspiracy or error, but a lack of awareness of recent historiography in terms of black agency in abolition, a lack of thought about the impact of images alongside a habit of poor attribution and listing of provenance. As technology has allowed more images it has not necessarily been accompanied by greater selectivity, care with attribution or consideration of pedagogic use. Subconscious messages and potential bias have not been adequately problematised and therefore accidental and patronising narratives have built up. However, school textbooks must represent more than an accidental litany of disasters, persecutions and powerless, childlike natives if we are to adequately develop a sense of both history and human rights in young people and build a balanced narrative about the past which goes beyond seeing through a glass darkly. ■■■

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EUROPE AND THE WORLD

” The European area has never been closed. It has influenced the rest of the world as much as it itself has been deeply marked by outside influences.

EUROPEAN HISTORICAL IDENTITIES AND THE WORLD

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Despite Europe's long history of entanglements with the rest of the world, its educated circles are still largely mono-cultural by training. While many European intellectuals identify themselves with the values of cosmopolitanism, they typically do not have much knowledge about the non-Western world. This rather problematic pattern is also clearly visible at the level of historical knowledge and history education. In most European education systems, history curricula hardly ever transgress the boundaries of what is commonly referred to as 'the West.' Also the areas covered by academic history departments are usually permeated by a similar logic: in most cases they are more or less entirely concerned with European history.

■ **As** a consequence of these introverted academic cultures, entire cohorts of students are graduating from high schools and universities without even some basic knowledge about other parts of the world. Even among history majors, only a small minority of students has been exposed to the past of world regions such as East Asia, South Asia, the Middle East, Sub-Saharan Africa or Latin America. In practice, this means that European graduates usually lack such important skills such as comparative perspectives and self-relativisation, which knowledge about different parts of the world usually fosters. ▶▶▶

¹ For a fuller discussion of Europe and the World see Seminar paper: Dominic Sachsenmaier, Europe and the World.

TRADITIONS OF EUROPEAN WORLD HISTORY

■ During a period of Western dominance such cultural self-centrism may have been justifiable, albeit with rather cynical arguments. Even a generation ago, European scholars and educators could still refer to the development gaps between the West and much of the rest in order to justify their idea that it was not necessary to know much about the rest of the world, except perhaps for the United States. Yet during a period characterised by the rise of the BRIC economies¹ and in a world in which China is poised to become the largest economy of the planet, the current canon of historical education seems hopelessly outdated. In addition to global economic and political transformations, we can expect also some significant changes in the international academic landscapes. Countries such as China are investing heavily in their education systems, and some Chinese universities can now look back at spectacular climbs within the global academic ranking systems. In India, China, Japan and many additional parts of the world, students cannot even graduate from high school without having learned about the Western past along with the history of their own regions.

■ Since European professors, politicians and managers typically lack knowledge and linguistic skills about different parts of the world, the bridge-builders in joint endeavours are mainly from the non-Western side. For example, in most Sino-European joint ventures, the pool of bilingual managers acquainted with both parts of the world is almost exclusively staffed by Chinese individuals. By contrast, the European expatriate business community in cities ranging from Jakarta to Beijing and from Seoul to Singapore only rarely has a good command of local languages.

■ The wide-spread intercultural ignorance of European leaders becomes highly problematic at a time when many non-Western economies are investing heavily in research and development and when in several East Asian countries, universities and research institutes are turning into important centres of innovation.

¹ In economics, BRIC is a grouping acronym that refers to the countries of Brazil, Russia, India and China which are all deemed to be at a similar stage of newly advanced economic development.

■ Today's widespread lack of interest in other parts of the world should not hasten us to conclude that world historical scholarship has no tradition in Europe. Europe has a long history of close entanglements with the rest of the world. Already Herodotus of Halicarnassus (d. ca. 425 BCE), often labelled the 'Father of History,' can be seen as an important early representative of world historical scholarship, his work covered other geographical areas, ranging from the Western and Southern shores of the Mediterranean to parts of Central Asia and India. There would be many additional examples for ancient scholars who were engaged in intellectual endeavours, which today we would classify as comparative or trans-cultural histories. During the Middle Ages, the genre of universal history flourished in Europe. Here available information about other cultures was often included but placed strictly into the logics of biblical timelines. Prior to the 16th century, direct reports from other parts of the world played only a very subordinate role.

■ Starting from the 16th century at the latest, this situation changed, and so did the global and local contexts of European historiography. European powers became heavily invested in different world regions ranging from the American West coast to East Asia. At the same time, missionaries and travellers sent back rather detailed accounts of religions, languages, city life, economic patterns and political systems in distant lands. During this time period, the first historical overviews of single world regions outside of Europe were being published. The European book market of the time responded quite favourably to accounts of distant civilisations and quite a few works on China - its history, culture and society - were being translated into a rather large number of European languages.

■ The new information about distant civilisations came to challenge some important aspects of universal historical traditions in Europe. Biblical chronologies were confronted with source materials from far-off lands which now became available. Chinese historical records, which were deemed to be reliable, apparently went further back in time than the date of the deluge which universal historians had computed based on a collection of information in the bible. However, the resulting historical and theological debates, which were led with some fervour during the 17th and 18th centuries, did not destroy the tradition of Christian universal histories. A commonly chosen way out was to recalculate biblical events in order to ensure that the new dates for supposedly worldwide events such as the deluge would now be compatible with historical records from other parts of the world. ▶▶▶

Nevertheless, debates of this kind fed into secularising tendencies. The 18th century witnessed the publication of world or universal histories which were no longer based on religious assumptions but rather on compilations and critical studies of historical records from other parts of the world. In addition to the production of historical works dealing with distant world regions, the global awareness and intercultural interest in 18th century Europe's general intellectual life are truly remarkable. During that time, Europe's leading public thinkers were still comparing their own continent with some outside cultures, and they did so by placing both sides on equal footing. In fact, many of Europe's finest and most prominent Enlightenment protagonists like Voltaire (d. 1778) or Christian Wolff (d. 1754) referred to other civilisational achievements when critically discussing conditions in Europe. For example, Voltaire famously praised China's flourishing state and society which, he argued, operated without an institutionalised church and hence in his eyes could serve as a model for the European future. Obviously, the upper crust of Europe's intellectual life was at least in principle still open to the idea that partial learning from other civilisations' achievement was both possible and even desirable for their own societies. The global contexts of the mid-18th century certainly contributed to this overall trend: at that time China was still the largest economy of the planet, and standards of living there did not differ significantly from Europe.

About a hundred years later, during the middle of the 19th century, the situation had greatly changed. In a complex process, in which the industrial revolution played an important role, the European economic might pulled far ahead of other world regions such as China and India. Consequently, large chunks of the global landmass were either subjugated under direct imperialist rule or experienced other forms of Western dominance. As a general trend, cultural self-confidence had reached a degree in which the continent's intellectual and political circles deemed it utterly unnecessary to seriously study other parts of the world.

Whereas many Enlightenment thinkers and historians had at least professed the ideals of civilisational learning, the most influential world historical works of the 19th century were written from the attitude of a superordinate civilisation. In this context, one may think of the philosophy of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (d. 1831) who openly denied that most other parts of the world had true history in the sense of a progressive development toward freedom and self-realisation. Also many other opinion camps within Europe's intellectual scenes developed rather disdainful attitudes about the rest of the world.

LASTING IMPLICATIONS

The idea of European civilisational supremacy is no longer acceptable for the vast majority of today's historians in Europe. What over the past 150 years has remained remarkably stable, however, are the geographical horizons of history education: just like in the 19th century the rest of the world is still being largely ignored in our current cultures of historiography. One can find evidence for this remarkable continuity not only in the rather Eurocentric focus of history curricula but also in the regional expertise represented in most history departments.

By treating history primarily as European history, our current academic and educational system is implicitly perpetuating some important world views of the 19th century rather than the ones of the preceding Enlightenment period. This is hardly surprising since the structures of history departments were mainly being created during the 19th century, when the widespread Eurocentrism and openly articulated disinterest in other parts of the world was translated into institutional structures. Non-European history became extremely marginalised as European triumphalism made it seem utterly unimportant to seriously study cultures in other parts of the world.

Continuing the mono-cultural outlook of historiography starts to look worryingly out of time since we no longer live in a Europe-centred or even in a Western-centric world. Quite to the contrary, our age is characterised by rather profound shifts of geo-economic and geo-political influence away from the North Atlantic World, with societies such as China, India and Brazil emerging as significant global forces. In the future, countries of this kind not only need to be reckoned with but also need to be better understood in terms of their own histories and cultural heritage. Otherwise Europe's intellectual, academic, political and economic circles will not have an adequate mind-set to interact responsibly and successfully in an age of transition such as the one that we are currently experiencing. ■■■

ENCOUNTERS BETWEEN EUROPE AND THE WORLD

” Much of what has become an integral part of European life, like coffee, tea, cocoa (in Europe all often taken with sugar), tobacco, potatoes, tomatoes, maize or paprika, that reached Hungary from the New World via Turkey, originally is not European. Many things associated with non-European countries e.g. pampas with their gauchos and cattle in case of Argentina or wine in that of Chile actually are European.

ENCOUNTERS BETWEEN EUROPE AND THE WORLD

Professor Peer Vries, Vienna University, Austria¹

The story of European overseas expansion tends to focus on the period from Columbus onwards, but actually he fitted into a tradition of exploration that includes Italian Republics like Venice, Genoa and Pisa, the Vikings and the exploits of Henry the Navigator.

These tentative explorations marked a watershed in European history: up until the beginning of the second millennium Europe was invaded rather than acting as invader. As late as the 13th and 14th centuries, Mongol raids penetrated Europe as far as Kiev, Poland, Hungary and Croatia. Their Golden Horde Khanate included large parts of Southern Russia. Its last remnants would only disappear in the 18th century. The Reconquista of the Iberian Peninsula came only to an end in 1492, the very year that Columbus discovered America. At that time, the Ottomans were already advancing in South-Eastern Europe having reached Constantinople in 1453. The Mediterranean that so long had been Europe's heart became somewhat peripheral.

| Europe in the world: surface. The total land surface of the earth is about 150 million km ² . | |
|--|-----------------------|
| Europe without Russia | 5m km ² |
| With European Russia | 10.5m km ² |
| Asia with Asian Russia | 44 m km ² |
| Africa | 30m km ² |
| North- and Central America | 24m km ² |
| South America | 18m km ² |
| Australia and Oceania | 8m km ² |
| Antarctica | 14m km ² |

| Europe in the world: population. Europe's population (without Russia) as a percentage of world population | | | |
|--|-----------------|------------------|---------------|
| YEAR | WORLD (MIL.) | EUROPE (MIL.) | EUROPE (%) |
| 1000 | 267 | 31 | 12 |
| 1500 | 438 | 71 | 16 |
| 1820 | 1, 042 | 170 | 16 |
| 1913 | 1, 791 | 341 | 19 |
| 2003 | 6, 279 | 561 | 8 |

Based on: Angus Maddison. *Contours of the world economy, 1-2030 AD. Essays in macro-economic history* (Oxford 2007:376,378). The figures are rounded.



¹ For a more detailed argument see Seminar paper: Peer Vries, Encounters with the world.

■ Focusing on Europe's encounters with the world with an open mind, differences rather than commonalities strike the eye. The main distinction here would be that between maritime countries building intercontinental trade networks, and empires and continental countries whose encounters with other countries were confined to adjacent territories, often successfully incorporated in their empires. This contrast became very evident in the early modern era when, with the Age of Discoveries, maritime overseas exploration, exchange and colonisation took on new dimensions.

■ In the 19th century, Europe's encounters with the outside world entered a new phase. The British assembled the biggest empire in history. At its height in 1922 it encompassed over 20% of global land mass and, in 1938, almost 20% of global population. Europeans widely expanded their territories in Asia and intensified their interference in that continent, for instance in China and Japan. The British turned India into the core of their empire and the Dutch did the same with the Netherlands Indies. The French conquered Indochina. The notorious 'scramble for Africa' began. Newly founded states like Germany, Italy and Belgium also wanted their fair share of the global pie, but were relatively unsuccessful. Nevertheless, it was only in the 1930s that the extension of Europe's overseas possessions reached its maximum size.

■ What happened overseas permanently impinged on policies and politics in Europe, including those countries that had no overseas realms. Europe was home to many land empires: the Holy Roman Empire, (the longest that existed but in name only); the Spanish; the Austrian (Hapsburg); the German (from 1871 to 1918); the Ottoman Empire; and the most successful when it comes to intercontinental expansion was Russia as it added enormous landmasses in Asia to its realm.

| Western European Empires: approximate square mile distribution by geographical area c. 1775 (in percentage of square miles) | | | | | | |
|---|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| EMPIRES AREAS | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | DUTCH | BRITISH | FRENCH | DANISH |
| Europe | 3.9 | 0.9 | 2.5 | 11.3 | 81.8 | 99.1 |
| Atlantic Isles | 0.1 | 0.1 | - | 3.9 | - | - |
| Coastal Africa | 0.0 | 9.1 | 38.0 | 2.7 | 0.7 | - |
| Americas | 93.7 | 89.6 | 22.5 | 59.3 | 17.4 | 0.9 |
| SE Asia | 2.4 | 0.2 | 37.0 | 22.8 | - | - |
| Total | 4, 937, 994 | 3, 66, 777 | 651, 533 | 788, 846 | 259, 627 | 15, 580 |

| Colonies of Western Europe, the United States and Japan | | |
|---|--|--|
| Date | Land area colonised as percentage of world total | Population colonised as percentage world total |
| 1760 | 18 | 3 |
| 1760 | 18 | 3 |
| 1830 | 6 | 18 |
| 1880 | 18 | 22 |
| 1913 | 39 | 31 |
| 1938 | 42 | 32 |

■ Europe's empires overseas, at least in the formal sense of the word, have all disappeared. The main period of decolonisation was the decades from 1945 to 1975.

■ When analysing intercontinental migrations, we find a pattern that is fairly similar to that of territorial expansion. Up until the beginning of the second millennium, more people entered Europe than left it. Then increasingly Europeans went on the move to other continents, with a clear peak in the 19th century. The period between the two world wars marked a sharp slowdown in intercontinental migration. After the Second World War, the inflow of people from outside Europe but also from Europe's peripheries, into the core of the European economy slowly but inexorably increased. The European Union had about half a billion inhabitants in 2010. 47 million of them were foreign born, 16 million in an EU country and 31 million somewhere else. Amongst non-European migrants those from former colonies tended to be over-represented.

■ However, if we analyse migration flows since the Middle Ages, the biggest intercontinental movement of people in the context of Europe's encounters with the world was the transatlantic slave trade that was organised by Europeans.

| Total migration and migration rates for Europe including Russia, 1500-1900 | | | |
|--|-----------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------|
| | Total population (millions) | Total migration (millions) | Migration rate (%) |
| 1501-1550 | 76 | 8.7 | 11.4 |
| 1551-1600 | 89 | 11.1 | 12.5 |
| 1601-1650 | 95 | 13.5 | 14.2 |
| 1651-1700 | 101 | 15.8 | 15.7 |
| 1701-1750 | 116 | 30.6 | 17.7 |
| 1751-1800 | 151 | 23.5 | 15.6 |
| 1801-1850 | 212 | 44.5 | 21.0 |
| 1851-1900 | 334 | 118.8 | 35.3 |

■ World exchanges of flora, fauna, or diseases, started with Black Death and continued with the so-called Columbian Exchange: Europe received sweet potato, maize, tomatoes, paprika, tobacco and probably syphilis; Europe spread smallpox, measles and influenza, killing at least half of the population. Modern exchanges of fauna and flora began unplanned but became part of a systematised re-allocation that changed slowly the surface of the entire earth. ▶▶▶

■ Much of what has become an integral part of European life, like coffee, tea, cocoa (in Europe all often taken with sugar), tobacco, potatoes, tomatoes, maize or paprika, that reached Hungary from the New World via Turkey, originally is not European. Many things associated with non-European countries e.g. pampas with their gauchos and cattle in case of Argentina or wine in that of Chile actually are European.

■ With the European discovery of the Americas and the Cape Route, the importance of overland connections with the Far East slowly diminished, but not the fascination with the Orient. Asia meant spices, precious textiles and porcelain, later on also tea. Those products were paid for with bullion that had come to Europe from the Americas. A large part of that bullion went from Western Europe to the Baltic or the Levant and, directly or over those regions, to East Asia. Eastern traders were hardly interested in anything else from the West but bullion. In terms of income, trade with the Americas and Africa overall was much more important for Europe than trade with Asia. Notorious in this respect is the triangular trade that brought European and Asian products to Africa, took slaves from there to the Americas and then American products to Europe. The real historical importance of trade with Asia lay in the fact that it challenged European producers to find substitutes for several products they imported from there like silk and cotton textiles or porcelain. This import substitution played a major role in Europe's industrialisation. Again, as in the case of overseas empire building, one has to emphasise that only parts of Europe were directly involved.

■ Globalisation in the 19th century meant an extension and deeper integration of markets, a further converging of prices and the emergence of a world-wide division of labour in which the Western world acted as workshop and service centre for the world whereas most of the rest of the world primarily focused on producing and exporting foodstuffs, raw materials and semi-manufactured goods. Trade grew more than production. Still, the bulk of the trade of wealthy countries continued to be with each other and in any case with countries nearby.

■ The highest intensity of economic exchanges occurred in the decades preceding the First World War, a period that also witnessed increasing nationalism and culminated in an enormous massacre of Europeans by Europeans. That war marked the beginning of the end of European economic primacy as symbolised in the shift of the centre of global finance from London to New York. The Great Depression meant less globalisation in terms of intercontinental exchange of goods, people and money and more economic nationalism and protectionism. After 1945, notwithstanding the relative isolation of the communist countries, global trade exploded.

■ But even now distance is not dead: some two-thirds of the foreign trade of EU countries is still with other EU countries. Interestingly enough, at times, it looks as if Europe's strongest economies now are in Scandinavia, a region that began the second millennium as Europe's poor house whereas many Mediterranean regions that for so long where Europe's core seem to be more peripheral.

■ Concerning the encounter of major ideas, Christianity did not originate in Europe but spread from and via Europe all over the world, often in a context of empire and inequality; rationalism, in its all-encompassing thoroughness, is uniquely European, though Knowledge, not just knowing that but also knowing how, means power and as such it has very often been misused. This also applies to Europe's knowledge of the outside world. Considering the fact that Europe's impact on the rest of the world has been central to numerous rise-of-the-West stories, attention should be paid to the many contributions of non-European societies to Europe's rationalisation.

■ Europe's society to some extent from Roman rule onwards has been a society of law and lawyers. However, law in Europe over the entire second millennium certainly was more often used to shore up privilege than to defend equality but even so law tended to rule and not arbitrate.

■ When it comes to the economy, rationalisation for Max Weber (1864-1920) meant capitalism and capitalism often is identified with laissez-faire. According to several scholars that concept was known in China from where it would have been adopted in Europe in the 18th century. Another central concept in it is division of labour. The Chinese knew it in their production of porcelain in Jindezhen, where it was described by Father Francois-Xavier d'Entrecolles (1664-1741) in a way that may have directly inspired Adam Smith (1723-1790). His 'industrial spying' in any case contributed to the emergence of porcelain production in Europe. ■■■



TARGET GROUP
LOWER SECONDARY

KEY ISSUES

The Mediterranean as the core centre of trade with links far beyond its limits:

What does the cargo tell us about the period?

What might have been the trade route of the ship?

What might have been the importance of the site where the ship sank?

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The wreck of the ship was discovered by a sponge diver in 1982, near Uluburun ('The Great Cape') a few kilometres from Kaş near Bodrum in modern-day Turkey. The wreck was lying on a steep slope on the sandy sea floor between 45 and 52 metres below surface. The wreck was extensively researched by marine archaeologists during the next 11 years. This research enabled an almost complete reconstruction of the history of the ship, its valuable cargo and of its trade route. The ship was wrecked in about 1,320 BCE, during the Late Bronze Age, and is one of the oldest ships ever to be recovered from the sea. The ship and its cargo give a unique insight into the Eastern Mediterranean world in the days of the Hittite Empire, more than 3400 years ago.

TEACHING, LEARNING AND ASSESSMENT OPPORTUNITIES



Wooden model of the ship's reconstruction.



Site of the wreck 50 m (160 ft) off the eastern shore of Uluburun, and 6 mi (9.7 km) to the southeast of Kaş, Turkey.

EXERCISE

Using the resources provided and any other sources you can find:

1. Explain how we know the age of the ship, how it was built and the importance of its discovery in historical terms.
2. Identify where the shipwreck occurred and relate the site to the wider context, using a Mediterranean map and pointing out main cities/ports.
3. Analyse the cargo of the ship, make inferences on the importance of the cargo; some research is needed on the origins (where are they from?) and usefulness (what were they for?) of products in the cargo.
4. Relate the cargo with the Eastern Mediterranean map and suggest possible trade routes.
5. Write a short account of the importance of interactions within the Mediterranean and describe in what ways the sea links people.

INTERNET RESOURCES

- ➔ [Mediterranean map Circa 500 BC](#)
- ➔ [Ship cargo and ship story](#)
- ➔ [Wikipedia: Uluburun shipwreck](#)
- ➔ [World's oldest shipwreck reveals incredible cargo](#)



TARGET GROUP TEACHER TRAINEES

KEY ISSUES

History and intellectual honesty: learning about accuracy, limitations of historical research and the danger of generalisations.

The importance of the geographical location of a colony.

The authorities of the colony: political, administrative and religious.

The outside factors that influence the development of a colony.

The establishment of laws and regulations in a colony.

In what ways did European colonisation shape the world as it is today?

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

This unit designs a project activity, to be accomplished by a group of students, within a period of time, with the basic guidance and supervision of the history teacher. It is important that trainee teachers become acquainted with the supervision of projects, and it would be advisable that they do the project before the students. They will understand the constraints and possibilities of the project they will later guide and supervise focusing on its learning potential, to be able to customise it according to specific learning needs.

The class is divided into different groups, each group will 'colonise' a different geographical area, in a different period. Results should be shared.

The research of resources to accomplish the project is part of the activity; the groups are guided at the launching of the activity, mainly in order to establish the different topics that all groups will need to focus on, and then they are free to develop their own research.

The teacher should make a pre-selection of the possible sites and historical periods for the different colonies, to make sure there will be enough historical resources for the accomplishment of the task.

The trainees should plan the project for upper secondary students combining several types of skills and content, including geography and civics, creative artwork and creative writing.

The development of the project will enable students, through empathy and hands-on research, gain an understanding of the basic types of challenges and issues related to the establishment of an early colony. In this project students should be able to think outside the box and reflect on the effect the colonies had on the indigenous peoples.

TEACHING, LEARNING AND ASSESSMENT OPPORTUNITIES

EXERCISE

CREATING A COLONY

Working in groups:

- 1. Choose the geographical location of your colony on a world map posted on the classroom wall (groups make suggestions and discuss the location with the teacher) - consider geographical features and survival issues.**
- 2. Decide who the colonisers are and where they came from. The group will have to look into the timeline of the colony by researching and creating a brief history describing the major historical events and people concerning the founding and development of their colony - consider the cultural background of the colony and the research needed to come up with a coherent narrative.**
- 3. Establish a charter to create the laws, rules and regulations that are necessary to guarantee the rights of the colonisers - consider the type of government.**
- 4. Design the building conditions - consider size of population and defence issues.**
- 5. Give the colony a name and design a flag and symbol.**

TEACHING, LEARNING AND ASSESSMENT OPPORTUNITIES

6. Explain the everyday life of the colony, focusing on the challenges the colony faces.

- ▶ The feeding of settlers
- ▶ The health of settlers
- ▶ Communication with country of origin
- ▶ Weather conditions
- ▶ Indigenous people
- ▶ Conflict resolution
- ▶ The future of the colony.

■ At the end of the project each group can share their findings with the class, reporting on the difficult aspects of research and on which resource was the most useful and helpful.

■ It is expected that all groups will realise the complex inter-relationship of the different key-issues in establishing a colony.

■ As the groups will have to report and reflect on the interaction of their colonies with the indigenous people, they should be historically accurate.

■ Teacher and students will reach conclusions together through debate and dialogue.

INTERNET RESOURCES

- ▶ [European colonization of the Americas](#)
- ▶ [Colonial history of the United States](#)
- ▶ [Discovery and Colonization of the New World \(1492 - 1763\)](#)
- ▶ [Birth of the Independent Nation \(1763 - 1790\)](#)
- ▶ [Colonial America](#)
- ▶ [Life in the 13 American Colonies. Compared to Life Today](#)
- ▶ [Daily Life on a Colonial Plantation, 1709-11](#)
- ▶ [South African History Online](#)
- ▶ [The First English Settlement of the New World: Jamestown, VA](#)
- ▶ [Roanoke, North Carolina: The Lost Colony](#)
- ▶ [Pilgrim Ship Lists Early 1600s](#)

IN PORTUGUESE

- ▶ [colonialismo](#)
- ▶ [Colonização do Brasil](#)
- ▶ [A vida quotidiana na Colónia do Sacramento \(1715-1735\)](#)



Brazilian students' drawing of a sugar mill.



The difficulties of colonial life: how settlers had to find solutions for their everyday life.



School activities in Brazil: the destruction of the Forest (mata atlântica).



From a wordpress blog : Making History Relevant.



TARGET GROUP
 UPPER SECONDARY

KEY ISSUE

Space has played a critical role in societal organisations, geography is a key to understanding:

the impact of humans on nature, the impact of nature on humans, and people's perception of the environment;

why people function as they do in the areas they live;

the impact of globalisation: it allows specific aspects of cultural geography (language, religion, different economic and government structures, art, music) to easily travel around the globe.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

History as a social science is based on a multi-disciplinary approach and geography in particular cannot be dissociated from historical study. This is even more evident in relation to colonial contexts: colonies developed because of the landscape and helped develop the landscape as well.

Where the environment is not favourable human adaptation requires additional efforts. In fact in such situations humans have little choice: they move, adapt, or die. On the other hand, when geography is generous (water supply, weather patterns, arable land) civilisations develop.

The perspective of geography enables the understanding of the dynamics of human interaction with the new environments and helps students to familiarise themselves with the study of history in its full complexity.

▶ HOW GEOGRAPHICAL CONTEXTS SHAPED COLONIAL SPACES

TEACHING, LEARNING AND ASSESSMENT OPPORTUNITIES

■ Before students undertake the following exercise, the teacher may introduce students to various map projections that have been developed over the years, to help them understand that much of our knowledge of world history is based on man-made definitions.

■ During the exercise the teacher should make sure that more than one student covers each continent.

1. Draw from memory a map of the world, noting what you remember - natural geographical features, including continents, mountains, deserts, rivers, and whatever countries you can remember.
2. Research (library and/or internet) materials, maps, atlas, and take careful note of the geographic features of at least two colonial civilisations. Read selected sources - books, National Geographic magazines, web sites - to investigate factors that contributed to the development of the colonial spaces they research: inhabitants, languages, interactions, political and/or religious leaders, early technological discoveries, nearby trading partners.
3. How did geography affect the development of colonies? (Consider mountain ranges, valleys, fertility of soil, rivers, lakes..., some economic features and where possible raw materials available).
4. How does geography affect modern world history/politics?

EXERCISE

INTERNET RESOURCES

MAP PROJECTIONS (FROM VIENNA UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY)

- ➔ [Aspect of a Projection](#)
- ➔ [Picture Gallery of Map Projections](#)

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES SEMINAR PAPERS

- ➔ Salvatore Ciriaco: European expansion, colonialism and the rise of the west: a divergence



RESOURCES



THE SHARING OF VALUES

” Europe needs to find how to succeed in reconciling universal values, called for by globalisation, and individual values tied to roots from which it seems neither possible nor desirable to detach them. While this has long been Europe’s concern, it is increasingly the case that of all the countries propelled into globalisation want to preserve what has individualised them hitherto.

THE SHARING OF VALUES

Jean-Michel Leclercq, Education Consultant, France¹

The sharing and commitment to similar values has been considered a crucial factor of cohesion and unity in every society and, most of all, in every political entity; a factor that is thought to make authority easier to exercise for those who hold power, generally the proponents of these values.

■ **Actually**, we are at a stage where this paradigm is challenged both by globalisation and by the European context, namely, the need to move from a system of values inherent in the national model, to the international agencies’ desired universal values.

■ **However**, is it possible that in the long run this globalised world and this changing Europe can benefit from the national frameworks of values, which are usually well defined, well recognised and effective?

■ **In the nation states** that provided the most prevalent canon in Europe from the 17th to the 20th centuries before spreading over the other continents, the existence of a corpus of values shared by the majority of the population has always been considered an essential characteristic. At the same time, the practice has always been to extol universal values and to celebrate values inherent in a unique heritage and culture, considered too long oppressed by an enemy power from within or without.

■ **In the nation states**, stemming from what are called the movements of nationalities, after wars of independence, the period of conflict is nearly always in strong contrast with the subsequent period. The first period prompts almost idyllic sharing of the values for the sake of which struggles are waged, with a radical general commitment to a national ideal sustained by the attractions of the nation-to-be. But the subsequent period, which comes after sometimes incomplete and illusory independence, is marred by disagreements between the first political parties that breed factional rivalry for access to power. ▶▶▶

¹ See seminar paper, Jean-Michel Leclercq: Valeurs partagées pour des approches européennes en phase avec le multiculturalisme du monde actuel.

■ What have been called the romantic nations, just mentioned, can be placed in opposition to nations called classical, supposed to have been formed as if unwittingly over time and without such violent upheavals. France may be classed with these if the beginning of its growth into a nation is traced back to Joan of Arc or Louis XIV and no longer to the revolutionary or the Napoleonic period. Still, political rivalries are sometimes as violent in these nations as in their younger counterparts and may result in equal degrees of extremism.

■ That is what happens with the outbreaks of nationalism that narrow the scope of values down to sectarian attitudes advocating the exclusion of certain categories on grounds of prejudice or extremism such as racism. These styles of nationalism are thus the graveyards of the sharing of values.

■ While nationalism has pathological forms, it also displays ordinary ones, which are no less harmful because they always claim unwholesome superiorities that impair the possibility of dialogue between nations on an equal footing. Nowadays, such viewpoints are becoming increasingly rare due to better awareness and perception of their consequences and the willingness to avoid them. Yet they persist in some parts of the world and even in Europe.

■ This is first the case of inhabitants of some parts of a country who have a different history and culture from the ones officially recognised. In Europe, various measures have been taken on their behalf, from the granting of special regulations to forms of autonomy. But they are often deemed unsatisfactory. Teaching of the particular history of certain regions or of their languages is non-existent or at a strict minimum, as witness several member states' failure to ratify the Council of Europe Charter for Regional or Minority Languages.

■ This inconsistency was moreover strongly resented and, in time, violently condemned in the colonial empires. In them, the very pretence of sharing values with the mother country appeared no longer necessary. The aftereffects of this perversion of values were long lasting and severe for the former colonies and mother countries alike.

■ One must no doubt concede that at its origin the national model may have seemed a pledge of modernity that gave the peoples control of their destiny usually after long periods of subjugation or oppression. But the model, having had to adapt itself to more and more varied contexts, had ever greater difficulty in remaining focused on the values of justice, equality and solidarity as it was at its beginnings. Discussions on the acceptable dosage of federalism in the European Union make one inclined to believe so. Globalisation, however, has done nothing but aggravate the risks that the national model may not afford appropriate solutions in situations where nothing seems within the scope of this model any more.

■ The provisions of the United Nations 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights were aimed at rendering impossible for ever after the abuses that occurred during the Second World War and opening a new era of human history in which respect for the human being would be an absolute priority. Since its drafting, this declaration has been constantly enriched by other initiatives including those of the Council of Europe, the most recent of which is the White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue: *“Living together as equals in dignity”*.

■ The Charter of the United Nations (1945) sought to establish a different handling of international relations, founded on resolve to avoid armed conflicts and to encourage compromises between opponents, preserving the existence of both parties instead of wanting one of them to be annihilated. Thus, there may have been hope of moving from a world split into opposing blocs to a multipolar world where the search for peaceful solutions would prevail. On the cultural level, UNESCO has endeavoured to complement this multi-polarity by multiculturalism, guarding against the clash of civilisations.

■ European approaches to this context require both to renounce the practice of nationalism and the persistence of an overly simplistic conception of the past and the future that feeds an intolerant and vindictive patriotism. Multiperspectivity¹ is a key to generate all possible openings and the secularisation of values needs to be addressed. Furthermore, Europe needs to find how to succeed in reconciling universal values, called for by globalisation, and individual values tied to roots from which it seems neither possible nor desirable to detach them. While this has long been Europe's concern, it is increasingly that of all the countries propelled into globalisation yet also wanting to preserve what has individualised them hitherto. A remaining question needs reflection: can the universal and the individual be reconciled in a new national model? ■■■

¹ See http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/education/historyteaching/Projects/EuropeanDimension/EuropeandimensionPublication_en.asp#TopOfPage

TARGET GROUP
UPPER SECONDARYKEY
ISSUES

What are values?

Why do values matter?

What makes values change?

What are the sources of values?

Are values related to generations?

Are there dividing lines
within generations?

Are generations 'formatted'?

Values and the dual forces
of cause and effect.

Looking at tensions between
singular and universal values.

Looking at the value
of human rights.

BACKGROUND
INFORMATION

The etymological meaning of the word value is to be strong, from the Latin valeo.

1. Values are abstract ideas (easier to recognise when absent) usually referred to in the plural, as part of a system, meaning a set of values adopted by a person, organisation or society as a standard to guide decisions and behaviours.
2. Values may shift but they are relatively stable over time. Thus, values can be treated as gateways to the study of social behaviours.
3. History is a rich source of information on the values' systems on which different societies have relied, allowing us to grasp the mind-sets relative to specific historical contexts.
4. Plato searched the ideal values that Greek citizens should live by. He mentioned courage, justice, happiness, knowledge and truthfulness: those who lived according to these values possessed character of a higher order.
5. Other philosophers have also studied values of individuals and society; in the 1980's researchers such as Shalom H. Schwartz and Wolfgang Bilsky became very interested in reaching a consensus that would define human universal values: the core values that are consistent across cultures and time. Perhaps human rights is one of the most evident.
6. Lists of universal values still include the ones that Plato mentioned, but other values also play a role on the list, such as compassion.
7. Political systems, religions, family, geo-social contexts all play a role in setting values; values can be perceived in political speeches, in civil society manifestations, the different media, in religious positions, in family and social convictions/environments, in workplaces, in school textbooks.

TEACHING, LEARNING
AND ASSESSMENT OPPORTUNITIES

EXERCISE 1

LOOK AT FAIRY TALES

Choose one or more fairy tales. Look at:

➔ [List of fairy tales if you need ideas](#)

What underlying values were taught to readers in fairy tales?

Consider the cross-cultural transmission of values. Two theories of origins have attempted to explain the common elements in fairy tales found spread over continents. One is that a single point of origin generated any given tale, which then spread over the centuries; the other is that such fairy tales stem from common human experience and therefore can appear separately in many different origins.

Many of these values can be seen as appropriate to the society in the time period in which they were written, but in modern times, societies' values have changed, yet these fairy tales have not.

Consider that fairy tales were originally a form of adult entertainment that were told at social gatherings, in spinning rooms, fields, and other settings where adults meet. It was not until the early 19th century that fairy tales were made into children's stories.

EXERCISE 2

LOOK AT VALUES TODAY

➔ [Watch YouTube and reflect about the sharing of values \(the power of one\)](#)

Read and reflect on Kofi Annan's speech in December 2003 on the Universal Values of peace, freedom, social progress, equal rights, and human dignity at Tübingen University, Germany.

See Resources section

” “Our universal values require us to recognise the human characteristics, both good and bad, that we have in common with all our fellow human beings, and to show the same respect for human dignity and sensitivity in people of other communities that we expect them to show for ours.”

“Human rights and universal values are almost synonymous -- so long as we understand that rights do not exist in a vacuum. They entail a corresponding set of obligations, and obligations are only meaningful where there is the capacity to carry them out. Ought implies can.”

KOFI ANNAN

➔ [Research who Kofi Annan is \(link\)](#)

TEACHING, LEARNING AND ASSESSMENT OPPORTUNITIES

EXERCISE 3

LOOK AT GENERATION DYNAMICS

■ in a different perspective to the study of history - finding patterns that are similar in different generations.

■ Generations that come of age as young adults during a Crisis or an Awakening directly absorb the lessons of that defining era, and carry these lessons forward in their attitudes and behaviours later in life. Strauss and Howe label these dominant generations. Generations that grow up as children during a Crisis or Awakening take a dependent role during that defining era, which shapes their later attitudes and behaviours very differently. Strauss and Howe label these recessive generations. As a youth generation comes of age and defines its collective persona, an opposing generational archetype is in its midlife peak of power.

Wikipedia on Strauss-Howe Generational Theory

1. What makes a generation?
2. Do we need to understand generations?
3. Are generations 'transversal' in Europe?

Generations since the 1920s

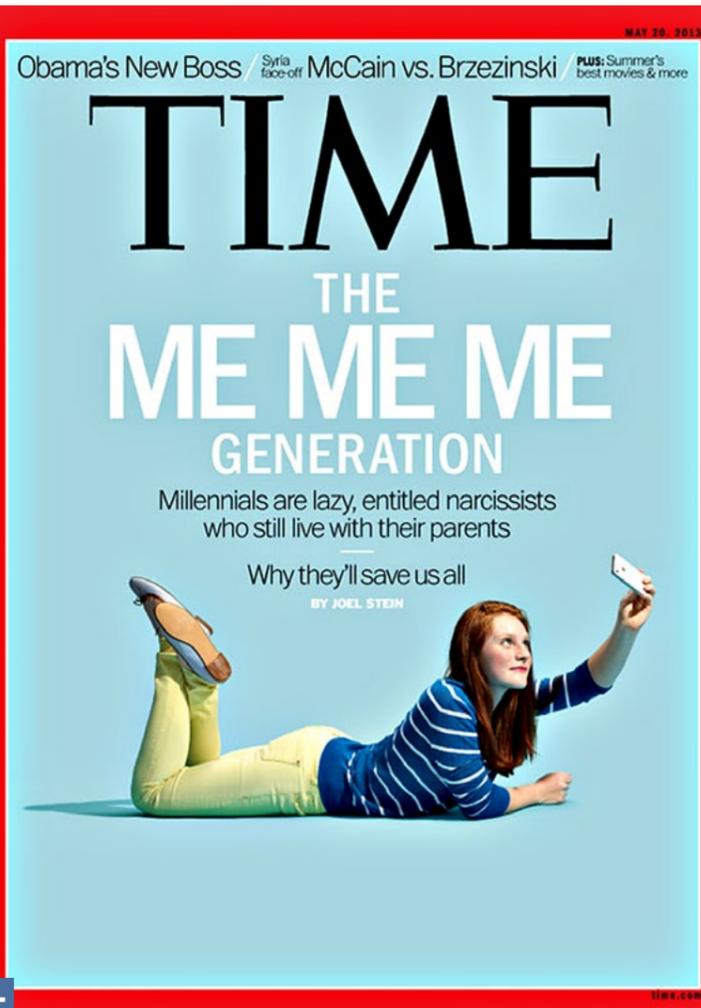
- ▶ The Silent or Traditional Generation (1922-1945)
- ▶ The Baby Boomer Generation (1946-1964)
- ▶ Generation X (1965-1974)
- ▶ Generation Y (1975-1984)
- ▶ Millennial Generation (1985 - present)

INTERNET RESOURCES

- ➔ [The Tank Man: Watch the scene on youtube](#)
- ➔ [On the Strauss Howe generational theory \(studies and identifies Anglo-American generational biographies going back to 1584\)](#)
- ➔ [On Fairy Tales](#)

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES SEMINAR PAPERS

- ➔ **Carol Căpiță: Looking through the window. The world in Romanian post 1989 textbooks.**
- ➔ **Yosanne Vella: Is it possible to change student's attitude towards the "other" through history teaching? A case study in a Maltese school.**
- ➔ **Huub Oates: Does the national curriculum allow a European and global approach in history teaching? The multi-perspective options in the Dutch national curriculum.**
- ➔ **Natia Pirstskhalava: The problems of teaching and studying history in high school in Georgia.**



RESOURCES

DO WE STILL HAVE UNIVERSAL VALUES?

SOURCES

Excerpts from the text of the lecture by the Secretary General of the United Nations Kofi Annan on Global Ethics, delivered at Tübingen University, Germany (12th December 2003)

The values of peace, freedom, social progress, equal rights and human dignity, enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, are no less valid today than when, over half a century ago, those documents were drafted by representatives of many different nations and cultures.

And they were not any more fully realised in actual human conduct at that time than they are now. Those great documents expressed an optimistic vision, not a description of existing realities. Let's not forget that among the States that drafted and signed them was the Soviet Union, at the height of Stalin's terror, as well as several unrepentant colonial powers.

The values of our founders are still not fully realised. Alas, far from it. But they are much more broadly accepted today than they were a few decades ago. The Universal Declaration, in particular, has been accepted in legal systems across the world, and has become a point of reference for people who long for human rights in every country. The world has improved, and the United Nations has made an important contribution.

But universal values are also more acutely needed, in this age of globalisation, than ever before.

Every society needs to be bound together by common values, so that its members know what to expect of each other, and have some shared principles by which to manage their differences without resorting to violence.

That is true of local communities and of national communities. Today, as globalisation brings us all closer together, and our lives are affected almost instantly by things that people say and do on the far side of the world, we also feel the need to live as a global community. And we can do so only if we have global values to bind us together.

But recent events have shown that we cannot take our global values for granted. I sense a great deal of anxiety around the world that the fabric of international relations may be starting to unravel -- and that globalisation itself may be in jeopardy.

Globalisation has brought great opportunities, but also many new stresses and dislocations. There is a backlash against it -- precisely because we have not managed it in accordance with the universal values we claim to believe in.

Globalisation has brought us closer together in the sense that we are all affected by each other's actions, but not in the sense that we all share the benefits and the burdens. Instead, we have allowed it to drive us further apart, increasing the disparities in wealth and power both between societies and within them.

This makes a mockery of universal values. It is not surprising that, in the backlash, those values have come under attack, at the very moment when we most need them.

Whether one looks at peace and security, at trade and markets, or at social and cultural attitudes, we seem to be in danger of living in an age of mutual distrust, fear and protectionism -- an age when people turn in on themselves, instead of turning outwards to exchange with, and learn from, each other.

Disillusioned with globalisation, many people have retreated into narrower interpretations of community. This in turn leads to conflicting value systems, which encourage people to exclude some of their fellow human beings from the scope of their empathy and solidarity, because they do not share the same religious or political beliefs, or cultural heritage, or even skin colour.

We can reassert universal values only if we are prepared to think rigorously what we mean by them, and how we can act on them.

That means we must also be clear about what they are not. And one thing that should be clear is that the validity of universal values does not depend on their being universally obeyed or applied. Ethical codes are always the expression of an ideal and an aspiration, a standard by which moral failings can be judged rather than a prescription for ensuring that they never occur.

Also, our universal values require us to recognise the human characteristics, both good and bad, that we have in common with all our fellow human beings, and to show the same respect for human dignity and sensitivity in people of other communities that we expect them to show for ours.



RESOURCES

DO WE STILL HAVE UNIVERSAL VALUES?

That means we should always be prepared to let other people define their own identity, and not insist on classifying them, however well-meaningly, by our own criteria. If we believe sincerely in individual rights, we must recognise that an individual's sense of identity is almost always bound up with the sense of belonging to one or more groups — sometimes concentric, sometimes intersecting.

We may all be sincerely committed to non-violence and respect for life, and yet disagree about whether it is legitimate to take the lives of those who have themselves taken life, or to use violence to defend the innocent when violence is being used against them.

We may all be genuinely committed to solidarity with our fellow human beings and a just economic order, and yet not agree which policies will be most effective in bringing about that order.

We may all be deeply attached to tolerance and truthfulness, and yet not agree how tolerant we should be of States or systems that seem to us intolerant and untruthful.

And we may all be genuinely committed to equal rights and partnership between men and women, without agreeing on how far the social roles of men and women should be differentiated, or whether it is the responsibility of society to enforce the sanctity of the marriage bond.

On all such issues we must expect differences to continue for a long time — between societies and within them. The function of universal values is not to eliminate all such differences, but rather to help us manage them with mutual respect, and without resorting to mutual destruction.

Tolerance and dialogue are essential, because without them there is no peaceful exchange of ideas, and no way to arrive at agreed solutions allowing different societies to evolve in their own way.

Those societies that consider themselves modern need to recognise that modernity does not automatically generate tolerance. Even sincere liberals and democrats can sometimes be remarkably intolerant of other views. One should always be on one's guard against such temptations.

On their side, societies that put a high premium on tradition need to recognise that traditions survive best, not when they are rigid and immutable, but when they are living and open to new ideas, from within and from without.

It may also be true that, in the long run, tolerance and dialogue within a society are best guaranteed through particular institutional arrangements, such as multi-party elections, or the separation of powers between legislature, executive and judiciary.

Values are not there to serve philosophers or theologians, but to help people live their lives and organise their societies. So, at the international level, we need mechanisms of cooperation strong enough to insist on universal values, but flexible enough to help people realise those values in ways that they can actually apply in their specific circumstances.

In the end history will judge us, not by what we say but by what we do. Those who preach certain values loudest — such as the values of freedom, the rule of law, and equality before the law — have a special obligation to live by those values in their own lives and their

own societies, and to apply them to those they consider their enemies as well as their friends.

You don't need to be tolerant of those who share your opinions, or whose behaviour you approve. It is when we are angry that we most need to apply our proclaimed principles of humility and mutual respect.

Nor should we ever be satisfied with things as they are. The state of the world does not allow that.

In our own case, at the United Nations, we are sometimes tempted to proclaim our self-evident utility and relevance to the world, and to blame our Member States for not making better use of such a valuable institution. But that is not enough.

We need to do everything we can to improve the United Nations — that is, to make it more useful to the world's peoples, in whose name it was founded, and more exemplary in applying the universal values that all its members claim to accept.

That means that we need to be more effective in many aspects of our work, and especially in what we do to promote and protect human rights.

Human rights and universal values are almost synonymous — so long as we understand that rights do not exist in a vacuum. They entail a corresponding set of obligations, and obligations are only meaningful where there is the capacity to carry them out. "Ought implies can."

So what is my answer to the provocative question that I took as my title? Do we still have universal values? Yes, we do, but we should not take them for granted.

They need to be carefully thought through.

They need to be defended.

They need to be strengthened.

And we need to find within ourselves the will to live by the values we proclaim — in our private lives, in our local and national societies, and in the world.

Thank you very much.

Kofi Annan ■■■

➔ [Link to full lecture](#)

RESOURCES

DO WE STILL HAVE UNIVERSAL VALUES?



TARGET GROUP
 UPPER SECONDARY

KEY ISSUES

Why were the 60s so tumultuous?

What is the legacy of the 60s in the world today?

How globalised were the 60s?

What influenced the 60s?

The different ways messages can be conveyed.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The past is what happened; 'history' is the way we view it. Students can act like historians and investigate the reasoning behind individuals who oppose and support societal changes and understand the sentiments of those who embrace the new social and moral values. They will look for parallel elements of the 1960s with elements of today to develop historical perspective.

The 1950s was a decade of economic boom. People were eager to forget the war and spend their money on goods that had been scarce. New industries, such as electronics, plastics and computers were developed and jobs in the service sector grew and with them the middle class had money to spend: the consumer society emerged in the 50s, both in America and Europe. The consumption that middle class families aspired to included a car, a TV and a house in the suburbs. The children of this middle class (the children born after the war) are known as the baby boomer generation.

The 60s was the time when post-war consensus began to disintegrate; a time that shaped a generation and sculpted a political landscape that can still be seen today. In 1960, the baby boomers, a young and affluent society, had grown up without having faced the hardships of war.

The context of the decade was Cold War: the two divergent worlds of Communism and Capitalism; the Vietnam war; and the diffusion of the Civil Rights Movement. In this context of armed peace social unrest emerged: a young society was questioning conservatism and its values, in organised and unorganised ways.

It is a very rich period in the history of mankind: we can look at the 60s through different prisms, war and peace, politics, pop culture, revolutions.

We can also look at the 60s and try to find out what has survived in terms of shared values.

TEACHING, LEARNING AND ASSESSMENT OPPORTUNITIES

EXERCISE

BUILDING A PICTURE OF THE 60s

There are a lot of sources that you can use to build a picture in headind 1960s. These include:

- ▶ oral history: ask people who were born between late 40s and during the 50s;
- ▶ box office movies (what message they conveyed to what audience);
- ▶ musical events, hits, lyrics (what was the message conveyed);
- ▶ hippies, flower-power, make love not war movements (research the meaning and context of these phenomena);
- ▶ students' political engagements (what was contested?);
- ▶ the changing perceptions of war along the decade (Vietnam, freedom fighters);
- ▶ fashion and hair style changes;
- ▶ the new role of young people in society.

Some examples are given in the resources section. Using these sources and any others you can find build answers to the following questions:

1. What were the innovative key-elements of the 60s and what was rejected?

- ▶ establish a timeline of the decade
- ▶ separate the innovative key-elements

2. Working in groups, choose one of the key elements and research in detail

- ▶ debate and decide what research criteria to adopt
- ▶ produce a dossier or wall display of the findings

3. What is the legacy of the 60s?

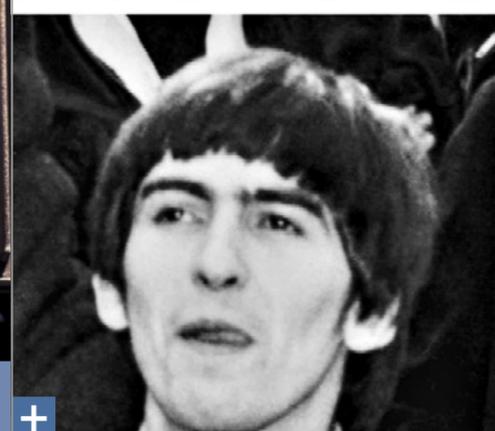
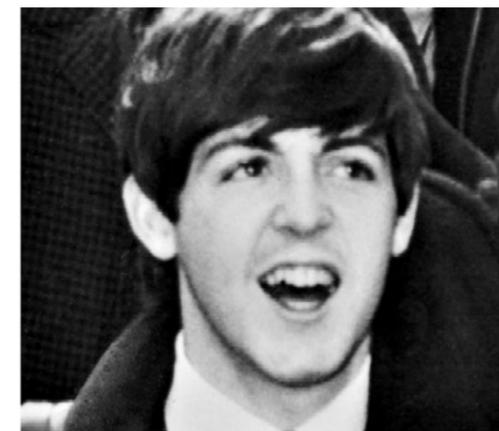
- ▶ What key elements have survived? What have not?
- ▶ Decide why you think certain elements have survived and others have not.



FASHION



FILM



John Lennon's Imagine

(More than 140 artists have recorded it)

Imagine there's no heaven
 It's easy if you try
 No hell below us
 Above us only sky
 Imagine all the people
 Living for today...

Imagine there's no countries
 It isn't hard to do
 Nothing to kill or die for
 And no religion too
 Imagine all the people
 Living life in peace...

You may say I'm a dreamer
 But I'm not the only one
 I hope someday you'll join us
 And the world will be as one

Imagine no possessions
 I wonder if you can
 No need for greed or hunger
 A brotherhood of man
 Imagine all the people
 Sharing all the world...

You may say I'm a dreamer
 But I'm not the only one
 I hope someday you'll join us
 And the world will live as one



ICONS



POPULAR MUSIC AND LYRICS




**TARGET GROUP
TEACHER TRAINEES**
**KEY
ISSUES**

In what way are attitudes and behaviours shaped by shared cultural values?

How to recognise economic / power structures that underpin social behaviours and political institutions.

Raising awareness: our activities are likely to have important effects we may not previously have acknowledged.

Analysing political discourse in its historical context to: understand the values conveyed; identify political propaganda through the values transmitted.

**BACKGROUND
INFORMATION**

Values are desirable objectives that people, individually or collectively strive to maintain, they guide the evaluation of actions, policies, people and events.

Values are context specific (space and time): depending on the context in which each one is located (where and when), one belongs to a culture that embodies certain values, and even if one does not subscribe to all these values, there is an understanding and identification with their content. People of the same culture tend to identify with the same values; the same applies to political entities.

In the wider picture, economically developed countries share similar values, are economically richer, value consumer markets and favour an individualistic culture; on the other hand, developing countries are economically poorer and favour collectivistic culture.

Politicians present themselves to the world through political speeches. They speak as representatives of their own country and nation. What they say transmits the values that resonate with the political convictions they wish to see adopted by citizens and by which they want to be judged by the voters. Political speeches also impart the need to revise and change values usually when they want to show a rupture with the recent past, or mark new directions for the future.

Voters judge politicians by their demonstrated ability to align what they declared to be their values with what they demonstrated to be their values.

The values in today's societies have worldwide visibility that is linked to globalisation, and the need that the different stakeholders have of being understood when addressing different cultures. Private and public institutions, policies and social structures, present themselves to the public through a statement of their values in order to facilitate the public understanding of their objectives.


NOBELS FREDSSENTER • NOBEL PEACE CENTER


VIDSYN • BROADMINDEDNESS

HÅP • HOPE

ENGASJEMENT • COMMITMENT

TEACHING, LEARNING AND ASSESSMENT OPPORTUNITIES

EXERCISE 1

POLITICS AND VALUES

■ **R**esearch political speeches from history and the context under which they were delivered. The scope should be both European and World political speeches, and the learning potential of this unit is based on this diversity.

■ **S**peeches should be analysed in the context of the time and place in which they were delivered; in order to understand the context, students should identify the problem or challenge in history that led to the need for the speech.

■ **T**he focus of the analysis is the values in the speech, both overt and covert.

1. Which values are in the speech?
2. How are they defined?
3. What is the dominant message and key-issues within the speech?
4. What is the historical context of the speech?
5. Are there values linked to a specific cultural origin?
6. Do the values transcend the specific situation of the speech? (longevity of the values)
7. Is it possible to classify any of the values as universal?
8. If you had been in the audience that day, would you have been moved by the speech? Why? Why not?

Write a newspaper story on the political speech you analysed. Write your own political speech.

EXERCISE 2

UNIVERSAL VALUES

1. Create a list of universal values demonstrated in the speech you have analysed. Create a second list of 'other' values you do not consider universal. Justify both lists.
2. Debate the values in the lists; focus on similarities and differences of values from different cultures.
3. Find out about Nobel Prizes: search the life of Alfred Nobel and the first laureates of the Nobel Prizes; focus on Nobel Peace Prizes and consider the values that sustain the Nobel Prizes specially the Nobel Peace Prizes; read some of the speeches of the laureates; consider the omissions and the controversies. What can we learn about shared cultural values from this research?

INTERNET RESOURCES

The internet offers many sites with political speeches, here are some:

- ➔ [A selection from the Daily Telegraph](#)
- ➔ [Martin Luther King 'I have a dream...' text and audio](#)
- ➔ [Nelson Mandela Inaugural speech, Pretoria 1994](#)
- ➔ [The Wikipedia collection of speeches](#)
- ➔ [Speeches from different nations](#)

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES SEMINAR PAPERS

- ➔ Ahmet Alibašić: Europe's image among Bosnian muslims
- ➔ Monica Juneja: Global boundaries, local frontiers - Islamic art in the museum
- ➔ Philippos Mazarakis-Ainian: Imagining the Balkans: Identities and memory in the long 19th century
- ➔ Súsanna Margrét Gestsdóttir: The shaping of perceptions about Europe: an Icelandic example



THE SHAPING OF PERCEPTIONS ABOUT EUROPE

” Europe in the last two centuries is the outcome of a pattern of development with many similarities, as well as the outcome of many different institutional and cultural responses. These two axes probably represent tensions that are not to be solved but only managed indefinitely.

WHAT IS EUROPE?

Professor Pedro Lains, University of Lisbon, Portugal¹

■ Does the European continent have its own history that goes beyond national and regional histories?

■ Throughout the 19th century, the European continent was a major player in global history as a consequence of rapid economic, social and institutional transformations that provided the resources and skills to control large parts of the rest of the world, through international trade, investment flows and the migration of people.

■ The links between Europe and the world were channelled with varying degrees of intensity between independent nation states or through colonial rule. The trend increased since the end of the Napoleonic wars and became more intense after the American civil war. By the eve of the First World War, Europe was at the centre of world trade, finances, technological progress and military power. The gold standard pegged currencies across the five continents and was at the centre of the world economic transactions, giving great relevance to central banks and treasuries of the largest European powers, namely Britain, France and Germany. Throughout the 20th century, that balance of power changed, as Europe experienced two devastating wars and new sources of power stemmed from other parts of the world, either by economic supremacy, or political emancipation.

■ To what extent can we speak of Europe in this context? We argue here that there is such an entity from the point of view of its economic history and that lessons can be drawn for the rest of the world about changes in European economic fortunes: the European Continent provides an example of the benefits of economic integration within an institutionally and socially diversified framework. That combination was the outcome of at least two centuries of developments, where setbacks occurred and the achievements are by no means irreversible. ▶▶▶

¹ For a fuller account see seminar paper: Pedro Lains: What is Europe?. See also seminar paper Kirsten Schwedes: Europe and textbooks.

PATTERNS OF EUROPEAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

■ One striking feature of European economic development since the Industrial Revolution is the fact that the distribution of relative levels of income per capita remained relatively stable. Levels of income per capita are indicative of levels of combined productivity of land, labour, capital, including human capital, and thus they reflect the progress in the efficiency of production. This relatively stable pattern of European development is quite clear when comparisons are made at national levels. As such, Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria and Switzerland, today amongst the nations with higher levels of income per capita, were also at the forefront of the league 150 or 200 years ago. Some countries improved their lot more rapidly than others, such as the Scandinavian countries, Spain, or Italy, but even those were already far better by the middle of the 19th century than the countries that remained backward for longer periods of time, as was the case of Portugal, the Balkan nations and southern Italy. If we go deeper in the analysis and consider regional instead of national boundaries, we may find a similar pattern, where wealthier regions by the eve of the industrialisation period are largely also better off later on. Such are the cases of Catalonia in Spain or the Czech lands in the Austria-Hungarian Empire. The axis from London to Milan has been at the core of the European economy since the medieval fairs and trade routes, and 19th century industrialisation did not change that in a significant way.

UNDERSTANDING EUROPEAN INDUSTRIALISATION¹

■ The described changes in the European economy were connected through geography, in the sense that there is a strong correlation of levels and intensity of industrialisation and economic growth between neighbouring territories. Economic development in Europe can be best described by a core with more intense activity, which faded away towards the peripheral regions where technical innovation and economic activity were less intense. Industrialisation was not the only path to prosperity, as is demonstrated by countries such as the Netherlands or Denmark that had a rapid transformation since the early 19th century by exploring their agricultural potential. It also does not take into account other basic factors of growth, such as institutional development or education. It also does not take directly into account the role of public policies, such as tariffs or investment in social overhead capital. But it does provide a clear description of the continental pattern of industrial and economic development in Europe, showing that national boundaries do not seem to have a primary role.

WAS THE BRITISH INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION UNIQUE?

■ At the root of European industrial transformation was the deep transformation of the British economy from the second half of the 18th century onwards. The British Industrial Revolution was a unique achievement but it also pertains to the wider European economic history as its technical features (spinning wheel, steam machine and railways) were promptly adopted in the regions that had conditions closer to those of Britain, with closer commercial links. Quickly, the Industrial Revolution became a European phenomenon, either by emulation or by replication. The ensuing economic transformation was however slow, not only in Britain, lasting down to the 1870s, but also in the rest of the continent, where industrialisation continued well into the 20th century. Interestingly, the speed of industrialisation is closely correlated to the geographical distance from Britain, and the last industrial nations could be found in countries such as Portugal in the South or Romania in the East part of the continent. ▶▶▶

¹ Readers may also refer to the theme "The impact of the Industrial Revolution".

THE DRIVERS OF EUROPEAN INDUSTRIALISATION

Industrialisation and economic growth depend on investment capacity and technological innovation together with the institutional environment and education. Such factors were enhanced by the exchange of ideas, capital, goods, and services, as well as people. As new techniques were made available across the English Channel, producers in France, Flanders or the Ruhr area, which faced similar economic conditions, were willing to import in order to modernise their industries. People and capital travelling across borders would help that process. By the same token, as new and cheaper goods were made available across different parts of the continent, consumers were also ready to buy, and merchants ready to cater for trade, which could be compensated by goods and services travelling in the opposite direction. Flows of technology, goods and the rest would also lead investors to build and maintain roads, channels and, ultimately, railways, and provide the necessary financial services. On the other hand, private and mostly public institutions joined this virtuous cycle providing the framework needed for the security of the transactions between people, regions and nations. Again, the intensity of the flow of ideas, people, capital, goods and services across Europe varied according to the same geographical pattern, where the core was dominant and the peripheries had a lesser role. This was clearly a common European pattern.

THE REVERSAL OF FORTUNES

The First World War, besides its heavy humanitarian costs, had tremendous consequences in the development of European convergence in all dimensions. The war led to an immediate stop in international trade, particularly long distance and hence the flow of people and capital, and diverted resources towards military needs. The gold standard was also ended throughout Europe, as the conditions for the existence of fixed exchange rates. In the 1920s, national economies somehow recovered but ultimately fell under the financial distresses of the 1929 New York stock exchange crash and the ensuing Great Depression.

THE RECOVERY

The path of recovery following the Second World War was in many respects different from that of the previous period, starting with the Bretton Woods agreements and the US dominance in western markets, and all the way to the formation of European institutions such as the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the Common Market. The motivation of such arrangements was the simultaneous recovery of both national and international economies. Clearly in this period of high rates of economic growth, European national governments had to cope with international cooperation of competing international institutions. Higher levels of political and economic integration in Western Europe were contradicted by the divide of Europe into two political blocks, but integration was eased by the large adjustment potential that the disruption provoked by the two World Wars and the protectionist policies of the interwar period. The period up to 1973 became known as the golden age of growth and affected the entire continent. After falling behind with the 1973 oil crisis and the fall of the Berlin Wall, in 1989, the European continent entered a new period of rapid advances in prosperity which was also accompanied by further economic and political integration. Those changes followed a pattern, which recovered that of 19th century industrialisation, with very few exceptions. In fact, the wealthiest and poorest regions or countries on the Continent by the eve of the new millennium were mostly the same that can be defined in the years after the end of the Napoleonic wars.

PATTERNS OF DIVERSIFICATION

Geographical unity in economic development was not necessarily accompanied by unification of political institutions or social and cultural values. A traveller across the European continent will find many differences in almost all aspects of day to day living which make direct connection between the present and the more or less distant past. Those differences are not necessarily atavistic, but rather they are the outcome of different responses to different challenges of the economic, social or cultural environments. Europe in the last two centuries is thus the outcome of a pattern of development with many similarities, as well as the outcome of many different institutional and cultural responses. These two axes probably represent tensions that are not to be solved but only managed indefinitely. In the 19th century, economic integration dominated, although national interests were also present with a growing level of intensity. During the interwar period, national interests became clearly dominant, whereas the forces of economic integration somehow faded away. After the Second World War, coordination ruled again, but this time under the supervision of international institutions. In the last decades of the century, all moved in the same direction again, but this time in a more open and demanding way. Undoubtedly, these patterns provide a template for developments elsewhere in the world, in what both unity and diversity are concerned.

**TARGET GROUP
TEACHER TRAINEES****KEY
ISSUES**

Stories as a key to raise awareness on stereotypes and prejudices.

Stories as a means of deconstructing colonial misrepresentations, misconceptions and misinterpretations (of colonisers and colonised).

Stories as a means of understanding the many pieces that form a national identity.

Understanding the dangers of a single story/perspective.

The role of history education in fostering a mental framework in which critical thinking is predominant.

**BACKGROUND
INFORMATION**

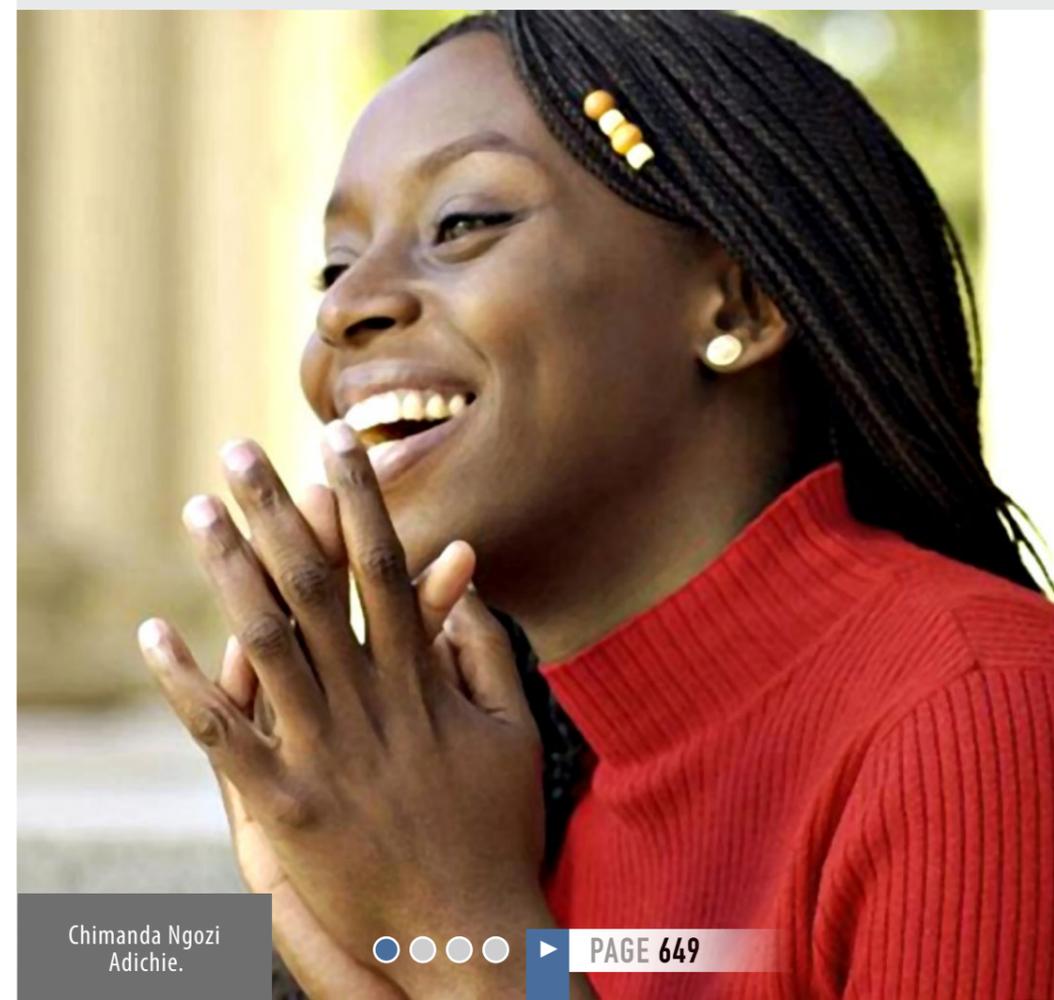
Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie is a popular and successful Nigerian writer. She made a presentation at TED Global conferences¹, London 2009, *The Danger of a Single Story*. She questioned the most common stereotypes about Africa and Africans, and also the stereotypes most Nigerians have about the West, and explains that by only focusing on a fraction of the truth - a single story - whether in the media, in school, or in popular culture, damaging misrepresentations are created. As she states:

“Show a people as one thing, as only one thing, over and over again and that is what they become. Stories matter. Many stories matter. Stories have been used to dispossess and to malign but stories can also be used to empower and to humanise. Stories can break the dignity of the people, but stories can also repair that broken dignity”.

¹ TED (Technology, Entertainment, Design) is a global set of conferences owned by the private non-profit Sapling Foundation, under the slogan "ideas worth spreading".

With more than 4 million views in TED Global, and double that number across all other internet platforms (u-tube, downloads, etc.) her presentation is very powerful in helping people understand how stereotypes, misconceptions, and misrepresentations are embedded in one's deep culture, how that limits the learning process, and what might be the path to overcome such cultural constraint.

This unit highlights perceptions and stereotypes and explores how perceptions are influenced by the stories 'around' people, and helps trainee teachers to question their own stereotypes, by analysing the ways in which stories (media, family background, religion, gender, ethnicity, sexuality, nationality, age, socio-economic status and other group and cultural influences) influence their lives. Through reflection on the issues and ideas exposed by Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie trainee teachers should gain awareness of their critical role in avoiding cultural stereotypes and the learning potential of exposing students to different stories, narratives and perspectives.



Chimanda Ngozi
Adichie.



**TARGET GROUP
UPPER SECONDARY****KEY
ISSUES**

Passports as evidence of dividing lines.

Passports as an instrument of freedom of movement.

Passports as a symbol of sovereignty.

The role of visas in reinforcement of sovereignty.

Who needs visas to enter the EU – the Schengen Area.

Fortress Europe: the issues of immigration and human trafficking.

**BACKGROUND
INFORMATION**

The idea that travelling was safer if one had official documents to prove one's origin and destination is quite old. Indeed in 450 BCE the Persian King Artaxerxes gave his official Nehemiah a letter "to the governors of the province beyond the river" requesting safe passage as he travelled through their lands. Later, in 17th century France, King Louis XIV personally signed 'letters of request', which were dubbed 'passe port' literally meaning to pass through the gates (port) of a city, hence passport. In England it was the Privy Council in the reign of King Henry V that granted passports, and one of the earliest that still exists was signed by Charles I on 18th June 1641, (see Resources section) and issued to Captain William Bradshagh and his wife.

Before 1914 and for about 30 years, travelling on Europe did not require passports, mainly due to the speed of trains and the quantity of travellers crossing the borders of several countries, a movement that did not favour the imposition of laws on the use of passports. Crossing borders then was an easy procedure and for travellers Europe was a big space without dividing lines.

This situation changed after the First World War, when travellers needed a passport to cross the borders. Interestingly, after the European Union was created and as it developed the use of passports declined within the Union, but Europeans still need a passport to cross the border to a country that is outside the Union. Within the European Union there is a borderless Europe - the Schengen Area, a group of European countries (see resources section) which have abolished passport and immigration controls at their common borders.

Besides passports, Europeans also need a visa to enter some countries outside the Union. A visa is a document or a stamp endorsed in the passport, showing that a person is authorised to enter or leave the territory for which it was issued. Again visas become a requirement after the First World War. A visa generally gives non-citizens clearance to enter a country and to remain there within specified constraints (time period and prohibition of employment). Entering the Schengen Area requires an entry visa for citizens from many countries outside the EU.

The complexity of questions within this study unit is vast, therefore the scope is limited to main issues regarding passports and visa requirements within the European Union, though some case studies can be looked at in more detail; the focus is on the lives of ordinary people and on the continuities in history.¹

¹ See Seminar paper: Konstantin Bityukov, Erasing dividing lines of Europe and the world.

TEACHING, LEARNING AND ASSESSMENT OPPORTUNITIES

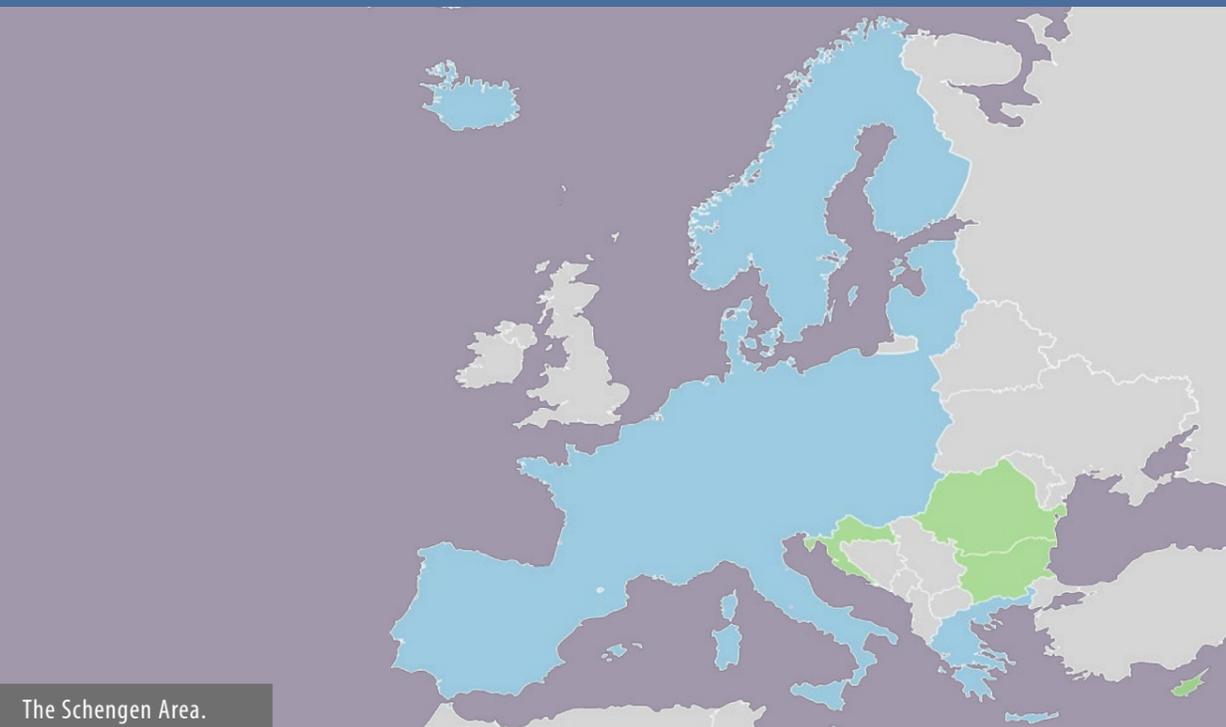
EXERCISE

Prior to this activity, students are asked to search the web for the definitions of passport and visa. If they have a passport they should copy the identification page and bring it to the class.

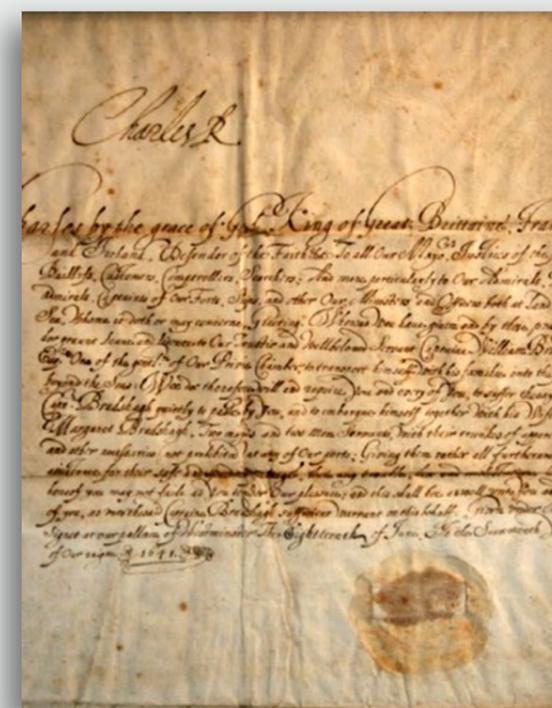
Students will also be encouraged to ask parents, grandparents, relatives, friends, whether they have had a passport and for what reasons; whether they still have one and for what reasons.

1. The activity begins by a quick revue of the definitions and information students collected.
2. The activity proceeds with brainstorming the issues that passports and visas raise (one student writes main issues on the blackboard or flipchart).
3. The class decides on the issues that are not clear; one group of the students can research them.
4. The teacher can guide other student groups to gather the information needed to:
 - ▶ organise a role play in dialogue form between an illegal immigrant and a journalist who visits the immigrant in prison;
 - ▶ create a fictional character who lived before the First World War who travelled around Europe and wrote a letter to a friend reporting the trip and encouraging the friend to travel.
5. At the end of all activities, after the groups have shared their work, the teacher can summarise all the findings using inquiry-based dialogue with the class.

RESOURCES



The Schengen Area.



Passport of Captaine William Bradshagh Esq. issued and signed by Charles I.

**TARGET GROUP
LOWER SECONDARY****KEY
ISSUES**

Explore the European views of the world.

Identify European perceptions and misperceptions of the non-Western world.

Understand how belief systems work.

**BACKGROUND
INFORMATION**

Even the most descriptive European or Western texts and images of other peoples are representations. These representations result from a process of abstraction that link reality to the cultural database of the viewer, and enable the understanding of reality. The values that are the basis of this cultural database organise reality into categories, common places and stereotypes: the perceived reality.

Europeans and non-Europeans constructed their own representations when they made contact with each other. Reciprocal representations constitute an essential dimension of the encounter of Europeans and non-Europeans.

The case of Africa

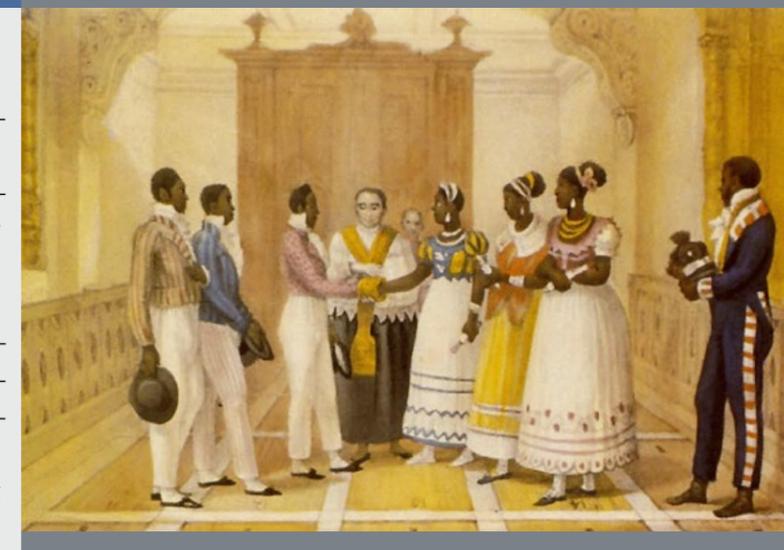
Africa became Africa and black after these encounters. The category of black is a European category. Africans felt blacker as the result of white dominion. If African or European students while in school are trained to value mostly the elements, values and images of the European historical tradition they will construct interpretations influenced by this perspective.

If textbooks portray the Africans and African history in a negative condition (or in a non-existent form), the European student will devalue Africans and their cultures and African students will feel humiliated and might reject their own identities.

After decolonisation, the historiographical trend that emerged in former colonies used European standards to demonstrate to the world and the Africans that the black continent had its sophisticated elements and advanced forms of organisation: studying large African empires, according to European models, became almost an obsession. Today, a new generation of African thinkers do not follow European models and are researching the past of African territories and peoples.

The role of images

Images, as representations of reality, establish identity, distribute social roles and status, present role models, and distinguish friends from enemies. Without identity there is no memory, no relation to the past, no platform for the future, no differentiation between self and others and no possible relation to the world.



Jean-Baptiste Debret, a French artist, travelled to Brazil in 1816. He portrayed the everyday life of the colonial society, showing Europe a new and refreshing image.

TEACHING, LEARNING AND ASSESSMENT OPPORTUNITIES

EXERCISE

Working in groups, students plan, take, and document a big trip to world places in another continent. The purpose of this trip is to review the main stereotypes related to the countries visited and show the cultural reality they report in a non-Eurocentric non-Western standpoint. Preparing the trip is part of the activity, and the teacher will guide students' choices.

1. **Decide where/when (20th/21st century) they are travelling.**
2. **Use a world map to plan the itinerary; countries to visit (minimum 2); modes of transportation, budget, where to stay; and anticipated challenges.**
3. **Decide what will be the end product of each group (diary entries, newspaper article(s), series of postcards, notes for future essay; synopsis for a documentary).**
 - ▶ Focus on the following topics (select 3): children, women, fashion, homes, lifestyle, modes of transportation, places of worship, leisure activities, technology and education.
 - ▶ Use Internet technologies to research and prepare a presentation; select images to document your findings.
 - ▶ Make use of the tools of the historian to select information and images.
4. **Each group will report on:**
 - ▶ the processes used to find the information and the problems encountered;
 - ▶ the new insights gained;
 - ▶ the local perceptions and misconceptions on Europe/West.

Wrap up with a debate that tackles the need to:

- Increase open mindedness.
- Re-evaluate attitudes and beliefs of the time.
- Become aware of issues related to non-violent communication..



ADDITIONAL RESOURCES SEMINAR PAPERS

- ➔ **Susanne Popp: Europe and the World: teaching about global history**
- ➔ **Luigi Cajani: The history taught in schools: from national biography to a history of humanity**
- ➔ **Luisa Black: History from an African perspective**
- ➔ **Zhongjie Meng: Perception of Europe in China**
- ➔ **Christina del Moral: Influencer sur les perceptions de l'Europe**
- ➔ **Thomas Kühne: Utopia, Dystopia, or Theme park? American images of Europe**

INTERNET RESOURCES

Inspiring historical travel narratives:

- ➔ [Recent Scholarship on Travel Accounts](#)
- ➔ [Travelers and Traveler's Accounts in World History, Part 1](#)
- ➔ [Around the World in Eighty Days](#)

EUROPE AND THE WORLD SEMINAR PAPERS

**EUROPE'S IMAGE
AMONG BOSNIAN MUSLIMS**
Ahmet Alibašić

**ERASING DIVIDING LINES
OF EUROPE AND THE WORLD**
Konstantin Bityukov

HISTORY FROM AN AFRICAN PERSPECTIVE
Luisa Black

**THE HISTORY TAUGHT
IN SCHOOLS: FROM NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY
TO A HISTORY OF HUMANITY**
Luigi Cajani

**LOOKING THROUGH THE WINDOW.
THE WORLD IN ROMANIAN POST
1989 TEXTBOOKS.**
Carol Căpiță

**EUROPEAN EXPANSION, COLONIALISM
AND THE "RISE OF THE WEST":
ADIVERGENCE?**
Professor Salvatore Ciriaco

**INFLUER SUR LES PERCEPTIONS
DE L'EUROPE**
Cristina del Moral

**THE SHAPING OF PERCEPTIONS
ABOUT EUROPE: AN ICELANDIC EXAMPLE**
Súsanna Margrét Gestsdóttir

**GLOBAL BOUNDARIES,
LOCAL FRONTIERS –
ISLAMIC ART IN MUSEUMS**
Professor Monica Juneja

**UTOPIA, DYSTOPIA, OR THEME PARK?
AMERICAN IMAGES OF EUROPE**
Professor Thomas Kühne

WHAT IS EUROPE?
Professor Pedro Lains

**VALEURS PARTAGÉES POUR DES
APPROCHES EUROPÉENNES EN PHASE
AVEC LE MULTICULTURALISME
DU MONDE ACTUEL**
Jean-Michel Leclercq

**IMAGINING THE BALKANS:
IDENTITIES AND MEMORY
IN THE LONG 19TH CENTURY**
Philippos Mazarakis-Ainian

**PERCEPTION OF EUROPE IN CHINA:
AN OUTLINE**
Professor Zhongjie MENG

**DOES THE NATIONAL CURRICULUM
ALLOW A EUROPEAN AND GLOBAL APPROACH
IN HISTORY TEACHING? THE MULTI-PERSPECTIVE
OPTIONS IN THE DUTCH NATIONAL CURRICULUM.**
Huub Oattes

**CHALLENGES IN TEACHING AND
STUDYING HISTORY IN GEORGIA**
Natia Pirtskhalava

**TEACHING ABOUT GLOBAL HISTORY
AN APPROACH TO BASIC STRATEGIES
IN THE CLASSROOM**
Professor Susanne Popp

EUROPE AND THE WORLD
Professor Dominic Sachsenmaier

EUROPE IN TEXTBOOKS
Kerstin Schwedes

**IS IT POSSIBLE TO CHANGE STUDENTS'
ATTITUDE TOWARDS 'THE OTHER'
THROUGH HISTORY TEACHING?
A CASE STUDY IN A MALTESE SCHOOL.**
Professor Yosanne Vella

**ENCOUNTERS BETWEEN
EUROPE AND THE WORLD**
Professor Peer Vries

EUROPE'S IMAGE AMONG BOSNIAN MUSLIMS

Ahmet Alibašić

University of Sarajevo
Bosnia and Herzegovina

In times of crisis it is encouraging to hear that Europe has no problem with its image among Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Recent research on the image of Europe found that the vast majority in the community holds an affirmative view of Europe. To them, Europe is a trans-historical good, an ultimate and almost metaphysical good, a metaphysical saviour, an integral part of their identity, a form of religion, a supreme metaphor for social and political good, a benchmark of modernity. It is no more a colonial threat or adversary.¹ Many other communities in the region cherish similar views. Speaking of the European perception in the Balkans in the 1990s Croatian author Slavenka Drakulić writes that Europe to the people in the region was: "...something distant, something to be attained, to be deserved. It is also something expensive and fine: good clothes, the certain look and smell of its people. Europe is plenitude: food, cars, light, everything – a kind of festival of colours, diversity, opulence, beauty. It offers choice, from shampoo to political parties. It represents freedom of expression. It is a Promised Land, New Utopia [...] And through television, that Europe is right there, in your apartment, often in colours much too bright to be real"²

These findings counter the often repeated proposition that Muslims' images of others are heavily influenced by their religion and culture, which – allegedly – make them suspicious of and even adversarial to those others. The Bosnian case suggests that Europe's image depends on its performance as a prosperous and peaceful community. True, there is some bitterness among Bosnian Muslims about Europe but again it is related to Europe's performance during the 1990s, not to its religious or cultural identity. ▶▶▶

¹ Kerem Oktem and Reem Abou-El-Fadl, eds., *Mutual Misunderstandings? Muslims and Islam in European media, Europe in the media of Muslim majority countries* (Oxford: European Studies Centre, 2009).

² Oktem and Abou-El-Fadl, *Mutual Misunderstandings?*, 56-57.

■ However Europe still does have at least two image related problems. First, many Europeans seem to be hyper-afraid and suspicious of those who admire them simply because of the difference in culture and religion. It turns out that Europe's image of Bosnian Muslims is more culturally determined than the other way around. Such fear has been detrimental to the wellbeing of Bosnian Muslims both in the 1990s and in the post-9/11 world. As President Clinton confessed to his historian, European powers in the 1990s blocked the proposals to adjust or remove an arms embargo which would benefit the Bosnian Army because in their opinion "independent Bosnia would be 'unnatural' as the only Muslim nation in Europe".¹ In the post-9/11 Bosnian Muslims have often been suspected as 'White al-Qaida' or at best as 'too Muslim' Europeans.²

■ Obviously, European fears have been destructive of Bosnians' dreams. Reading recently an inspiring book about the European dream³ I was reminded of a dream that almost overnight turned into a nightmare with tragic consequences for millions of human beings. I was born many decades ago in Yugoslavia - a beautiful country that in many respects was a little Europe. It was not the best of all homes but it was a great home. The major thing its people missed was freedom. When it finally arrived everyone was jubilant. My parents, my generation, we all had dreams about the future. But not for long! In two years' time our dreams started to crumble. Our country was turned into a slaughterhouse, a nightmare at its worst. We could not believe. We indeed thought that it was just a bad dream. And until today many of us still ask in disbelief: How was it possible? What went wrong?

■ When years ago I started teaching genocide studies at Sarajevo University I slowly realised how one phenomenon that quickly spread in years preceding the war was crucial for the preparation of the cruel war, i.e., scaremongering – frightening people to death through manipulation of their deep-seated fears, past traumas and memories, half-truths, distortion of facts, stigmatisation of minorities, exaggerating and generalisation of incidents, outright fabrication, and other means of propaganda.

1 Taylor Branch, *The Clinton Tapes: Wrestling History with President* (London: Simon & Shuster, 2009), 9.

2 Aydin Babuna, „National Identity, Islam and Politics in post-Communist Bosnia-Herzegovina, *East European Quarterly*, 34:4 (January 2006), 419.

3 Jeremy Rifkin, *The European Dream: How Europe's Vision of the Future Is Quietly Eclipsing the American Dream* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004).

■ People were told that an enemy is coming to establish an Islamic state and impose Shari'ah, to cut limbs, to cover all women, to build mosques. University professors were doing their best to persuade their fellow countrymen that Muslims when they slaughter animals during sacrifice holiday were actually training their kids to kill their neighbours. Today, after the genocide in Srebrenica, after 1500 Sarajevo kids killed, after thousands of women raped, after 800 mosques destroyed, - today we all know too well that it was just a sheer propaganda. Nowadays while we are still digging out and identifying remains of past victims from over 350 mass graves hiding 27,000 missing persons we again hear similar scary dreadful warnings with slight changes in terminology.

■ Many dreams in the European past have gone terribly wrong. But still, most of my countrymen believe in the European dream despite the bitter feeling that Europe betrayed them, or rather itself, back in 1992.⁴ While very much longing for Europe many Bosnian Muslims ask themselves: will Europe let us down again? Will it once again believe sheer chauvinist propaganda or its eyes? Will it believe the victims of genocide or the war criminals? Will it believe those who stand against all that it cherishes except drink the same drinks and wear exactly the same cloth or those who share most its dreams except that they all do not drink its drinks and wear a bit different cloth?

■ The second European problem with its self-image is the belief of the large segments of European society that Europe's image abroad depends on its worldview, its values and ideas, not on what Europe does and how it behaves. From this come all sorts of analysis which through a series of unsubstantiated claims, imputations, (mis)interpretations and twists blame the weird ideas of marginal groups in other cultures and communities for the enmity that those communities might carry against Europe. The ideas of Manichaeism, *jahiliyya*, 'Islamic fascism' are to be blamed.⁵

■ Everything and everybody accept us and our acts. This is an outright denial of one's responsibilities. Europe could and should do better. ▶▶▶

4 Michael Sells, *The Bridge Betrayed: Religion and Genocide in Bosnia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998)

5 Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit, *Occidentalism: The West in the Eyes of Its Enemies* (New York: Penguin, 2004).

■ The positive perceptions of Europe are actually expectations from and demands upon Europe. They put an obligation upon Europe; a responsibility to deliver and not to fail. Europe owes it to its many admirers. And as the history of the Bosniak encounter with Europe testifies the European answer to these attitudes will influence those attitudes far more than either history or religion.¹

■ There are many reasons to believe that at this particular moment the biggest threat to the European dream is fear and hate mongering. At the same time our ability and willingness to confront hate and fear is in question because signs are not encouraging. It is not that we have no reason to worry. We all do. Every one of us has his / her traumas, individual and collective, distant and recent which give us reason to worry. However, while we should be appropriately alert by now we should know that most of our self-appointed patrons are actually grave diggers of our dreams and ourselves.

■ The only way to avoid the double trap of naivety and self-fulfilling prophecies of imaginary threats are genuine partnerships. We need to build partnerships to challenge fear, hate, and bigotry. An expert on the Middle East, Tamara Sonn, once justly remarked that the trouble spots of the world are the places in which we failed to consult and listen to each other. Acting together in good will we stand a chance against forces of nihilism, xenophobia, and extremism. Otherwise we are willingly entrusting the future of our kids to people women and men should never trust.

■ The European Union (EU) has succeeded because Europeans learnt the lesson from their recent wars. One lesson that we all ought to learn from the wars in Yugoslavia is that – and I am paraphrasing - the fear of threat is more to be dreaded than the threat itself. The European dream is about being rational. That is why the archenemy of our common dream of peaceful, prosperous, and pluralistic Europe is fear itself because, as Edmund Burke observed, “no passion so effectively robs the mind of all its powers of acting and reasoning as fear”.

■ The good news in all this is that we still have a choice. It is still not too late. Of course, like all other dreams, the European dream needs courage. And the courage, as Ambrose Redmoon said, “is not the absence of fear, but rather the judgment that something else is more important than fear”. To conquer fear is the beginning of the road. ■■■

¹ Dževada Šuško, „The Issue of Loyalty: Reaction of the Bosniaks to the Austro-Hungarian Empire (1878- 1918)” (Ph. D. Dissertation, the International University of Sarajevo, 2012), 256.

ERASING DIVIDING LINES OF EUROPE AND THE WORLD

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VISAS, PASSPORTS AND VALUES

Frontiers and borders still divide Europe inside and divide Europe from the world outside. There are physical frontiers - the Atlantic, the Mediterranean, the Ural mountains; political frontiers; and psychological frontiers.

■ **P**assports are required to leave a country. To get a national passport means to get citizenship, a possibility of a permanent stay in the country. One of the functions of passports is to enable a country to exercise control over its own and foreign citizens.

■ **V**isas are often needed to enter another country. To get a visa means to get temporary access to the country.

■ **B**y the time of the French Revolution almost every country in Europe had set up a system to issue passports. However, the rising popularity of rail travel in the mid-19th century led to an explosion of tourism throughout Europe and caused a complete breakdown in the European passport and visa system. By 1914 passport requirements had been eliminated practically everywhere in Europe, but the First World War brought back passports and visas which were again required - initially as a temporary measure.





Nansen passports.



Legacy of earlier passports' function in the modern US passport.



A Russian interior passport (right) and a Russian passport for foreign travel.



The false passport of Che Guevara.

The first passports for non-citizens, Nansen passports, were issued in the 1920s for refugees of the First World War. After 1917 many emigrants from Russia used them until the 1930s.

HOW DOES THE HISTORY OF ACCESS TO OTHER COUNTRIES REFLECT DIFFERENT COUNTRIES' DOMINANT VALUES AND PERCEPTIONS?

CASE STUDY 1: PASSPORTS IN THE USA

Between 1892 and 1924, more than 22 million immigrants, passengers, and crew members came through Ellis Island and the Port of New York. The outbreak of the First World War greatly reduced immigration from Europe but also imposed new duties on the Immigration Service. Internment of enemy aliens (primarily seamen who worked on captured enemy ships) became a Service responsibility.

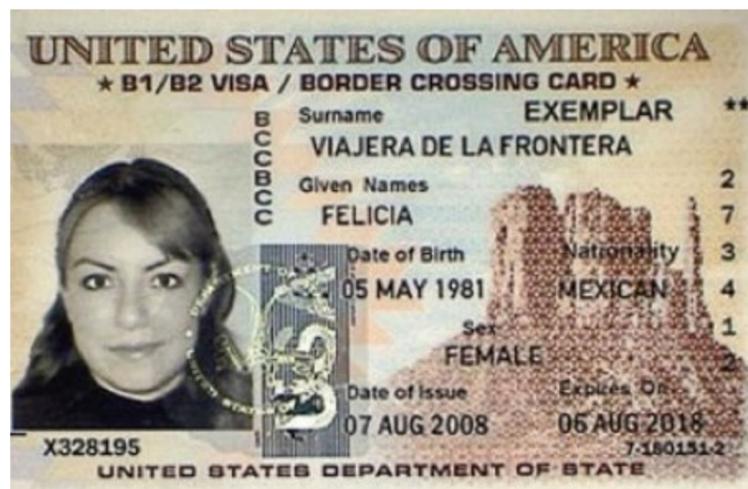


Immigrants arriving at Ellis Island, 1904. (Wikipedia)



Passport requirements imposed by a 1918 Presidential Proclamation increased agency paperwork during immigrant inspection and deportation activities.

The passport requirement also disrupted routine traffic across the United States land borders with Canada and Mexico. Consequently, the Immigration Service began to issue Border Crossing Cards.



Border Crossing card, USA.

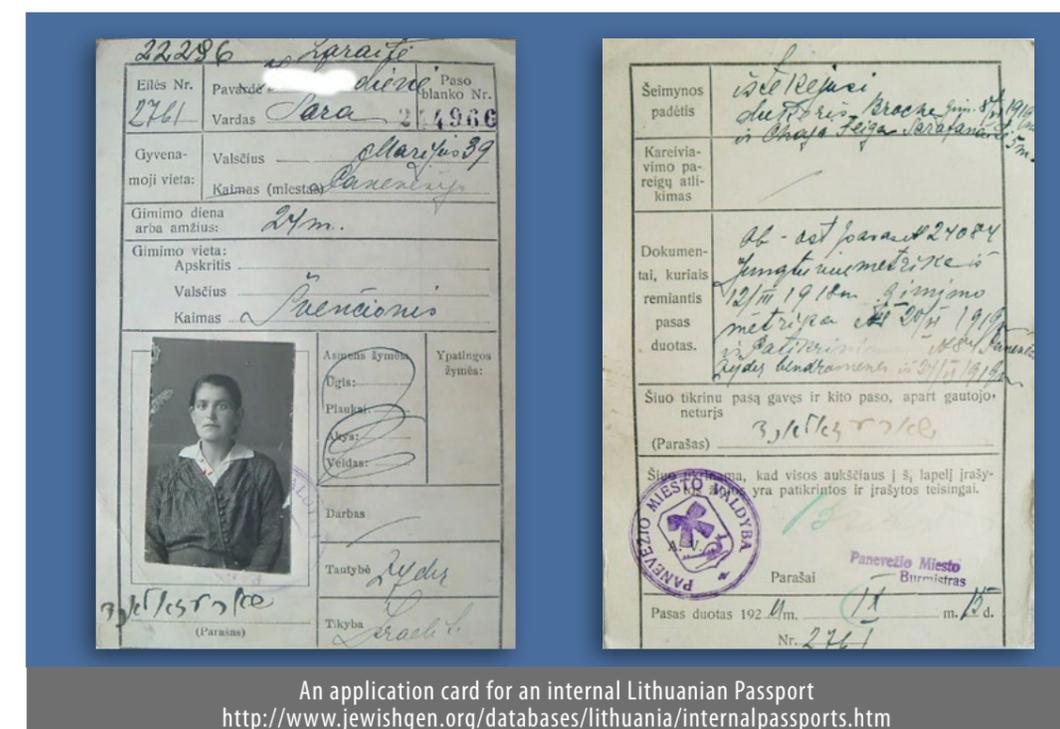
CASE STUDY 2: LITHUANIA

Before the First World War in the Russian Empire individuals were required to have an internal passport in order to travel within the boundaries of Russia. These internal passports were issued by local municipalities, town administrations, or the police. They were of different categories and colours. Some were valid for travel only within the guberniya, others "within the Pale of Settlement and to the town of the Russian Empire where Jews were permitted to reside", and so on. The terms of these passports also varied - half a year, a year, two years. Not only Jews, but all categories of the population, including even the nobility, needed internal passports for travelling.

In 1915, during the First World War, the majority of Jews living in Lithuania were forced to go deep into the interior of the Russian Empire. After the war ended, Lithuania became an independent country, and many Jews returned. Almost all of them came from Russia through the Obeliai frontier station, where they obtained a temporary document to cross the border. Within a month they had to apply to the authorities for a permanent internal passport. But they had to prove the right to Lithuanian citizenship by producing evidence that they were residents of the territory of Lithuania before the First World War. The date of the Internal Passport Application after 1920 makes it possible to know when the returnees came back to Lithuania.

During the period 1919-1940, every Lithuanian citizen aged 17 and above was required to have an internal passport. These passports could only be used for travel within Lithuania. However, these internal passports were not issued primarily for the purpose of travelling; they were personal identification documents.

Everyone who applied for an internal passport handed in an application to the authorities, and then a clerk formed a special card with the most important personal information, such as names, age, address, occupation, family status, nationality, religion, some special traits and so on. In less than half of the files have these cards survived.



An application card for an internal Lithuanian Passport
<http://www.jewishgen.org/databases/lithuania/internalpassports.htm>

CASE STUDY 3:
 PASSPORTS IN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE AND THE USSR

Before 1917: A 'Metrika' was an excerpt from a register of births – the first kind of passport of the Russian Empire. A 'Podorozhnaya' (Road document) was a permit to travel inside the Russian Empire.

After the October revolution of 1917: On December 18, 1917 the Sovnarkom (Soviet government headed by Lenin) issued a decree which transferred the registration of births, marriages/ divorces and deaths from the church to the state authorities.

On June 20, 1923 a decree of the Sovnarkom about personal identity cards abolished all previously existing travel and residence permit documents (but allowed various documents for personal identification) valid for three years. Neither photos nor ID cards were obligatory.

On December 27, 1932 the Sovnarkom introduced united interior passports with propiska (place of living stated) to control the movement of people during the period of industrialisation.

Kolkhoz peasants got passports only from the 1950s until 1974.



Podorozhnaya for Alexander Pushkin to travel within the Russian Empire, 1820.



Podorozhnaya for Nicolay Gogol to travel within the Russian Empire, 1851.



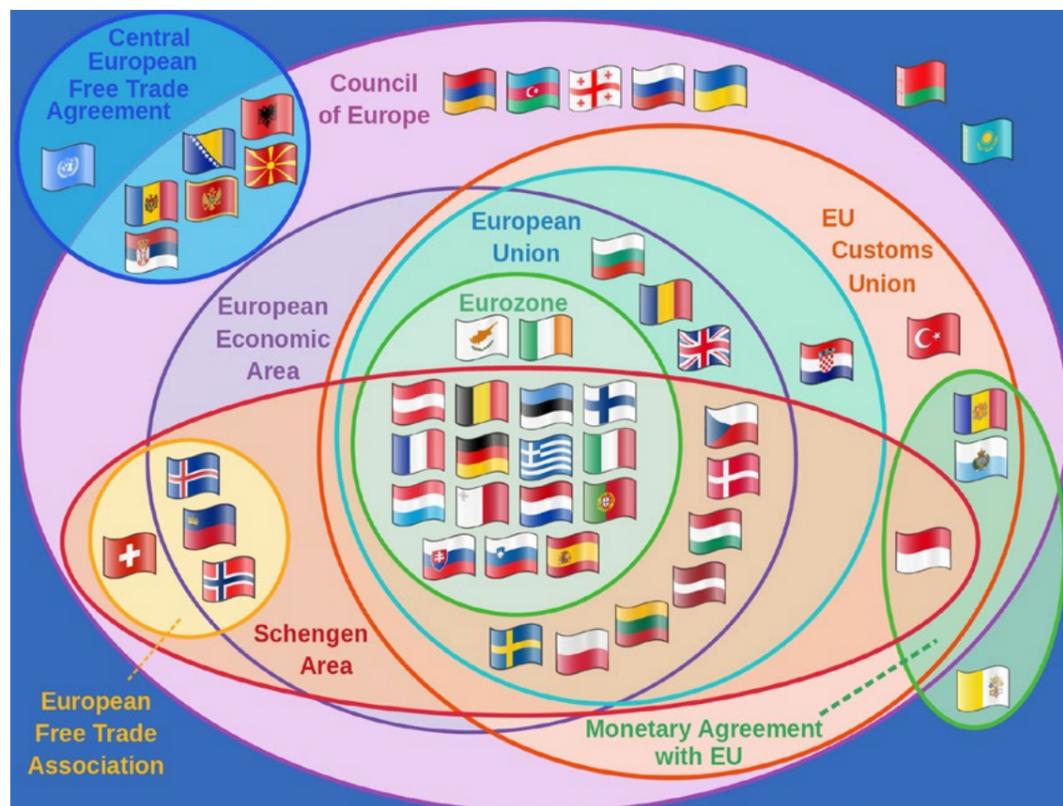
Podorozhnaya for Nicolay Gogol to travel within the Russian Empire, 1851.



A Passport issued in Leningrad region in July 1941 (for a 5-year period) with a picture



Soviet foreign passport, 1929.



■ The Schengen Agreement allows people who are legally resident in one of the participating countries to travel to any of the other participating countries without having any border checks when crossing frontiers between them. Anyone who enters or leaves the Schengen Zone, however, is subject to the normal checks.



The Finnish-Russian Federation border, an edge of the Schengen zone.



A queue to Lithuanian consulate, Kaliningrad.

■ Getting a Schengen visa: an excerpt from a Russian blog

Today is 11 June 2012

- ▶ 8.30: Came to the embassy; I was 109th in the queue.
- ▶ 9.20: They started to let us in.
- ▶ 10.40: Moved through the gate, stood in the line to the window.
- ▶ 11.40: Came to the window and the woman says as a bolt from the sky: you have a photo-shopped photo! It's my seventh visa. I know their special attitude to photos. I run out of the embassy and said to the guard that I will come back. Made a new photo in a white van nearby and boldly came back past the queue.
- ▶ 12.15: I gave in the documents and went out. There was still a queue in the street, but the guard was still letting everyone inside. They did not stop their work at 12.01. Good boys!

HISTORY FROM AN AFRICAN PERSPECTIVE

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It is neither easy nor straightforward to talk about Africa. Looking at it from a distance, the more faraway one is from the African continent the easier it is to generalise on the concept, so much so that even intellectuals use this inaccurate concept and feel comfortable with it. But Africa is 54 recognised countries, or 56 counting with two emerging identities still not recognised by the United African Organisation.

Firstly, we all have *ideas* about Africa, and it has many different meanings. Here are some of the issues it raises: what Africa means to you; what Africa means to Africans; what Africa means to the world; and, what to be African means to Africans and non-Africans. This last question is very complex but I have tackled it because I need to explain the complexity of concepts and raise awareness of what these concepts mean before proceeding.

Secondly, it is also quite difficult not to look or think about Africa without generalising and stereotyping. These two representations come usually together, and are linked to the fact that intellectual decolonisation is still an ongoing process, and though some efforts have been made, there is a question that so far has no clear-cut answer: is it possible to decolonise the mind(s)? Or, if we want to put it differently: when will the West stop thinking in terms of superiority (us) and inferiority (them)? Though politically incorrect, this attitude is subliminal in many western discourses.

I have been involved with the ongoing efforts of the Council of Europe towards building and strengthening an inclusive diverse society based on human rights. In Europe history education aims at being taught through different perspectives, and the minimum common denominator expected - the one history educators fight for - is that students across Europe do not learn a nationalistic history (though sometimes this perspective still emerges) that looks one-sidedly at historical events; history students should acquire a life-long awareness of the complexity of historical analysis and understand the difference between facts and interpretations and be able to diagnose propaganda. History lessons are based on the inquiry and interpretation of historical sources, the understanding of their context, what supported arguments are, and what is the meaning of the concept of provisional in relation to historical findings.

Now that I am living in Mozambique, I have seldom found this attitude when the topic is Africa, both in Europe and in Africa, even in very educated people, and this is what I mean when I raise the question of the need to decolonise the mind. And this need is felt in and out of African countries. ▶▶▶

■ To explain this attitude, and inspired by the Nigerian writer Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, I like to quote a part of the famous Rudyard Kipling's poem *The White Man's Burden* (which I will not be interpreting):

” Take up the White Man's burden
Send forth the best ye breed
Go bind your sons to exile
To serve your captives' need;
To wait in heavy harness,
On fluttered folk and wild
Your new-caught, sullen peoples,
Half-devil and half-child.

■ I want to focus on the two concepts still formatting the minds in relation to Africans: *half-devil* and *half-child*. Indeed, these lenses are still in use. When Africans act in a negative way they are viewed as *half-devils* and when they do something unexpected, naïve and not really negative they are considered *half-children*; they are anyway just *half*, which is less than one, and this concept of smallness hinders the concept of equality, and still pervades the way some think about Africans and the way Africans sometimes also think about themselves. In this sense, there is a question of worth underlying African identity.

■ In consequence, African history is often looked at as a half-history; the western standard seems to be the gauge of whatever is written to be taken seriously, as the west defines the structure and agenda of knowledge. In this very sense, if African history needs to go by the European historical canon to be accepted as history this is just not possible.

■ Some African writers feel this pre-conception and have written about this. Valentin- Yves Mudimbe, born in former Belgian Congo, in the introduction of his book *The Invention of Africa, Gnosis Philosophy and the Order of Knowledge*, reported that “the idea we have of Africa and the very history of Africa is an invention produced by the West”, also emphasising that “the metamorphosis of a memory, such as that found in an African colonial territory, is not simply a symbolic occurrence (...) it was also most obviously a force of domination, and its counterpart, subjugation, marks the transformation of a memory whose reconstruction testifies to this very violence”. He also acknowledges “a silent dependence on a Western episteme” and the fact that colonialism “transforms non-European areas into fundamentally European constructs”.

■ Other writers refer to similar phenomena. Mia Couto, born in Mozambique and a prominent writer in Portuguese speaking Africa, stated to an audience of students in one official opening of the academic year 2005: “we are misers when we reflect on ourselves. It is difficult for us to think as historical subjects, to look at Africa as a place of departure and as destiny of a dream. First the Africans were denied: their territory was the absence; their time was out of history. Afterwards the Africans were studied like a clinical case. Now they are helped to survive in the backyard of history”.

■ In fact, for a very long period, Africans were denied the very existence of an African history. It is the case of South Africa, during apartheid, when history started with the arrival of the Europeans (1652), before that there was nothing, a notion that links to the concept of smallness that I referred above.

■ The interactions between the West and the non-West have indeed not been politically innocent, economically egalitarian, or culturally benign in their consequences. Histories of both globalisation and post-colonialism are complex, intertwined and need further and deeper investigation. The writing of history is a slow process everywhere, and Africa is not an exception. However, globalisation implies some speeding up of the process, and the notion that the process of decolonising and reshaping the African mind can be initiated through history education in the classroom is misguided. Africans do not have the time but they do have the need to see themselves from within, as the way Africa is perceived around the world now matters because today perceptions have a cost, which is evident in the levels of investment, including human resources that flow into the continent.

■ Some steps have been made in the direction of writing a coherent history of the African continent. It is the case of Joseph Ki-Zerbo, born in what was Upper Volta and is today Burkina Faso, who is the author of the standard UNESCO adopted *L'Histoire de l'Afrique Noire*, first published in 1972. And the reason he wrote it is worth telling. In a recent interview he explained how a group of African scholarship students were studying in the Sorbonne in the early 1950s: “we were eager to search for our authentic history at the same time as we attended lectures on the feudal monarchy in France, Florence in the 15th century or Weimar Germany. It was a question of exploring and discovering for ourselves the collective itinerary of a whole continent; but above all of demonstrating to the colonisers how mistaken they were. I wrote articles on history in the African Catholic students' publication, Tam-Tam. After having combed the Parisian libraries, I published an article in the journal *Présence Africaine*, which was hotly discussed at the time, entitled *The Economics of the Slave Trade, or Organized Plunder*. When I returned to Africa in 1957 to teach at a lycée in Dakar and saw that Africa was not on the curriculum, I eagerly decided to give evening classes on African history – all the pupils in the lycée fought to get a seat; and even today, more than 40 years later, African administrators and leaders still speak to me about it enthusiastically”. ▶▶▶

■ In 1982, the anthropologist Eric R. Wolf wrote a book, *Europe and the People Without History*, focusing on the expansion of European societies after 1400. It is history written on a global scale, tracing the connections between communities, regions, peoples and nations that are usually treated as discrete subjects. The book has raised some controversy because Wolf adopted Marxist concepts as tools for analysis. In the recent edition of 2010, Thomas Hylland Eriksen, who wrote the foreword, explains that “the central assertion of this book is that the world of humankind constitutes a manifold, a totality of interconnected processes, and inquiries that disassemble this totality into bits and then fail to reassemble (...) concepts like ‘nation’, ‘society’ and ‘culture’ name bits and threaten to turn names into things”. Wolf himself further states that “by turning names into things we create false models of reality. By endowing nations, societies, or cultures with the qualities of internally homogeneous and externally distinctive and bounded objects, we create a model of the world as a global pool hall in which the entities spin off each other like so many hard and round billiard balls (...) meanings are not imprinted in things by nature, they are developed and imposed by human beings. Several things follow from this. The ability to bestow meanings – to ‘name’ things, acts and ideas – is a source of power. Control of communication allows the managers of ideology to lay down the categories through which reality is to be perceived. Conversely, this entails the ability to deny the existence of alternative categories, to assign them to the realm of disorder and chaos, to render them socially and symbolically invisible.”

■ Nevertheless, this complex process of identity finding faces issues that go far beyond the referred need to change nomenclature or the lack of revised historiography. Jonathan D. Jansen, who was the first black Dean of Education in the University of Pretoria, after the fall of apartheid and is now the Vice-Chancellor of the University of the Free State in South Africa, wrote a book that has a suggestive title - *Knowledge in the Blood, confronting race and the apartheid past* - published by Stanford University in 2011. The book tells the story of white South African students, young Afrikaners, born at the time Mandela was released from prison, who hold firm views about a past they never lived and rigid ideas about black people. Jonathan D. Jansen refers to the memory of multiplied traumas, the experiences of those who grow up dominated by narratives that preceded their birth, and the contrast between the lived history of the parents and the available history of the children and how memories carry emotions (fear, anxiety, pride, hurt) and constitute a very specific construct, referred to as the knowledge in the blood.

■ “Knowledge so conceived implies culpability. To know or not to know about an atrocity, whether one committed it or not, has legal consequences and, importantly, personal and familial consequences (...) knowledge of a terrible or glorious past is of course not only transmitted in words”. (Jonathan D. Jansen, *Knowledge in the Blood*, p. 80-81)

■ Jonathan D. Jansen also points out that African history classrooms can be divided places where different narratives come with direct and indirect knowledge, mainly indirect, where the teacher can be also the carrier of troubled knowledge. He further stresses that “Apartheid could not sustain itself without black collaboration and the same apartheid could not be overthrown without white solidarity”.

■ The global processes set in motion by European expansion also constitute the story of the Americans, Africans and Asians: the spread of Europeans across the oceans implied that societies and cultures around the world underwent major changes. Europeans have painfully returned to their own continent; decolonisation still remains an unfinished process.

■ Where Africa is concerned the ability of both Europeans and Africans to understand the mutual encounter and confrontation is still a very sensitive matter, that both parties in fact avoid. One of the most visible difficulties remains the teaching of slavery, though taught in the African curricula, the focus is on victimisation and it lacks accuracy. Since the European slavers only moved the slaves from the African coast to their destination in the Americas, the supply side of the trade was entirely in African hands. These issues are not raised. Likewise the African foundation upon which were built America's fortunes is only recently tackled in social studies on the other side of North Atlantic, whereas the priority of the African heritage in Brazil's melting pot is widely studied.

■ Decolonisation of knowledge, and therefore of history - considered here as the basis for understanding contemporary realities - is doing its first steps in the African continent and also requires thorough revision in Europe, to say the least.

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THE HISTORY TAUGHT IN SCHOOLS: FROM NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY TO A HISTORY OF HUMANITY

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THE HISTORY TAUGHT IN SCHOOLS

THE 19TH CENTURY MODEL

The history taught today in European schools developed out of a model created around the middle of the 19th century: a model of history recounting the biography of the nation in order to construct national identity. It was a real *instrumentum regni*, a means of ruling which was intended to create good patriots, as stated by the French magazine *La Tribune des Instituteurs et des Institutrices* in 1884, to give just one of many examples:

” To create sincere patriots: this is our scope in teaching French history¹.

■ Being a good patriot also meant being a good soldier. Again in the 1880s, the French historian Ernest Lavissee, one of the most important authors of history textbooks, wrote:

” Moral and patriotic teaching: this must be the outcome of history teaching in primary education.[...] Our very flesh and blood is at stake. In other words, if pupils are not imbued with the living memory of our national glories; if they do not know that our ancestors fought for noble reasons upon one thousand battlefields; if they do not learn how much blood and how many efforts were spent in order to accomplish the unity of our fatherland and to draw thereafter, out of the chaos of our aged institutions, the laws that made us free men; if pupils do not become citizens conscious of their duties and soldiers who love their guns, teachers will have wasted their time”².



¹ Mentioned in Marc Ferro, *L'histoire sous surveillance. Science et conscience de l'histoire*, Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1987, p. 20.

² Ernest Lavissee, *L'enseignement de l'histoire à l'école primaire*, in *Questions d'enseignement national*, Paris, Librairie Classique Armand Colin, 1885, pp. 209 – 210.

Similarly in Prussia, after the war against Austria in 1866, the *Provinzial-Correspondenz*, a newspaper very close to Chancellor Bismarck, glorified the decisive contribution made to the brilliant victory by the Prussian elementary school, which had succeeded in teaching future soldiers “loyalty to the Sovereign, obedience, self- sacrifice and love of their fatherland”¹.

This glorification of national history was incorporated in an absolutely Eurocentric vision of history, which rejected the cosmopolitan vision developed above all in the last quarter of the 18th century in the context of German Enlightenment, summed up as follows by historian and textbook author August Ludwig von Schlözer in 1772:

” World history takes into account all the states and all the peoples in the world. Without fatherland, without national pride, it covers all the countries where human societies dwell and embraces with its eyes all the scenes where human beings played their role. All parts of the world are equal to it. It has no predilection for the Four Monarchies, which pettily put aside about thirty more, nor for the people of God, nor for the Greeks and the Romans. Its interest reaches the Huang He river and the Nile, just as the Tiber and Vistola; Ilidschuzaj is for it more important than Maecenas; Alexander the Great, Caesar and Gustav Adolf are not more important than Attila, the Incas and Timur Lenk”².

The German philosopher Ernst Troeltsch just after the First World War gave a clear outline of the ideological significance of Eurocentrism in the self-representation of Europeans as the superior culture, when he stated that “the concept of a history of humanity is impossible” because “‘humanity’ does not exist as a unified historic subject”, given that “areas outside Europe lack historic self-awareness and critical cognition of the past, which only the European spirit has felt the need for”³.

1 *Die preussische Volksschule und der letzte Krieg*, in “Provinzial-Correspondenz”, Fünfter Jahrgang, No.10, 6. März 1867.

2 August Ludwig von Schlözer, *Vorstellung seiner Universal-Historie*, Göttingen und Gotha, bey Johann Christian Dieterch, 1772, p. 28 (lithographic reprint in Ludwig August Schlözer, *Vorstellung seiner Universal-Historie (1772/73) mit Beilagen*, herausgegeben, eingeleitet und kommentiert von Horst Walter Blanke, Margit Rottmann Medienverlag, Hagen, 1990).

3 Ernst Troeltsch, *Lo storicismo e i suoi problemi*, III, Napoli, Guida editori, 1993, pp. 23 – 28, *passim* (fb. *Der Historismus und seine Probleme*, Tübingen, Mohr, 1922).

FIRST CRITICISM

These characteristics of the European vision of history began to be disputed from the beginning of the 20th century, initially in a half-hearted and inconsistent manner and then slowly but increasingly, above all as a reaction to the two World Wars. The first criticism came from pacifist and socialist associations, for example from Dutch and French teachers, who attacked nationalism precisely due to its explicit warmongering implications, and attempted to revise history textbooks⁴.

After the tragic experience of the First World War these initiatives gained a new impulse, in the more general context of a commitment towards peace. This developed both at international level, as in the case of the *Comité International de la Coopération Intellectuelle*, set up in 1922 by the League of Nations⁵, and in Latin American states, which signed an agreement to periodically review their history textbooks in 1933⁶, and at non-governmental level, as in the case of the associations of French and German teachers, who founded an international federation “for educational collaboration and to prepare for peace through the cooperation of peoples in freedom” in 1926⁷.

The concrete results of all these initiatives were very limited, as in the period between the two World Wars the international political situation was certainly not in favour of moral disarmament and most states were not willing to accept interference in a field as important and delicate as history teaching⁸. ▶▶

4 See Otto-ernst Schüddekopf, *Historique de la révision des manuels d'histoire 1946-1965*, in Conseil de la Coopération Culturelle du Conseil de l'Europe, *L'enseignement de l'histoire et la révision des manuels d'histoire*, par Otto-Ernst Schüddekopf en collaboration avec Edouard Bruley, E. H. Dance et Haakon Vigander, Strasbourg, 1967, pp. 11-47, here pp. 15 s.

5 *Ivi*, pp. 19 ss. For the history of this Committee see Jean-Jacques Renoliet, *L'UNESCO oubliée. La Société des Nation et la coopération intellectuelle (1919-1946)*, Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 1999.

6 See Schüddekopf, *Historique de la révision des manuels...*, p. 21.

7 *Ivi*, p. 23.

8 Carl August Schröder, *Die Schulbuchverbesserung durch internationale geistige Zusammenarbeit*, Braunschweig, Georg Westermann Verlag, 1961, pp. 69-71, and Renoliet, *L'UNESCO oubliée...*, pp. 304 – 305.

UNESCO

After the Second World War initiatives to radically modify history teaching and turn it into a tool designed to educate people for peace were taken up again with more decisiveness, above all by UNESCO and by the Council of Europe. UNESCO made an important step forward in this sense, as it overcame the idea of a bilateral or multilateral revision of history textbooks and proposed a new global vision of history, to be achieved with a new general world history which would highlight above all cultural and scientific aspects, along with “the interdependence of peoples and cultures and their contribution [...] to the common heritage”¹. When presenting the plan for this work, French historian Lucien Febvre talked about the limitations of the initiatives for the revision of the various national history textbooks undertaken up to then and underlined the relationship between the history of the whole of humanity and education for peace:

” When one deals with the question of textbooks, and above all history books, we are told: ‘It is necessary to revise them’. Is this enough? I answer that it is not. The fact is that these textbooks, nationalist by definition, designed to glorify the individual spirit of a people, cannot but place it in opposition to neighbouring peoples. Neither UNESCO nor anyone can remedy this. National history based on politics, as it is taught more or less everywhere, will never tend to reconcile peoples. All one can ask of it is not to set off one against the other. If one wants to do more than this it is necessary to do something new. It is necessary to create the opportunity for a new kind of teaching: an apolitical approach to world history, which is by definition pacifist”².

■ This major historiographical work was published in the 1960s³, edited by a committee headed by Paulo E. de Berrêdo Carneiro, with the participation of many historians from all over the world: an important scientific achievement, which unfortunately did not give birth to educational material.

1 *Records of the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Third Session Beirut 1948, volume II Resolutions*, Paris, Unesco, 1949, p. 26.

2 Lucien Febvre, *Rapport de M. Lucien Febvre devant le Conseil International de la Philosophie et des Sciences humaines, Mai 1949 / Report of Professor Lucien Febvre to the International Council for Philosophy and Social Sciences, May 1949*, in “Cahiers d'histoire mondiale - Journal of World History - Cuadernos de historia mundial”, I (1954), pp. 954-961, here p. 956.

3 *History of Mankind: Cultural and Scientific Development*, London, George Allen & Unwin, 1963-1969. As regards the creation of this work see also Gilbert Allardyce, *Toward World History: American Historians and the Coming of the World History Course*, in “Journal of World History” I (1990), n. 1, pp. 23-76, here pp. 26-40.

COUNCIL OF EUROPE

The Council of Europe moved instead within the limited horizon of Europe, as its mission was to create the cultural basis for the European Union. Thus it did not deal with the global dimension of history, but only with developing a European vision of history, which could overcome poisonous nationalisms. For this purpose, a series of six conferences were organised between 1953 and 1958, seeing an unprecedented exchange of ideas among historians from all the Council's member states, and during which lists of specific recommendations for the authors of textbooks were drawn up. In the long term this action by the Council of Europe was certainly effective: indeed, in tune with the new European political and cultural climate, over the course of the decades the accent of the narrative in the history books of countries belonging to the European Community (EC) has mostly shifted away from the viewpoint of the various national states to a European dimension. As stated by Falk Pingel, at the end of a study on the image of Europe in history, geography and civic education textbooks for the lower secondary school in various EC states, carried out at the beginning of the 1990s:

” One can certainly not say that the textbooks examined by us try explicitly to develop a national consciousness: they rather tend to be oriented towards global values, or try to awaken an awareness of the European and Western tradition”⁴.

■ This is clearly a significant change as compared to previous nationalism, and undoubtedly encourages the development of a unified European culture. However, this does not mean a change in the ethnocentric nature of the approach to history. It has simply extended its frontiers from each national state to Europe. National ethnocentrism has been only subsumed by Eurocentric ethnocentrism. In this Eurocentric vision, the rest of the world continues to remain on the fringes, and European textbooks, with a few rare exceptions, only deal with it when and to the extent that Europe comes into contact with it.

■ The objective of teaching in the school a comprehensive vision of history of humanity has thus remained essentially unfulfilled, although it has become topical in the last few years, due to the development of historical research, to the new cultural and social awareness emerging in the current phase of globalisation and to the multicultural transformation taking place in many European societies.

■ But in this general picture there are a few examples which deserve attention.

4 Falk Pingel, *Befunde und Perspektiven – eine Zusammenfassung*, in Falk Pingel (Hrsg.): *Macht Europa Schule? Die Darstellung Europas in Schulbüchern der Europäischen Gemeinschaft*, Diesterweg, Frankfurt am Main, 1995, p. 287.

TWO FORERUNNERS: FERNAND BRAUDEL AND LEFTEN S. STAVRIANOS

The first attempts to introduce the history of humanity into schools took place in France and the USA in the 1950s and 1960s, however with disappointing results.

In France Fernand Braudel was behind the new history programmes of 1957, which extended the horizon of the programme for the final year of upper secondary schools to include contemporary non-European civilisations.¹ This was a major innovation for French schools, which also gave rise to violent criticism, particularly from Jules Isaac, co-author of the famous Malet-Isaac, the reference textbook for generations of French high school students, who asserted the central role of *histoire événementielle* and accused the new programme of historic materialism². Nor were teachers enthusiastic, quite the opposite: the new task appeared excessively difficult in relation to the Eurocentric history education and training they had received. The fact remains that non-European history was effectively marginalised in teaching, also because starting from 1966 the importance of history in the *baccalauréat* diminished considerably, as it was limited to the oral exam³. Subsequently, French history programmes went back to the Eurocentric approach.

1 Braudel also worked on a textbook (S. Baille, F. Braudel R. Philippe, *Le Monde actuel. Histoire et civilisations*, Paris, Belin, 1963), his text subsequently becoming the volume *Grammaire des Civilisations*.

2 Patrick Garcia, Jean Leduc, *L'enseignement de l'histoire en France de l'Ancien Régime à nos jours*, Paris, Armand Colin, 2003, p. 202.

3 Garcia, Leduc, *L'enseignement de l'histoire en France...*, pp. 200-205; Maurice Aymard, *Braudel enseigne l'histoire*, prefazione a Fernand Braudel, *Grammaires des civilisations*, Paris, Flammarion, 1993, pp. 5 – 18.

In the USA it was above all Leften S. Stavrianos, one of the pioneers of the new research in world history⁴, together with William H. McNeill⁵, who promoted the teaching of global history in the 1950s and 1960s, both in secondary schools and universities⁶. Using a very effective image, he said that it was necessary to look at “the Earth from the Moon” in order to have a global vision of humanity, beyond any form of ethnocentrism, whether European or of any other kind. In a speech given at the annual conference of the American Historical Association in 1968, he affirmed that history teaching in the USA, focused on western civilisation, was no longer adequate for understanding a rapidly changing world: this inadequacy led to widespread disinterest in history at secondary school and was not – in his opinion – unrelated to the dissatisfaction exploding in universities. He also noted another question specific to the USA: the question of African Americans and other minorities, who were all underrepresented in the traditional White Anglo Saxon and Protestant approach to teaching national history and who could not therefore identify with this⁷.

Stavrianos thus identified two motivations, one scientific and the other social, which are still today at the centre of debate about overcoming the teaching of ethnocentric history.

Despite the commitment of Stavrianos, who also wrote a textbook⁸, world history did not penetrate American secondary schools: once again Eurocentrism resisted strongly, also because it made up teachers' culture. At most, the central theme of Western Civilisation was accompanied by some references to China or other non-European societies⁹. ▶▶▶

4 His books include Leften S. Stavrianos, *The World Since 1500. A Global History*, Englewood Cliffs (NJ), Prentice Hall, 1966, and the more recent *Lifelines from our Past. A New World History*, London – New York, I. B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., 1990.

5 William H. McNeill *The Rise of the West: A History of the Human Community*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1963.

6 Allardyce, *Toward World History...*, here pp. 40-62.

7 Leften S. Stavrianos, *The Teaching of World History*, in “The History Teacher”, vol. 3, no. 1 (Nov. 1969), pp. 19-24.

8 Leften S. Stavrianos, Loretta K. Andrews, George I. Blanksten, Roger F. Hackett, Ella C. Leppert, Paul M. Murphy, Lacey B. Smith, *A Global History of Man*, Boston, Allyn & Bacon, 1962.

9 See Gary B. Nash, Charlotte Crabtree, Ross E. Dunn, *History on Trial. Culture Wars and the Teaching of the Past*, Alfred A. Knopp, New York, 1999, pp. 114 s.

WORLD HISTORY'S SUCCESS IN THE USA

However, after this false start, it was precisely in the USA that the teaching of world history began to establish itself at the end of the 20th century, thanks to the combination of a lively historiography sector of world history research (in 1982 a group of academicians and teachers founded the World History Association) and new social and cultural stimulus. Indeed in the 1980s there was extensive debate on the overall poor quality of American schools, leading President George H. Bush to launch a programme in 1990 to establish national standards in the following subjects: maths, science, English, art and history¹. History teaching in particular was at the centre of a lively debate, for political and social reasons. In the USA there are two separate history programmes, one for American history and one for 'non-American' history. The former was traditionally characterised by focus on the White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) elite, whereas the second was a history of Western Civilisation, essentially similar to the Eurocentric model taught in Europe. In the 1980s this approach to the history of the USA was actively challenged by ethnic groups of non-European origin, particularly African Americans. In place of the monoculturalism dominating until then, there was thus a form of conflicting multiculturalism². As regards the other part of history, a western vision of the world by now appeared inadequate for understanding the current world situation. In response to this crisis, the National Center for History in the School, which had the task of preparing the history standards, decided to include the history of the social and ethnic groups neglected until then in American history, while the non-American history programme evolved into a genuine global picture. These new programmes, the National Standards for History, were published in 1994, leading to widespread and heated debate. Particularly heavy was the criticism from the Republicans, who accused the new programmes of denigrating the USA and the West in favour of non-European cultures. Bob Dole, the future presidential candidate for the Republicans, declared at the annual meeting of the American Legion in 1995:

” There is a shocking campaign afoot among educators at all levels – most evident in the National History Standards – to disparage America and disown the ideas and traditions of the West. The purpose of the National History Standards seems not to teach our children certain essential facts about our history, but to denigrate America's story, while sanitizing and glorifying other cultures”³.

1 *ibid*, pp. 105, 150-155.

2 *ibid*, p. 99.

3 *Ivi*, p. 245.

The violent tones during this campaign were also motivated by political reasons: the Republicans, who in the autumn 1994 elections had gained a majority, wished to place the role of the government in discussion in the field of schooling. The Senate, where the Republicans had a majority, rejected the National Standards for History. However, the political situation soon calmed down and a new version of the Standards, including some modifications which did not radically alter the framework of the previous version, was published in 1996⁴, without exciting the same uproar. Over and beyond political convenience, this episode shows that ethnocentric values and the desire to use history as an instrument for forming the collective national identity represent the main obstacle to the teaching of world history.

When assessing the efficacy of the National Standards in American teaching, it should be recalled that they are not compulsory, representing only guidelines, because in the USA each state is autonomous in the field of education and can decide whether and to what extent to base its school programmes on the federal National Standards. In this context, however, the National Standards, in addition to representing an important stimulus for reviewing history teaching and educational programmes, are also significant because they have influenced the new world history courses for the Advanced Placement Programme, which represents the excellence path for American high schools, the examinations being unified at federal level⁵. The number of candidates taking the world history exam is increasing constantly (from 20,955 in 2002, when it was first introduced to 210,805 in 2012 as compared to 427,796 in American history and 108,854 in European history), demonstrating the interest excited by this vision of history. It is a success story which has led schools and universities to undertake an intense specific teacher training programme⁶. ▶▶▶

4 *National Standards for History, Basic Edition*, National Center for History in the Schools, Los Angeles, 1996.

5 See *Access to Excellence. A Report of the Commission on the Future of the Advanced Placement Program*, The College Board, s.l., 2001.

6 See Patricia Lopes Don, *Establishing World History as a Teaching Field: Comments from the Field*, in “The History Teacher”, vol. 36, no. 4 (August 2003), pp. 505-525.

FAILURE IN ITALY

Shortly after the conclusion of these events in America, in Italy debate about the teaching of world history also began in 2001, in the context of the general reform of the school system carried out by the centre-left government under the Ministers of Education Luigi Berlinguer and Tullio De Mauro. A commission nominated by the latter, which included historians, geographers, sociologists and economists among others, prepared a world history programme to replace the Eurocentric model. In its central part, taking place chronologically and carried out from the fifth to the ninth year, i.e. up to the end of compulsory schooling, the programme was based on a general framework of world history, within which European, national and local history were inserted¹.

In contrast to the American experience, the Italian world history programme was a failure. The electoral victory of the centre-right coalition headed by Silvio Berlusconi on 13 May 2001 was decisive: the new Minister of Education, Letizia Moratti, blocked the whole school reform of the previous government, about to come into force, and substituted another, in which the history programme was inspired by the values of Italian national identity and Eurocentrism². At all events, before being politically torpedoed, the world history programme had already excited considerable controversy among Italian historians, which was taken up widely in the press³. The fundamental argument of the detractors was that a world history programme denied in itself what in their opinion should be the fundamental role of history teaching: that given to it by the 19th century model. As stated clearly by historian Rosario Villari, for example:

” The study of history coincides with the need for an in-depth understanding of the identity of one's own civilisation and the country and civil community to which one belongs⁴.

1 *Regolamento, recante norme in materia di curricoli della scuola di base, ai sensi dell'articolo 8 del decreto del Presidente della Repubblica 8 marzo 1999, n. 275, e gli Indirizzi per l'attuazione del curricolo*, in G. Cerini, I. Fiorin, *I curricoli della scuola di base. Testi e commenti*, Napoli, Tecnodid, in collaborazione con Zanichelli Editore, 2001.

2 Legislative Decree of 19 February 2004, no. 59, published in the Gazzetta Ufficiale della Repubblica Italiana on 2 March 2004: *Definizione delle norme generali relative alla scuola dell'infanzia e al primo ciclo dell'istruzione, a norma dell'articolo 1 della legge 28 marzo 2003, n. 53*.

3 For a concise reconstruction of this matter I refer to my article *L'insegnamento della storia in mezzo al guado: alcune puntualizzazioni sul dibattito italiano attuale*, in "Società e Storia", fasc. 103, 2004, pp. 137- 143.

4 Paolo Conti, *Villari: caro ministro, ecco perché la tua riforma è sbagliata*, in "Corriere della Sera", 13 February 2001.

However, alongside political and educational grounds for refusal of world history, there is another aspect, typical of the Italian historiographical culture, as historian Giuseppe Ricuperati pointed out. While recognising that the programme drawn up by the De Mauro commission represented an "interesting and dignified experience"⁵, he noted that it was perceived by the historians who opposed it as "a menace for the identity of the discipline"⁶, because

” not only is there a lack of a real tradition of World History in Italian research, but the 'transnational' historical perspective is also very recent⁷.

The programmes issued by Minister Moratti were short-lived and were subsequently substituted by those issued by the Ministers Fioroni, Gelmini and Profumo, in which the centrality of Italy was diminished in favour of the European dimension. However, the global dimension continued to remain in the background. It should however be noted that world history is gradually making progress in Italian historiography, as demonstrated by some recent publications⁸. It is impossible to predict if and when school teaching will also be affected.

OUTLINE FOR A WORLD HISTORY PROGRAMME

Starting from the American experience of world history teaching, various ideas have developed about how to design a school programme for this subject.

Here I describe my proposal for a general programme outline, which is suitable for overcoming national peculiarities and able to respond to the dual need for unity at epistemological level and flexibility in relation to the various cultural and school contexts, also in terms of education programmes.

The first level, or basic programme, common to all schools, is represented by a conceptually homogeneous narration, following world history from its beginnings, without neglecting any part of the world and held together by interpretative categories valid for any era and any area. ▶▶▶

5 Giuseppe Ricuperati, *A proposito di «Whose History?», e di uso pubblico della storia. Lo scontro sui piani di studio negli Stati Uniti (e in Italia)*, in "Rivista storica italiana", CXV (2003), pp. 771 s.

6 *Ivi*, p. 772.

7 *Ivi*, n. 128.

8 For example: Laura di Fiore, Marco Meriggi, *World History. Le nuove rotte della storia*, Laterza, Roma – Bari, 2011.

ROMANIAN TEXTBOOKS
EUROPEAN EXPANSION
INFLUER SUR LES PERCEPTIONS DE L'EUROPE
THE SHAPING OF PERCEPTIONS ABOUT EUROPE
ISLAMIC ART IN MUSEUMS

WHAT IS EUROPE?
VALEURS PARTAGÉES POUR DES APPROCHES EUROPÉENNES
IMAGINING THE BALKANS
PERCEPTION OF EUROPE IN CHINA: AN OUTLINE
MULTI-PERSPECTIVE OPTIONS IN THE DUTCH NATIONAL CURRICULUM

TEACHING ABOUT GLOBAL HISTORY
EUROPE AND THE WORLD
EUROPE IN TEXTBOOKS
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■ This basic level gives a sense and coherence to the in-depth studies, carried out within the programme, making up its second level: the choice of these will be dictated by the cultural educational requirements of each individual school.

■ So let us first examine the basic programme.

■ In order to fulfil its educational role it must be based on three forms of continuity: conceptual, temporal and spatial.

■ As regards conceptual continuity, the programme is based on two common threads: the internal evolution of human societies and the interactions among them. All societies can indeed be analysed and compared by observing the complex overall combination of the following four fundamental elements which characterise all of them, from Palaeolithic to advanced industrial societies:

1. the relationship with the environment, namely the ways in which human beings obtain the resources they need, from food to raw materials and energy sources;
2. forms of political and social organisation, namely the way in which societies govern themselves through the division of labour, the exercising of power and relations between genders;
3. culture, namely artistic, literary, musical and religious expression;
4. and finally geopolitics, namely the interactions – peaceful or conflicting, through trade or wars – between various societies for the control of environmental resources.

■ This thread ties in with the second common thread in world history, namely the dynamics of interaction between the various societies, the system of exchanges, which through progressive intensification, albeit not continuous, has led to the current phase of globalisation.

■ Maintaining temporal continuity means studying these societies and their interaction following a chronological order, from the past to the present, as chronology is a key element in historical interpretation.

■ Finally, maintaining spatial continuity means ensuring that no part of the world is ever a blank sheet, at any significant historical moment on a global scale, without essential information on what was happening there and the societies that lived there.

■ In addition to being based on these three forms of continuity, the basic programme is also marked by periodisation. The definition of global historical periods has to deal with the problem that many parts of the planet were isolated from one another for long periods of time. Here I have adopted the criterion of first identifying the main changes in the relationship between human beings and the environment taking place at global level: the Neolithic revolution and the industrial revolution, which divide world history into three great eras:

1. the hunting and gathering era, in which human beings made direct recourse to food resources present in the environment;
2. the era of neolithisation, in which human beings began to produce their food resources by intervening in the biological processes of nature, by controlling production processes in relation to plants (agriculture) and animals (husbandry), and to develop technology with the use of pottery, metal and machines;
3. the era of industrialisation, in which human beings began a process of increasingly rapid technological development, which radically changed their relationship with the environment.

■ The first manifestations of these two revolutions, neolithic and industrial, albeit spatially limited, can be considered as turning points in terms of global periodisation, precisely because their impact, with different timescales, slower in the first case and more rapid in the second, affected the whole planet. These two great turning points in the relationship between man and the environment are joined by a further one, regarding the second common thread in world history, namely exchanges, and which represented an instrument in the unification of the inhabited world: the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus.

■ This first major periodisation is integrated by a second one, which focuses on societies, their internal evolution and geopolitical dynamics. ▶▶▶

■ The final result of these periodisation operations is a division into nine historical eras, up to the present day (see Table 1). These are joined by a tenth, which deals with the near future and which in educational terms involves consideration of the past and present, corresponding with a vision of historic consciousness as a summary of the perception of the three temporal dimensions.

■ This periodisation represents the first major conceptual grid, on the basis of which pupils should be able to orient themselves in history.

■ So let us now look at it more closely.

■ The first era (*The process of human evolution and the Palaeolithic Age*) contains two lengthy processes which are in some ways different: the process of human evolution and the long Palaeolithic adventure of *Homo sapiens*. I believe that it is educationally preferable to deal with them together, both to demonstrate the spatial and the temporal interpenetration between the two phenomena and because in this phase all the various *Hominini* had the same relationship with the environment, a relationship based not on production, but on direct use, through scavenging, hunting and gathering. This first era is also important at educational level because in the final phase we have the first truly global phenomenon, the population of the planet by *Homo sapiens*, made possible by the intercontinental bridges created by the last great Ice Age. The end of this Ice Age, with the isolation of the American continent, the Eurasian-African system and Australia and hence the break-up of the Ecumene, concludes this first era. Here it is important to point out how the passage from this phase of human history to the next, represented by the Neolithic revolution, is linked to a climatic event at global level. The history of the climate is indeed a theme which crosses the whole of world history, as one of the fundamental components in the relationship between man and the environment. A further two global themes, which interweave significantly, also stand out in this era: genetic evolution and the linguistic evolution of the populations of *Homo sapiens*.

■ The second era takes its name from the Neolithic revolution. The period of time indicated here, from the 9th to the 4th millennium BCE, highlights the different times in which the Neolithic revolution began and developed in various areas of the planet: with the cultivation of crops, with and without irrigation, in the Fertile Crescent, the Nile valley, the Indus valley, the valley of the Yellow River, in south-eastern Asia, central America and the Andes and with nomadic pastoralism on the steppes of central Asia and the Arab peninsula.

■ These first two eras of history are generally neglected in history teaching: they are considered as a prologue – not by chance defined as ‘prehistory’ – to be considered only briefly, before moving on to proper history, which begins with writing. This is a very serious conceptual error, which is linked to the contrast between ‘civilisations’ and ‘barbarianism’ and to the idea that there are ‘peoples with a history’ and ‘peoples without a history’. These two eras should instead be the object of considerable attention in a history programme, because they make it possible to learn from the beginning about ways of interpreting societies and the relations between them, methods which will be constantly used throughout the programme and which are based on a unified vision of humanity in time and space.

■ In the third era (*From cities to empires*) the emphasis is placed on a specific aspect of the consequences of the Neolithic revolution, namely the development of sedentary societies through different forms of settlement and the control of increasingly extensive areas, from villages and cities to the setting up of states and empires. Naturally this focus must not neglect the nomadism in Eurasia and the relationship of these societies with sedentary ones. This third era is conceptually homogeneous with the fourth (*Crises and renovation in the Empires*), which is also characterised by the internal and external evolution of state structures. From this point of view, these two eras can be considered as a single one, whose *terminus ad quem* is represented by the European geographical discoveries of the 15th century, which gave rise to a new phase in the process of interlinking different parts of the planet. A division around the 5th century is only significant for Eurasia and North Africa, where there was a general and almost contemporary crisis of the Empires which had formed in the previous era, a crisis which also represented one of the most significant moments in the conflict between nomads and settlers in this area. When we turn our attention to sub-Saharan Africa and North and South America, we can instead observe that the process of urbanisation and the setting up of states took place later and very differently as compared to Eurasia and North Africa. These two eras, considered together or separately, depending on educational requirements, thus make it possible to demonstrate the different pace of development of the urban revolution in these large areas of the planet, and to analyse the causes of their profound economic, technological and demographic differences, which were to have a decisive influence when European expansion brought them into violent contact. ▶▶

The learning modules making up the second level lend themselves particularly to educational methods based on active participation, although not using these exclusively. These are adjusted in various ways according to the age of pupils, taking the form of a history workshop which develops the critical skills of pupils, by bringing them into contact with historic research procedures and historiography. These specific studies, in contrast to the basic programme, are of a modular nature, in the sense that they are modifiable and interchangeable. They should be chosen in such a way as to combine operational aspects (work with textual, iconographic, audiovisual and statistical sources, or with historiographical texts) and specifically historical or interdisciplinary thematic aspects. In this way it is possible to establish a dialogue between the basic programme and the specialised modules. For example, it is thus possible to deal more thoroughly with societies already studied during the basic programme, such as classical Greece or the Ming dynasty in China, or to develop long-term topics, which cross the various eras, such as demography, institutions, religions, mentalities, family, wars and figurative arts, using the most appropriate sources on each occasion, in order to touch on all the most significant topics and types of sources.

Table 1 : Outline of the basic world history programme

| ERAS OF THE BASIC PROGRAMME | CHRONOLOGY |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| The process of human evolution and the Palaeolithic Age | 1 Up to the 9th millennium BC |
| The Neolithic revolution | 2 9th-4th millennium BC |
| From cities to empires | 3 4th ML. BC – 5th century AD |
| Crises and renovation in the Empires | 4 5th-15th century |
| European expansion around the world and the beginning of globalisation | 5 15th - middle 18th century |
| The industrial revolution | 6 Middle 18th - middle 19th century |
| From imperialism to the World Wars | 7 Middle 19th century- 1945 |
| The world divided into two blocks | 8 1945- 1989 |
| The history of the present day era | 9 1989 - present day |
| Prospects for the future | 10 |



The process of human evolution and the Palaeolithic Age.
Replica of Laetoli footprints, exhibit in the National Museum of Nature and Science, Tokyo, Japan



From cities to empires.
Coliseum amphitheatre, Rome, Italy



European expansion around the world and the beginning of globalisation.
Dutch Galleon



From imperialism to the World Wars.
Sugar plantation, West Indies



The history of the present day era.
Fall of the Berlin Wall, Germany



The Neolithic revolution.
Stonehenge, United Kingdom



Crises and renovation in the Empires.
Angkor Wat, Cambodia



The industrial revolution.
Bridgewater Mill, United Kingdom



The world divided into two blocks.
Two cold war enemies compete



The Future.

EUROPE'S IMAGE AMONG BOSNIAN MUSLIMS
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LOOKING THROUGH THE WINDOW THE WORLD IN ROMANIAN POST 1989 TEXTBOOKS

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” At *The Romanian Peasant's Museum* in Bucharest, a room is dedicated to the dowry, a significant mechanism of solidarity and reciprocity. Among the objects on display, a wooden window frame has a curious history. The curator had difficulties in acquiring the object. While the husband had no issues with the selling of the object, the wife refused. “How can I sell it, she said, I looked at the world through it?” This simple statement implies that the view on the world is culturally defined by internal values and perceptions. Among the instruments that shape such perceptions, textbooks, as elements of an official curriculum, take an important place.

INTRODUCTION

Textbooks are among the most significant educational tools in use, even in high-tech societies. They represent one of the tools that highlight decision-making in the field of education, academic state-of-the-art reflection, and public expectations and stereotypes. At the same time, they are a special blend of academic text. They have to comply to general rules of one field of knowledge or another, and with didactic practicalities. To further complicate matters, textbooks are almost classic instances of public use of knowledge, and therefore subject to public perceptions and uses of the specific field. To sum it up, textbooks are a ‘captive’ form of academic writing. This is very true when looking at History textbooks.

■ The aim of this paper is to show, on the basis of a specific topic – the way in which non- European societies and historical developments are represented in Romanian History textbooks – how these various influences shape textbooks and, through them public awareness or lack of it, and stereotypes. The textbooks taken into consideration are in use, and will be for some time. ▶▶▶

APPROACH

There are several approaches to analysing history textbooks. One of the approaches is the school-centered approach, focusing on the relevance and utility of the textbooks for the classroom practice. This is the case for some of the more interesting guidelines developed for the production of textbooks. One of these is the guidelines developed by the European Educational Publishers' Group (EEPG). The main criteria are: didactic relevance; transparency of aims, educational outcomes, and methodological principles; validity (internal coherence, methodological coherence, coherence of the author's text, factual integrity, practical aims); attractivity (user-friendly, interactivity, diversity, sensibility); flexibility (catering to individual learning needs, scalability); open-endedness (transferability, progressive integration of new knowledge, cognitive and metacognitive development); the degree to which it fosters active civic involvement of students and the increase in the learning partnership; and the development of social skills. The UNESCO guidelines for textbook analysis (developed with the Georg-Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research), while dedicated primarily to the issues of textbooks developed in an multinational and or international context, puts forth several elements that are a step further, such as the relation between facts and interpretation, the influence of outside factors (from the type of curriculum to the practicalities of textbook development and approval), the analysis of the relation and tensions between the academic and the didactic scope of the textbook, the public uses of history as subjective interpretation of the past (Pingel, 2010).

■ **O**n the other hand, historians tend to look mostly at issues related to the factual content of textbooks. This approach seems to be widely distributed in Eastern Europe, and in regions where past conflicts are still part of the public use of history. In both cases, the historiography and the reconciliation process after the conflict are still in a process of development.

■ **T**o sum it up, it seems that textbooks are perceived as either didactic tools, or as texts incorporating public expectations and perceptions of the past, but not as a blend of both. The studies that look at perceptions within educational practices are, at least in Eastern Europe, still in a minority.

■ **T**herefore, our analysis will concentrate on the context of textbooks development, the relation with the curriculum and with academic developments, and teacher perception and use of these textbooks.

■ **M**uch more debatable is the concept of world history, especially when we look at recent development such as the renewed attention given to global history. One definition of global history is that "global history implies a global framework and a global perspective [...] Our sense of global history implies moreover that we are interested in understanding human development in the long term" (Gills & Thompson, 2006: 4). Three elements characterise the global perspective – space, topic, and time¹. This analysis shows the difference between globalisation as a current development, and the various long-term and widely distributed phenomena of cultural, economic, politic interaction. But, on the other side, Dominic Sachsenmeier, looking at how history is written, states that "the research commonly subsumed under 'global history' is so diverse that it cannot possibly be pinned down through exact definitions and precise categorisations. It is also not feasible to properly separate 'global history' from several other terminological options such as 'world history' or 'transnational history'" (Sachsenmeier, 2011: 2). This is true, since one way of looking at world history is that "to put it simply, world history is the story of connections within the global human community [...] it is the story of past connections in the human community. World history presumes the acceptance of a human community—one riven sometimes by divisions and hatreds but unified nonetheless by the nature of our species and our common experience. It is the study of connections between communities and between communities and their environments" (Manning, 2003: 3, 15).

■ **I**ndeed, the recent historiography seems to be interested in 'global issues', from processes such as colonisation (Ferro, 1997) to the development and use of concepts (Liebersohn, 2010), from the more classical approaches related to the contacts between cultures or the diffusion of ideas (Rist, 2008) to geological and ecological perspectives (Kauffman & Walliser, 1990).

■ **B**ut textbooks are something more (and less) than academic treatises. They are at the same time teaching support intended for use in the interaction with students that do not have *per se* a special interest in the field, and results of a process of selection that is influenced by factors outside the actual field of research, such as the aims and objective of the educational system, the dominant didactical approaches, material resources, teacher training, and so forth. ▶▶▶

¹ Stearns adds another element that is the rhythm of contact: "globalisation is both an intensification of the range and speed of contacts among different parts of the world and an expansion of the kinds of activity intimately involved in global interactions" (2010: 6).

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Therefore, world history and global history are, from a didactic perspective, two competing models of presenting and working with the subjective narratives on the past. One is focusing on traditional patterns of historical writing, on conceptual re-groupings that are more linked to the students' personal experiences. The other seems to focus on developments that cross boundaries, chronologically, geographically, or culturally. Of course, the main problem is that 'global' is chronologically biased. To give an example, the Mycenaeans were linked to trade routes ranging from Northern Europe to Egypt, and from at least Central Europe to Afghanistan. At the time of Bronze Age Europe, this space that would not be called 'global'; it was indeed, as Wallerstein puts it, a world system. The result is, then, that globalisation is also an issue that becomes more researchable as the awareness of interdependencies is growing.

THE CONTEXT

Two elements were at the core of the educational reform in Romania: the curriculum and the textbooks. The introduction of a National Curriculum in the mid-1990s, and of the alternative textbooks based on the new documentation constituted the basis of significant changes in terms of educational teaching practices and schemes of evaluation and assessment. It also brought forth a new autonomy for the teachers, since the school-based curriculum enabled practitioners to innovate both in terms of content and didactic approaches. What it did not change, however, at least not to the degree called for by the changes in the system, was initial teacher training, especially at the level of the contents of academic training.

This more or less positive image is significantly altered when we look at the developments that took place in the long term. After the initial impetus, political and economic elements drastically altered the initial plan. The result was that the educational reform changed from a long-term process into a process marred by frequent changes of rhythm, scope, and focus. Also, and this is important in the present discussion, it influenced heavily the way in which textbooks were developed. The first generation of textbooks was financed by both the World Bank and the Romanian Government, and they had to comply with both curriculum and financial requirements. Compliance to the National Curriculum and a reduced price became the major criteria for textbook approval. One of the results was that, over a long period of time, the financial criterion became in practice more significant than the compliance with the aims of the curriculum. Another result is that various generations of textbooks are in use, and that the distance between Curriculum requirements and the textbooks is increasing. Even more significant, the various revisions of the curricula, basically once every two years, were not implemented at the level of textbooks.

At the same time, academic training is lagging behind, mainly at the level of conceptual developments. Issues of methodology, while on the increase in the academic curricula, are still limited to basic approaches, mainly as a form of recuperating the period in which methodological debates were at the lowest. For the Romanian case, a recent project seems to demonstrate that the relation between academic training and what graduates are supposed to use as teachers is a rather tenuous one. True, this is due to the fact that initial teacher training is still concurrent, both at BA and MA levels. The result is a context in which curricular change occurs faster than the change at the level of teaching materials, the latter being heavily influenced by economic considerations, initial teacher training is still highly academic and content oriented. But what about the use of the textbooks: in a recent, as yet unpublished research, it seems that teachers use the textbooks not only as teaching support, but also as an instrument for curriculum enactment. The result is that, while the national curriculum has specific provisions, in practice outdated materials seem to be more significant, at least in terms of content.

THE WORLD AS SEEN FROM THE EUROPEAN PERIPHERY

This somewhat difficult context raises the question of what kind of information, what skills and competences do such textbooks convey and support. When looking at how the images of the world are constructed in the Romanian textbooks, one cannot escape the image of a dual discourse. Officially, there is no gap between the national history (i.e., the history of the territories that represent present-day Romania), the European history and the analysis of global developments. The National curriculum is quite specific about this issue. At high school level, at least, a European and global focus are considered the salient features. But there is no actual integration of the topics that are relevant for a global perspective and national developments. The developments presented in the textbooks are evolving in parallel, and only when direct political and economic influences at the national level that are acknowledged at academic level (mainly events, less so in the case of long-term processes) are concerned, is there a reference in the lessons referring to the national history. The situation is somewhat different in the case of topics related to cultural history. The integration is clear and focuses on the influence of cultural developments in Europe that have influenced the Romanian culture. This is the case especially for the topics related to the last two centuries. ▶▶▶

Salient absences are the developments in South-East Asia (with the exception of the Meiji revolution), South America (again, with the exception of the early 19th century revolutions). Absences are doubled by a major Eurocentric approach; Europe is the one that discovers the world (only one or two Arab travellers are mentioned, but as being part of an endeavour that comes from the Old World). The lack of direct involvement with the world seems to have increased the European focus; Europe becomes the window through which Romanian students look at the world.

In didactic terms, the relative uneasiness of textbook authors with this dimension is clear when considering the textbooks as a metatext. The focus on the author's text is significantly more intense, and the visual sources are mostly arguments of authority or simply token illustrations. When dealing with specific topics (youth culture, global issues such as the climate change, the struggle for civil rights, gender issues, etc.), there is a tendency to repeat stereotypes that are common in texts for general use. And as a general feature, all moral stakes seem to be ignored. Facts are the safer ground for the authors.

To sum it up, the spaces, cultures and developments outside Europe are presented as a parallel discourse, depersonalised, that seem to have little relevance to the daily experience of students. The political framework is preferred, or the cultural, but only as a way to avoid debate and multiperspectivity.

What are the reasons for such developments? It seems that one interpretation (based also on personal experiences) is related to both educational policy-making and the general developments in Romania.

In terms of educational policy-making, the separation between the national and world perspectives is the result of a compromise between the identity building uses of history as a subject and as a public good, and the need to integrate European-level requirements for history as a subject. The curriculum is integrated, but its application is not. Even the textbook approval process seems to be influenced by this situation (in my personal experience, the overwhelming number of comments from the advisory board is related to issues relevant to Romanian history). Even more so, the national examinations are focused exclusively on topics from Romanian history. The result is that teachers and students, inspectors and decision-makers comply with official requirements. The final outcome is a split image of the world in which them and us are, if not enemies, surely far away.

To a certain degree, the situation is normal. Romania, being at the periphery of almost everything (both at the periphery of Central Europe and of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, of the western and eastern civilisation), had always had an inward perspective. As it never influenced global-scale developments, it failed to perceive the significance of the periphery where diversity, adaptation, and exchange are the main values. On the contrary, it focused on structuring an identity, sometimes through opposition, but mostly by means of separation.

CONCLUSION

The tentative conclusion is that the situation calls for a renewed reflection on the mechanisms of identity-building. Not on individual identities, but on the means by which individuals and cultures might cope with multiple identities. One starting point could be a renewed look at what actual periphery and centre means now, how these concepts developed over time and how they were enacted in politics and culture.

On the other hand, textbooks are, as we speak, losing their grip on the educational space, not only in their material expression, but also in their symbolic use as approved knowledge. Textbook analysis has to take into account, when looking at this type of text, all the sources of information that are at the disposal of students and teachers. We might find out that textbooks tell us more about a society than about the past.

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¹ The analysis focused on textbooks published by Corint, Humanitas,

EUROPEAN EXPANSION, COLONIALISM AND THE "RISE OF THE WEST": A DIVERGENCE?

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Even if we look at Europe in its complexity and articulation and consider the conflicts that traversed the continent and which inevitably projected outside to the rest of the world, it is undeniable that the Industrial Revolution and Great Britain played an important role in international affairs. Certainly from the late 18th century and the emergence of the Industrial Revolution, Great Britain became the leading country and, according to some commentators, the beacon of civilisation, but for others a country no less responsible for exploitation and spoliation of world resources.

■ We are also obliged to introduce a watershed between European expansion between the end of the 15th century-beginning of the 16th and the affirmation of Europe as an industrial continent. Certainly Europe projected during these periods her world economic logic, together, however, with what the continent considered its values and worldview (the German *Weltanschauung*), which did not necessarily mean explicit exploitation and hard colonialism.

■ Before the last developments, reflecting the affirmation of the factory system everywhere, to which we have to look very carefully for the decisive impact that it had on the economies and societies of the other continents, European expansion in the 15th and 16th centuries followed a different logic reflecting the different national contexts and the local institutions. It was clear that from the 17th century a delicate game between commercial companies and the non-European institutional bodies developed. Through this perspective, we can interpret the limited penetration of European companies in areas such as the Japanese archipelago (or the Ottoman Empire). It is reasonable to conclude that weaker institutions did permit the Europeans to exploit their resources and develop diplomatic strategies advantageous to them. Policies of intolerance, as it was the case of the Mughal India, during the reign of the emperor Aurangzeb in the second half of the 17th century (or policies, in another context, closed to external influence, as it was the case of China, after the last sea travels of the admiral Zheng in the first half of the 15th century) inevitably did not permit resistance to the dynamism, bordering the aggression, of the Europeans. It is for sure that the Indian government and the episode of the 'black hole' in Calcutta (when an English garrison was pushed into a deep well Bengali troops) gave the British Government the excuse to implement a direct control on India.

■ Certainly, in a contradictory way, Britain was heading during the first half of the 19th century a politics aiming to abolish the slave trade and develop civic infrastructures such as digging canals and building railways in some areas of the world. But was all this implemented for human emancipation? It is reasonable to raise some doubt: the Marxian theory is certainly more severe on this point. ▶▶▶

■ The fact is that since the Seven Years War (1756-1763), that coincided with what is considered the dawn of the Industrial Revolution, economic and business strategies changed dramatically. Nevertheless we should not overemphasise the importance of the external variable, British colonialism, in explaining the success of the factory system in this country; the internal variables (institutions, agriculture, technology, demand, purchasing power) played a role as important as the presence of Great Britain in the strategic areas of the globe. Surely, however, the significance of products and raw materials that the European powers increasingly imported from the so-called 'Third World', as consequence of the affirmation of the factory system, represented a profound change on the commercial strategies pursued until then. The import of exotic and colonial commodities such as sugar, coffee, cocoa, porcelain, tobacco became less important in comparison with raw materials imported from Asia, Africa and the Americas. Indian cotton at the dawn of the Industrial Revolution was the first, but many others followed in the course of time. In fact, due to the increase in industrial production, Europe was constrained to look outside of her borders in order to get the raw materials that she could not obtain from her internal resources.

■ The transition from a pre-industrial economy and an industrial one, and first of all the effect that European industrialisation had on social and economic balance globally, has been the subject of a rich and varied history in recent decades. The debate has been analysed on the one hand from an economic perspective, but on the other hand from a number of other perspectives including cultural, intellectual and religious. In this sense, Jack Goldstone was asking: "Why and how Europe has imposed herself on the other continents?" However, post-colonial historiography, strongly influenced by anti-European resentment, pointed to the impact of Western economies on the social and economic balance of many non-European areas making them deviate from their natural development. Jeffrey Williamson in a certain sense has confirmed this interpretation, having demonstrated with the support of undoubted statistics that many countries became poorer than the Westerns, increasing the gap evident already at the start of the 19th century, partly because of the phenomenon that we call 'globalisation', which is evidently not only contemporary. Spain for example, which still had mines and an acceptable iron production at the beginning of the 19th century, was constrained to import wrought iron from Great Britain. The Ottoman Empire, which produced cotton fabrics and exported cotton yarns to the entire Middle East and even to Europe became in the second half of the 19th century only an exporter of raw cotton. It is well-known that India experienced a similar evolution compared to the competition with Great Britain, impeded as she was from the beginning of

the 18th century from exporting finished fabrics and obliged to export to Great Britain only raw cotton. According to an established historiography Great Britain developed a factory system in order to overcome the importation of Indian produced fabrics, preferred by the British consumers themselves. Even Japan was forced, slowly but certainly, to restructure its production facilities, abandoning a proto-industrial system and favouring large units of production. At the same time the country introduced institutional reforms no less revolutionary that we call the Meiji Restoration (returning the power to the emperor and to a central government taking away political decisions from the *shogun*). However, Japan was also included in the second half of the 19th century in the negative vision of Asia by the European governments and public vision that saw Asia precisely as a prisoner of its own institutional systems, despotic and backward with respect to a more evolved West. More questionable remains the debate on the role of Asian institutions and the nature of Asian science and cultural values.

■ Nowadays we are certainly confronted with a restructuring of the global markets and to return to the international economic scene of countries such as India and China, forcing us to rethink, especially in terms of chronology, the large discrepancy between a stagnant China and the West (see the works of Kenneth Pomeranz, Roy Bin Wong, Philip Huang, Jean-Laurent Rosenthal).

■ However, in the last decades the Anglo-Saxon historians David Landes, has shown from his perspective that cultural and religious factors (Protestantism, for example) as well as economic factors have allowed Europe and the West to become richer and more advanced than the other continents. Niall Ferguson has presented Great Britain as the country that "made the modern world". Now, it is true that what happened in Great Britain in the early decades of the 19th century (religious missions, the abolition of the slave trade, sincere desire of the public in dealing with other cultures) certainly supports the interpretation of Ferguson. However, this vision pushes dangerously on the edge the reality of a business empire that it did not leave too much room for a development that could have taken a different direction in the backward areas of the world.

■ Eventually Europe as a whole is now investigating her past with an attitude that seems close to an 'embarrassment of the riches'. In other words the continent is confronted with a not insignificant welfare in comparison to other world areas (which are gaining nevertheless steps in an international economic ranking). Europe is obliged however to ask herself whether her economic performance and weight on the international scene has been the result of not always 'politically correct' actions. ■■

INFLUER SUR LES PERCEPTIONS DE L'EUROPE

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Lorsqu'on est confronté à la réalité de l'immense territoire que constitue la partie sud et la partie centrale du continent américain, on rencontre une première difficulté qui consiste à donner un nom exact à cet ensemble de 22 pays. Généralement on parle de l'Amérique Latine. Pour nous cette dénomination n'a aucune signification, parce que les nombreuses cultures, races, langues et religions qu'y s'y rattachent sont si vastes qu'il serait difficile de trouver de vrais liens communs pour parler d'un ensemble.

■ Nous employons plutôt le terme « Ibero-Amérique » (Amérique ibérique) parce que tous les pays rassemblés sous cette dénomination ont fait partie des empires des pays de la Péninsule Ibérique : Le Portugal et l'Espagne dont la culture transmise aux peuples d'Outre-mer présente les mêmes racines.

- ▶ Les peuples ibériques et celtes qui ont constitué leur premières populations.
- ▶ L'héritage de l'Empire romain.
- ▶ La religion catholique.
- ▶ La culture islamique.
- ▶ Le contact avec la mer.

■ Ces traits ont influencé culturellement ces pays jusqu'à nos jours. On évoquera notamment:

- ▶ L'art et l'urbanisme
- ▶ Le Droit des Gens de l'école de Salamanque (tradition scolastique renouvelée en contact avec l'humanisme) qui est le paradigme juridique conceptuel qui étudie les questions liées à la colonisation.
- ▶ Les langues espagnole et portugaise qui sont très proches des langues officielles de la Péninsule ibérique et leur littératures qui ont suivie des tendances communes
- ▶ Les traditions : fêtes, gastronomie, etc.
- ▶ Une histoire commune

■ Ces pays unis par des liens qui se sont maintenus après les indépendances des métropoles font partie de l'Organisation des Etats Ibéro-américain (OEI). Cette organisation instituée en 1949 poursuit les mêmes objectifs que le Conseil de l'Europe et compte parmi ces membres le Portugal et l'Espagne et les 20 pays de la Communauté Ibero-américaine. L'objectif de l'OEI est l'amélioration de la culture et de l'éducation dans cette région. Cette organisation, dont le siège principal se trouve à Madrid, a des antennes dans tous les pays membres. ▶▶▶

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■ Le domaine de l'histoire a été une des priorités des programmes de l'OEI et, en 1992, la Chaire d'Histoire Ibéro-américaine a été créée. Ses objectifs relatifs à l'enseignement reposent sur les mêmes principes que les programmes de l'enseignement de l'histoire du Conseil de l'Europe, organisme auquel appartiennent les deux pays européens. C'est pourquoi le point de départ est d'essayer d'éliminer les stéréotypes et préjugés concernant les interprétations de l'histoire dans l'enseignement secondaire des pays membres de l'OEI.

■ La première tâche de la Chaire a été d'entreprendre des recherches sur l'enseignement de l'histoire dans les 19 pays qui constituent la communauté Ibéro-américaine. Ces études ont été réunies dans le livre « La enseñanza de la Historia en el nivel medio ; situación, tendencias e innovaciones » rédigé par Carmen González Muñoz et, à partir de cette compilation, une équipe multinationale a préparé le recueil de tous les curricula des pays membres, périodiquement mis au jour.

ENSEIGNEMENT DE L'HISTOIRE EN AMÉRIQUE IBÉRIQUE

L'étude comparative des systèmes d'enseignement de l'histoire dans les pays qui constituent l'ensemble Ibéro-américain a constitué un premier pas. On a distingué quatre modèles :

1. Le modèle chronologique et événementiel :

Fort nationalisme et prédominance de l'histoire nationale avec l'accent sur le concept de patrie (l'Équateur, Bolivie.). Exemple de curriculum (Ecuador) :

- ▶ La Pré-histoire
- ▶ La conquête espagnole
- ▶ La colonie
- ▶ L'Indépendance et la grande Colombie
- ▶ La république indépendante de l'Équateur
- ▶ Des faits contemporains (avec un effort pour trouver des rapports avec les grands événements mondiaux desquels le pays a été écarté, p.ex. les deux guerres mondiales)

Il s'agit d'une histoire téléologique dont le but serait la consécration de l'Indépendance de la république équatorienne.

2. Le modèle marxiste

Schéma des sociétés esclavagistes, capitalistes, avec une forte emphase dans la lutte de classes et qui souligne la dimension économique et sociale des faits (Cuba; Nicaragua).

3. Les modèles d'intégration de plusieurs sciences sociales

Géographie, histoire, anthropologie, sociologie et formation civique. Peu de données d'histoire (Guatemala et autres pays de l'Amérique Centrale).

- ▶ Le Guatemala et l'Amérique Centrale
- ▶ Le Guatemala et l'Amérique
- ▶ Le Guatemala et le monde

4. Histoire nouvelle et indépendante (Mexique, Argentine...)

On essaye de comprendre le présent et ainsi l'accent est mis sur les faits qui ont contribué à le former. Les principaux sujets du curriculum sont :

- ▶ Les origines du Mexique : les aztèques Les XV^e et XVI^e siècles.
- ▶ Le XIX^e siècle, la lutte pour l'Indépendance.
- ▶ La formation de l'état mexicain.
- ▶ Le concept de nationalisme change pour celui de la contribution à la consolidation de l'identité en incluant celui de citoyen du monde.

TRAITS COMMUNS DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT DE L'HISTOIRE DES PAYS AMÉRICAINS

Bien que très différent dans l'approche à l'histoire, l'enseignement de l'histoire a quelques traits communs dans tous les pays américains.

1. Une longue Préhistoire qui arrive jusqu'à l'année 1492.
2. Histoire coloniale commune des pays que s'encadraient dans les vice-royautés du Pérou, de Nueva España (Mexique), de Rio de la Plata et du Brésil depuis la découverte jusqu'aux indépendances.
3. Jusqu'aux années 1990, l'histoire présentée aux jeunes était l'histoire des minorités blanches et créoles. Après les réformes éducatives qui ont eu lieu à la fin du XX^e siècle dans tous ces pays, ils ont commencé à intégrer dans le récit historique l'histoire des noirs et des peuples indigènes.
4. L'Histoire du XIX^e siècle est un des chapitres les plus importants parce que pendant ce siècle se déroulent les luttes contre les métropoles et la formation des nations, souvent avec des conflits entre elles. ▶▶▶

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5. L'enseignement de l'Histoire joue un rôle très important en tant que formation à la citoyenneté.
6. De l'histoire européenne on retient les grandes transformations sociales, culturelles et démographiques qui ont conditionné la pensée scientifique et politique. Par exemple, de l'Antiquité on retient l'origine de la médecine et les philosophes ; du Moyen Âge, la Chute de l'Empire romain et l'Islam.

■ Les personnages de histoire mondiale que l'on cite sont : Socrate, Alexandre le Grand, Mahatma, Christ, Marco Polo, Leonardo da Vinci, Galileo, Newton, Bismarck, Pasteur, Darwin et Mendel.

■ D'autre part, on trouve dans les deux pays européens, le Portugal et l'Espagne, des ressemblances et de différences très claires par rapport aux américains. La pré-histoire, ainsi que le Moyen-Age sont largement étudiés et on accorde une grande importance à l'époque coloniale et aux guerres d'Indépendance tandis que la période postérieure perd en importance dans les deux curricula péninsulaires.

■ Une fois obtenue une vision de l'enseignement de l'histoire, et en tenant compte qu'au début du XXI^e siècle on commençait à commémorer les indépendances des anciennes colonies, la Chaire d'Histoire d'Ibéro-Amérique a décidé de concentrer ses recherches et discussions sur ce sujet qui est un des plus importants de l'historiographie des pays américains et qui permettrait de trouver des points de confrontation pour arriver à des accords sur la façon d'enseigner l'histoire commune dans l'enseignement secondaire.

LES INDÉPENDANCES DES NATIONS IBÉRO-AMÉRICAINES

Ce sujet a fait l'objet de travaux dans deux domaines :

L'ÉTUDE SUR LA FAÇON DONT LES MANUELS SCOLAIRES DES 19 PAYS TRAITENT LE THÈME DES PROCÈS DE L'INDÉPENDANCE

■ Ce programme a donné lieu à 4 volumes dirigés par le professeur Valls, de l'université de Valence (Espagne). Dans chaque volume sont présentés les manuels scolaires d'enseignement secondaire obligatoire des pays appartenant à une unité géographique : l'Espagne et le Portugal, le Mexique et l'Amérique centrale, les Pays Andins, et le cône sud de l'Amérique. L'étude de chaque pays réalisée par des spécialistes locaux a été basée sur 5 questions : orientation didactique, interrelation du sujet avec l'histoire nationale, ibéro-américaine et internationale (spécialement de la France et des Etats-Unis), causes et caractéristiques des mouvements indépendantistes selon les manuels, traitement des images, présence des femmes, de la population indigène, métisses et population afro-américaine dans les manuels.

■ Les conclusions de cette étude ont été nombreuses et intéressantes ; telles une sous-représentation des femmes, de la population afro-américaine et indienne dans des images et dans le texte ; la présentation 'mythologique' des grands héros de l'indépendance comme Simón Bolívar, San Martín et bien d'autres. On peut remarquer notamment que dans les manuels espagnols ces hauts faits d'indépendance sont traités d'une façon neutre et d'un point de vue de l'historiographie actuelle tandis que dans plusieurs manuels des pays américains on trouve des stéréotypes et préjugés, qui ne visent pas l'ancienne métropole, comme on pouvait s'y attendre, mais les pays voisins du continent américain. ►►

▶ EUROPE'S IMAGE AMONG BOSNIAN MUSLIMS
ERASING DIVIDING LINES
OF EUROPE AND THE WORLD
HISTORY FROM AN AFRICAN PERSPECTIVE

THE HISTORY TAUGHT IN SCHOOLS
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DES SÉMINAIRES SUR DES THÈMES CONCERNANT LA DIDACTIQUE DES INDÉPENDANCES

■ Ces séminaires ont été suivis par des professeurs des pays hôtes, par des académiciens de ces pays et par des académiciens espagnols. Les plus importants ont été ceux de Cartagena de Indias (Colombie) : *les Indépendances et la formation des états nationaux* ; de Santa Cruz de la Sierra (Bolivie) : *L'enseignement des Indépendances avec des sources réelles* ; et de Quito (Équateur) : *Les Indépendances dans les pays andins : bilan et nouvelles perspectives*.

■ Dans tous ces séminaires la confrontation entre les académiciens (américains et européens) et les professeurs du secondaire a été visible parce que la façon d'enseigner ce thème (qui est au cœur même de l'enseignement secondaire) demeurait très traditionnelle dans la salle de classe. Des stéréotypes et des idées préconçues se sont dégagées des discussions (toujours vivantes et libres grâce à l'utilisation, comme langue maternelle, de l'espagnol pour tous les assistants), en particulier pendant l'étude des premières Constitutions des pays à l'aide de documents authentiques.

CONCLUSIONS

De ces études et contacts concernant l'histoire commune des pays de l'Amérique et de l'Europe Ibériques j'oserais dégager les conclusions suivantes :

■ Il n'existe pas, de nos jours, dans l'enseignement de l'histoire de graves préjugés ou une mauvaise image des anciennes métropoles, et, moins encore, des anciennes colonies.

■ Les thèmes concernant l'histoire de l'Europe sont considérés comme étant très importants compte tenu que l'influence européenne est à la base de la culture des pays de l'Amérique Ibérique. Cependant on donne plus d'importance aux idées, découvertes, etc. qu'aux faits historiques.

■ On constate un effort de la part des pays américains pour intégrer leur histoire dans l'histoire mondiale (voire européenne), quoique la plupart n'ont pas pris directement part aux grands événements du XIX^e et du XX^e siècles.

Le plus grand enjeu pour tous les pays est l'intégration avec multiperspectivité de l'histoire nationale et des relations avec des pays voisins. Les pays européens ont fait un effort significatif que l'on constate dans les manuels, mais pour certains des pays de l'Amérique qui doivent intégrer la vision de populations afro-américaines et des peuples autochtones, il reste un long chemin à parcourir.

Des intérêts communs existent de part et d'autre de l'Atlantique par l'enseignement de certains thèmes : Les migrations, le multiculturalisme, les dictatures...

■ Si dans le domaine de l'histoire il y a des problèmes encore à résoudre, dans le domaine de la culture les relations des pays de la Communauté Ibéro-américaine sont un exemple de coopération autour du théâtre, (IBERESCENA), des bibliothèques, (IBERBIBLIOTECAS), des musées, (IBERMUSEOS), du cinéma (IBERMEDIA) et de la musique (IBERORQUESTAS). ■ ■ ■

THE SHAPING OF PERCEPTIONS ABOUT EUROPE: AN ICELANDIC EXAMPLE

Súsanna Margrét Gestsdóttir
University of Iceland

First it should be stressed that the examples used in this case are easily interchangeable for examples from any other textbooks in any other country. However, these examples need to be introduced by a few words on Icelandic circumstances.

The settlement of Iceland only took place at the end of the 9th century so it should not come as a surprise that at least educated Icelanders in medieval times very much saw themselves as a part of Europe. Christianisation obviously plays a part in enhancing this feeling of belonging and it was only later that Icelanders had to endure being depicted in European literature as a semi-civilised or even barbaric tribe (Dithmar Blefken's *Islandia, sive Populorum & mirabilium quae in ea Insula reperiuntur accuratior Descriptio*, first published in Leiden in 1607, is a famous example of this trend that prevailed far into the 19th century). Icelandic scholar Arngrímur lærði (Arngrímur the learned) reacted by publishing books on the history and culture of the country (*Crymogaea* and *Brevis commentarius de Islandia*), written in Latin to ensure the distribution of his ideas where he emphasised the factors that put Icelanders among other cultured nations in Europe.

In other words, Icelanders themselves were quite familiar with being given all kinds of characteristics or being subject to exaggerations, regardless of whether the authors had any first-hand knowledge of Icelanders or not. While this could provide very interesting case-studies for students, of course it had no impact whatsoever on what Icelanders themselves wrote on other nations. Without further comments, let us look at some examples from textbooks from 1874 and 1907.¹ (*Italics are mine*) ▶▶▶

¹ Böðvarsson, Þórarinn. 1874. *Lestrarbók handa alþýðu*. (A reader for the general public). Copenhagen. Finnbogason, Karl. 1907. *Landfræði handa börnum og unglingum*. (Geography for youngsters). Reykjavík.

” Europe is smaller than Asia, Africa and America, and only a little bit larger than Australia [...] but its inhabitants are industrious people and *rule over the majority of the other continents*. There are many reasons for this; one is that those countries are not as rich in natural resources as in some of the other continents; therefore, the inhabitants have to work hard, and *being industrious enhances the strength and vigour of body and soul*. Moreover, the climate is more stable in Europe, neither too hot nor too cold. But the main reason can be found in *the abilities of the people who live there*; abilities that made it possible for them to embrace Christianity and reap its blessed fruit.

Italians are Southern-Europeans inside and out. They are cheerful, friendly and easy-talking, but very high-spirited and temperamental. Murder and other law-breaking activities are common among them. *Of course they are Roman Catholic and only one in every three persons knows how to read and write*. But they are intelligent by nature and have a fine taste in art so many excellent artists have come from Italy. [Italy is a] Constitutional monarchy.

Spaniards are proud people, hospitable and generous. *They are Roman Catholic and common people do not receive much education*. Art and science are at a rather low plan. [Spain is a] Constitutional monarchy.

The Portuguese are closely related to the Spaniards and very similar to them. Religion and culture identical. Hardly one in six can read and write. [Portugal is a] Democracy.

The Swedes are closely related to the Norsemen and the Danes. Their language is very similar to Norwegian and Danish but more flexible and melodious. It is well suited to singing and the Swedes are well known singers. “A Swede is never happy”, says the proverb, “unless he is singing or drinking.” Swedes are usually tall and stout, straight, blue-eyed and blonde. They are industrious and thrifty, most polite and hospitable, but high-spirited and impertinent if it comes to that.

The Danes are one of the best educated nations in Europe. Everybody can read and write and the public is more enlightened and informed than in any other country. Their folk high schools have contributed considerably to this. They have inspired the people very much. On top of the folk high schools, there are numerous other schools that provide general education.”

■ After reading this last excerpt it will not come as a surprise that the Icelandic textbook was based on a Danish one. In any case, even without providing examples of how Africa was dealt with, the general tendency is very clear: the closer to ourselves, the better. The nations of Southern Europe have many merits but unfortunately they are Roman Catholic and this sad fact goes a long way in explaining several of their faults. Nordic nations rise far above all others. Still, as Europeans, even the Italians, Spanish and Portuguese automatically qualify as important nations.

■ Obviously, this offers all sorts of interesting and worthwhile points regarding racial issues, nationalism, etc., that any teacher can adjust to her or his own classes. This brief article ends by listing a few activities, moving from lower-level thinking skills such as understanding and applying, to the higher-level ones, such as analysing, evaluating and using empathy.

■ Students can be asked to:

- ▶ Group positive and negative qualities that are mentioned in the sources.
- ▶ Analyse why certain qualities are attributed to certain nations.
- ▶ Analyse what influences the thinking of the authors of these texts.
- ▶ Write a postcard as a prejudiced traveller or as an open-minded traveller.
- ▶ Reflect on the fact that we will hardly find anything as outspoken in today's textbooks and the reasons for that.
- ▶ Follow the media for a week, asking the following question: is there a difference in the vocabulary, etc., of the coverage of European people/issues and non-European? Depending on the results, this work may be developed in various directions. ■■■

GLOBAL BOUNDARIES, LOCAL FRONTIERS

ISLAMIC ART IN MUSEUMS

Professor Monica Juneja
University of Heidelberg
Germany

This presentation takes a critical look at museums as a space in which objects are collected and displayed to position Europe in relation to those cast as its 'others'. In doing so practices of exhibition and framing create fresh boundaries which obscure our understanding of the extent to which Europe's histories, as told by objects in the museum, were constituted through interaction with those located beyond its territorial boundaries, but also in its centres, in the wake of migration. In this paper I consider the museums and collections of Islamic art as an example to illustrate this perspective. This is an urgent question especially in view of the recent conflagrations and controversies surrounding the question of Islam as a cultural force in its relation to Europe.

■ Let me begin with a quote:

” I'd see a man with a long beard standing next to an elegant lady, sharing a moment [...] maybe through art we can bring people together.”

■ This observation was made by Sheika Hussah Sabah al-Salim al-Sabah of the Kuwaiti royal family during the exhibition “Islamic Art and Patronage” which featured the family's private collection, and which travelled to 22 sites across the world drawing large crowds everywhere.

■ Her observation was cited by the journalist Alan Riding in an article he wrote for the *New York Times* (April 2006) and in which he advocated the potential of Islamic art to act as a mediator for cultures in confrontation.

■ I have chosen this quote as the starting point of this presentation because both the Sheika's sanguine hope and the tenor of Riding's essay articulate a stance taken up by large sections of a globally spread liberal intelligentsia in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks of 9/11 and the political demonisation of Islam which followed these in the media. Though I refer mainly to the Western media, it should be pointed out that the casting of Islam as a cultural threat to civilisation was not confined to the Western media alone: for instance sections of the Indian media too whipped up frenzy about the intrinsic link between Islam and political violence. ▶▶▶

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For a large number of people like Riding, including journalists, politicians, cultural bureaucrats, curators and academics, art possessed the power to heal the wounds inflicted by terrorist violence, the ability to mediate between cultures. In other words they partook of a widely shared belief that answers to problems of the present could be provided by contemplating the cultural glories of the past. Museological collections were drawn into service to deliver a particular 'golden age' vision of Islamic civilisation, translated through aesthetics which becomes the metonym for a civilisation in its totality across time and space. Beautiful art in glass cases was seen as an answer to media images of an Islam wedded to fundamentalism and violence. In other words one ideological crucible was used to counter the other.

The recent years have seen the emergence of refurbished galleries of Islamic Art in many major museums – in Europe, the US and the gulf countries. Some examples are:

- ▶ 2006: Victoria & Albert Museum (Jameel Gallery), London
- ▶ 2009: David Collection, Copenhagen
- ▶ 2009: Museum of Islamic Art, Doha
- ▶ 2011: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
(galleries of Islamic Art now renamed according to regions)
- ▶ 2012: Louvre, Paris
- ▶ 2019 (planned) Museum of Islamic Art at Pergamon Museum, Berlin

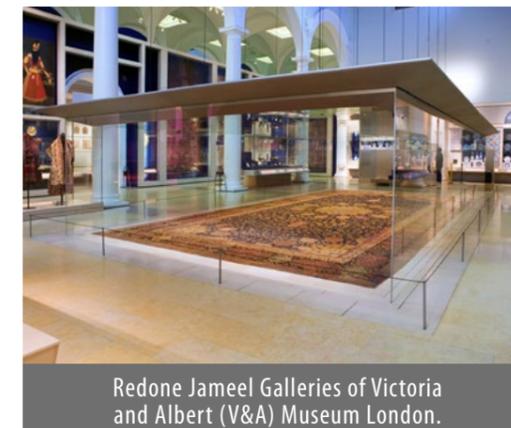
The list can continue: reopening of Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo (2010), David Collection, Copenhagen, the upcoming museum for Aga Khan collection in Toronto, new galleries at the Metropolitan Museum in New York (2011), now renamed Arts of the Arab lands, Turkey, Iran Central Asia and later South Asia.

In all these examples media reports have commented on the spectacular and fine aesthetic quality of the exhibits and their display, and in doing so have almost invariably made a connection between the harmonious past and troubled present.

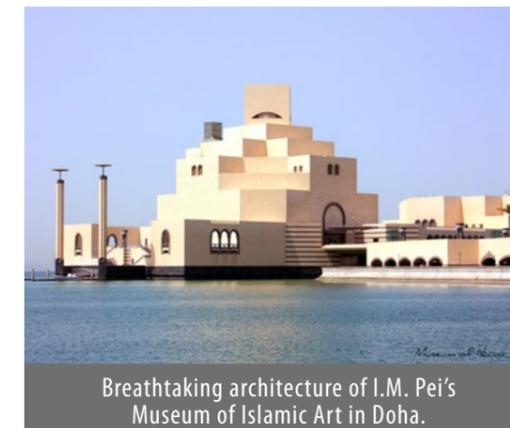
For instance: On July 7th 2006, a year after the terrorist bombings in London, visitors and museum staff at the Jameel Galleries of V&A paused at noon to observe a two minute silence as tribute to those killed and injured a year back.



Spectacular new galleries of the Louvre's Islamic Section which were reopened in 2012.



Redone Jameel Galleries of Victoria and Albert (V&A) Museum London.



Breathtaking architecture of I.M. Pei's Museum of Islamic Art in Doha.

In the words of a commentator: "You had to wish that all those lovely, beautifully displayed objects could have something more than aesthetic power, that their very existence could help heal society's fault lines." He further observes that there is subtext to these displays: "Very gently our national museums are pointing out that this great art was mostly produced, at a time of religious tolerance, of cross-cultural fertilisation".

This incident, and the examples shown, all build certain oppositions: between civilisation and violence; conflict and reconciliation. To art is ascribed the power to soothe and heal wounds. ▶▶▶

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Display vitrines, Doha Museum of Islamic Art.

■ We need to examine the nature of this otherness, the sense of absolute difference produced by a romanticised view of a peaceful tolerant past and a conflict torn present. The opposition between a valorised past and a discredited present also implies other boundaries: Islam and the West, us and them, between those objects of art which museums and art history books locate within a 'European tradition' and those which get labelled as 'Islamic'. These boundaries get articulated in museological displays: we have separate rooms, galleries,

and even separate museums for Islamic Art, Byzantine or Indian art on the one hand. On the other hand canonical objects classified as 'Western tradition' whose roots can be traced to Greek and Roman Antiquity and Judeo-Christian traditions are all presented as explicable from within. Each unit is presented generally as close and discrete, art is read as a mirror in which a culture that you call Chinese, or Indian or Western in terms of present-day constructs of identity is reflected.

■ We view objects through frames of glass and suggestive lighting; captions often identifying them with fixed and singular sites frame our response. Uniqueness and pure form are two sides of same coin: the object is both a source of aesthetic pleasure and creates distance, therefore frozen in timeless alterity.

■ Many of the assumptions that unique objects speak of closed traditions, each given a distinct territorial, national or cultural label, have been challenged by research over the years. For example Martin Bernal's path-breaking study, *Black Athena*, challenged the accepted notion of a pure Greek civilisation as the origin of European culture, rather European Antiquity itself was formed through migrant cultural elements from Asia and North Africa. Similar research, for instance on the Mediterranean regions, has brought to light enough evidence to show that the borders between Europe and non-Europe much more blurred and porous than most texts on European civilisation have assumed.

■ The question we are faced with then is: how does the knowledge and understanding of culture as constituted by exchange and relationships across borders reshape our understanding of history as transmitted in books and museum displays? And how can we translate this new understanding of culture that cannot be accommodated in 'national' categories into museological practice?

■ To begin with, let me clarify the terms 'boundary' and 'frontier' used in the title of my presentation, since I suggest a conceptual distinction between the two.

■ A boundary can be understood as a clear line of separation; it refers to divisions, oppositions and separations. Boundaries have been constructed when talking of Europe and the West: in these discourses Islam is always separated from Europe by a boundary, it is always the 'other' frequently marked by a form of radical alterity.

■ A frontier, on the other hand is less of a line and more of a transitional zone, a contact zone, which both separates but also enables fluidity. It is a space of both interaction and conflict, a place of relationalities.

■ What does the agenda of 'unpacking' Europe to reveal its connections with its 'others' involve? What are the challenges faced by those who control the production of knowledge? I argue that a recognition of Europe's multiculturalism is not enough, since it maintains the same borders and can become another instrument of power.

■ The museum is one important space of communication and transmission. It deals with media other than texts. Its challenge is to draw out the stories which objects tell about the entanglement of cultures in a way which makes them accessible to different publics. These stories operate on two registers. First they are about the agency of European elites, which accounts for the circumstance that the objects are present in European museums as part of a corpus labelled 'Islamic Art'. The second dimension of the stories objects could be made to tell is about their lives before entering the museum. While we read them as expressions of certain cultures - e.g. labelled 'Islamic' and considered closed and self-contained, to what extent is this an ascription of the present? Do the histories of their coming into being suggest that they were formed and shaped by intense cultural interaction? ▶▶▶

■ To take the first point: travel, diplomacy, commerce and missionary enterprise have all been channels through which objects have been collected by Western elites and brought to Europe. Mobility, curiosity, the passion for collecting has meant that the bulk of objects such as rugs, textiles, ivories, bronzes which form the corpus of Islamic art today as we see it in museums came through this channel. Conquest, colonisation, archaeological enterprises and gifting formed another path through which Islamic art travelled to Europe.

■ Let us look at a famous example, that of the Mshatta façade today on display in the Pergamon Museum in Berlin. The history of its travels goes back to a combination of archaeological and engineering enterprises carried out in Jordan by German archaeologists and railway engineers from the mid-1840s. It was in the course of the railway construction that the remains of a royal winter palace of the Umayyad caliphs (started by Al-Walid II in 743-44 CE) constructed in the midst of the desert, today some 30 kilometers south of Amman was discovered. The palace of Mshatta was destroyed by an earthquake and had remained buried under the sand till it was 'discovered' around 1840 during construction of the Baghdad railway. Through the intervention of scholars such as the Islamicist, Julius Euting, the Ottoman sultan Abdulhamid II offered the remains of this facade as a gift to Kaiser William II. The fragments were transported by the same railway and brought to Berlin where they were reassembled and displayed, first in Kaiser Wilhelm Museum (today Bode Museum). In 1932 they were transferred to the Pergamon Museum, where the reconstructed facade can be seen today in the section devoted to Islamic Art.

■ We have here a case of a museum object whose history unfolds in the interstices of colonial development projects, knowledge production (such as archaeology and oriental studies) and diplomacy across continents and cultures; this history cannot be anchored in a single location.

■ Similar dilemmas confront us when we take a look at history of the object at the time of its creation: it reveals traces of Byzantine, Greek, Roman and early Islamic artistic production owing to the migration of artisans and objects through this entire region. This becomes apparent in the controversial discussion among art historians about how to label and date it.

■ We can today understand the hybrid quality of this museum object only in the larger context of the art of the Umayyad caliphate. The regions that came under its control were densely populated with artifacts and buildings belonging to Roman and Byzantine traditions. These were kept alive through craftsmen, both local who drew upon existing styles, but also those imported from the Byzantine lands. For the new rulers it was a sign of power and prestige to bring the best know-how to their capital and commission fresh buildings. A famous example is that of the mosaics in the mosque at Damascus, created by local and imported artisans who adapted to the needs of their new patrons. Out of this braided experience a new iconic language emerged, of which the term 'influence', a favourite of art historians, inadequately describes. Such local histories of objects highlight paradoxical developments: warfare and conquest, based on military force and discourses of enmity can also be a catalyst for an entanglement of traditions and cosmopolitan exchange.

■ The challenge facing the museum is to make these histories at different level articulate and accessible to a range of publics. This is not a simple task and the answer is not by framing objects in long passages of text. The aesthetic experience of the visitor cannot be also entirely ruled out, since it provides an important entry point to the object. Today we are fortunate to have at our disposal a number of modern media to enable bringing together an aesthetic- cum – affective response to objects with historical information. The use of video-screens, short accompanying films, placing seemingly incommensurable objects (e.g. Byzantine, Roman, Islamic) next to each other so that they 'speak to each other' would be one step. The creation of period rooms in which objects are shown to be products of braided histories is another suggestion. However it would mean crossing many boundaries held sacrosanct by curators and bringing objects from sections kept apart into a common shared space. This would require more communication and exchange between fields which are kept separate: museum design, curation, scholarship in art, history, archaeology and material culture. Much of the knowledge we possess today about how Europe is constituted by interaction with those constructed as its 'others' remains confined to specialised and academic narratives. The museum as one important public space of knowledge and interaction, in addition to the university and school, can play an important role in bringing such knowledge from the margins to the centre. ■■■

UTOPIA, DYSTOPIA, OR THEME PARK? AMERICAN IMAGES OF EUROPE

Professor Thomas Kühne

Clark University
USA

Thinking about images of Europe in contemporary America in order to envision a “Europe Without Dividing Lines” is a little like going to church in order to commit blasphemy. American images of Europe are heavily divided. If there is any common American image of Europe at all, it is shattered and fragmented. At the same time, different Americans have different images of Europe. Just as the United States is ideologically split between conservatives and liberals, a massive societal disruption that is barely imaginable in most European countries, so is the image of Europe divided. Liberals look at Europe as the bright model for a more humane America. Conservatives perceive Europe as the socialist bugaboo, the antithesis to what they consider truly American. While these two opposed images reflect the respective self-images of Republican and Democratic Americans and are exploited for domestic political fights, popular culture and first and second hand experiences. All kinds of crude phantasies nourish a different type of image that serves neither the utopian nor the dystopian appropriation of Europe. It is an image not of a united or coherent Europe but of a patchwork of rather different, separated nation states, national cultures, and national oddities: a theme park.

All these images of Europe have in common the idea that Europe is really different from America. Stressing the difference between the two continents is not inevitable. Courses on western civilisation and on world history, a canonic part of most college and school curricula in the United States, have since long made Americans learn from a young age about their European roots and their affinity to Europe.¹ Outside of school, many second, third, fourth or fifth generation immigrants learn about their roots through intense family communications and memories. While these memories related to an often sentimentalised past or are shaped by traumatic experiences of terror and expulsion, the Western Civilisation and World History courses are not designed to establish a coherent picture of Europe as opposed to (North) America but rather to merge the two regional histories into one grand narrative about the commonalities of North America and Europe. What this deliberately Eurocentric narrative about the development of ‘civilisation’ propelled when it was introduced decades ago was the experience of ‘barbarism’ midst in Europe during the First and Second World Wars, and the desire to make ‘civilisation’ immune against set-backs. As one author put it in 1941, teaching Western Civilisation was to grow “intelligence and tolerance, ” and thus to build “a better world in the future.”² ▶▶▶

¹ Cf. Kevin Kiley, “Decline of ‘Western Civ?’” InsideHigherEd, 19 May 2011, http://www.insidehighered.com/news/2011/05/19/national_association_of_scholars_report_finds_no_mandatory_western_civilization_courses_at_top_universities, accessed 14 March 2013.

² Edward McNall Burns, *Western Civilizations: Their History and Their Culture* (New York, 1941), quoted in Daniel A. Segal, “Western Civ’ and the Staging of History in American Higher Education,” *American Historical Review* 15/3 (2000), pp. 770-805, here p. 787-88. See also Gilbert Allardyce, “The Rise and Fall of the Western Civilization Course,” *American Historical Review* 87 (1982), pp. 695-725.

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As has often been said, the rise of World History as a replacement of Western Civilisation came with the promise of overcoming Eurocentrism but often filled old wine in a new bottle. Mainstream world history textbooks have not yet managed to 'provincialise' Europe (or North America), as Daniel Segal has noted, reminding us of Dipesh Chakrabarty's famous phrase.¹ Nevertheless these traditions establish canonic knowledge of common European-American roots that can be retrieved at any point, not least in politics, as it happened after 9/11. The planes that crashed the symbols of America were widely perceived as weapons in a war against common Western, American and European values.²

However, it was also 9/11 that revealed the fragility of these values. The Bush administration's response to 9/11, the war on Iraq, left Europe and America deeply divided. George W. Bush's and his Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld's mockery at France and Germany as the core of a sclerotic 'Old Europe,' one that had not understood the signs of present world politics, renewed a long tradition of American suspicion toward Western Europe's security politics as it had emerged after the Second World War.³ On the one hand, as Charles-Philippe David and Frédéric Ramel have stated, "throughout the history of post-War international relations, the image of Europe held by successive American administrations" has oscillated "between recognition of Europe as an equal partner and reduction of Europe to secondary status." On the other hand, the United States "self-perception of itself as a superpower" has clearly favoured the latter and conditioned an "American image of Europe as dependent" yet not always dependable "variable."⁴

The image of major parts of Europe as pacifist, their stigmatisation as self-sufficient if not cowardly, yet by any means disloyal to their long-term ally and protector during the Cold War, had a pre-history in the debate on European and American responses to the Yugoslavian Wars in the 1990s, and it certainly profited from uncertainties in foreign politics after the end of Cold War.

1 Segal, "Western Civ," p. 788-99; Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe. Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, 2000).

2 Ian Williams, "The west is red," *The Guardian*, 27 Oct 2008, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/cifamerica/2008/oct/27/tax-obama-mccain-socialism>; Sebastian Fischer, "Republicans Bash Europe in Search of Votes," *Spiegel Online*, 9 Jan 2012, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/socialism-and-welfare-republicans-bash-europe-in-search-of-votes-a-808044.html>; Lars Christensen, "European Socialism: Why America Doesn't Want It," *Forbes*, 25 Oct 2012, <http://www.forbes.com/sites/realspin/2012/10/25/european-socialism-why-america-doesnt-want-it/>; Brian Wheeler, "How 'Europe' became a dirty word in the US election," *BBC News*, 30 Jan 2012, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-16583813>, all accessed 14 March 2013. On the patriotic poem, see Katharine Lee Bates, *America the Beautiful, and Other Poems* (New York, 1911).

3 On Rumsfeld's remark in an interview on 22 Jan 2003 see, for instance, *BBC News*, 23 Jan 2003, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/2687403.stm>, accessed 14 March 2013.

4 Charles-Philippe David and Frédéric Ramel, "The Bush Administration's Image of Europe: From Ambivalence to Rigidity," *International Journal of Peace Studies*, 8/1 (2003), http://www.gmu.edu/programs/icar/ijps/vol8_1/David%20and%20Ramel.htm, accessed 14 March 2013. Cf. Robert Kagan, *Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order* (New York, 2006). On previous periods cf. Cushing Strout, *The American Image of the Old World* (New York, 1963), and Ragnhild Fiebigh-von Hase and Ursula Lehmkuhl, eds., *Enemy Images in American History* (Providence, RI, 1997).

At the same time, the juxtaposition of a militarily engaged American superpower, aware of its alleged international responsibilities and ready to fight for them, and a pacifist Europe shying away from such responsibilities, is a powerful regeneration of the American desire to distinguish itself from the Old World, which has driven people and politics since the American Revolution.

The tension between affinity to and distinction from Europe spurs the current division of American images of Europe. Not least as a response to the Bush administration's belligerence have liberal intellectuals in the USA suggested an image of Europe that praises what the conservatives despise. The 2005 bestseller *The European Dream* of Jeremy Rifkin, an architect of the Third Industrial Revolution, may be taken as an example. Rifkin turns the conservative defamation of Europe's war fatigue into a grand utopia of political, social, economic, and cultural sustainability. A radically new "European Dream," he says, "eclipses the American Dream." Two centuries ago, the Founding Fathers created a dream for humanity that changed the world. Now the challenges of a globalising world need a new dream to be met. Contrasting the American work ethic and the European leisure culture, Americans' religious devotion and Europeans' secularism, the different class gaps between rich and poor in Europe and America, and not least the American war culture and the European peace culture, Rifkin praises Europe as a safer place to live, a place where social justice, free education, solidarity between generations, preventive health care is much better realised than in America, and as an engine of a new global consciousness that is to replace American imperialism. In Rifkin's words: "The European Dream emphasises community relationships over individual autonomy, cultural diversity over assimilation, quality of life over the accumulation of wealth, sustainable development over unlimited material growth, deep play over unrelenting toil, universal human rights and the rights of nature over property rights, and global cooperation over the unilateral exercise of power."⁵

Rifkin's praise of Europe touches on a sensitive nerve of the American Right, of course. Not only do they despise 'Old' Europe's abstinence from military interventions abroad. Even more are they upset about the – in their view hopelessly inflated – role of the state in regulating and subsidising societal tasks. The American Right hates what the American Left adores. Not only is Europe's secularism a threat to Christian America, even more is the European welfare state, the taxation of the rich, the entitlement programs for those in need the fundamental antitheses of what the American Right desires as lean government and rigid economic liberalism. ▶▶▶

5 Jeremy Rifkin, *The European Dream* (New York, 2004), p. 3; see the summary in http://www.utne.com/pub/2004_125/promo/11349-1.html, accessed 14 March 2013. See also Mark Leonhard, *Why Europe Will Run the 21st Century* (New York, 2005); Stephen Hill, *Europe's Promise: Why the European Way Is the Best Hope in an Insecure Age* (Berkeley, 2010).

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While their stereotype of Europe as militarily weak and defeatist has lost some of its shattering effects due to the vanishing popularity of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, another cliché has gained ground, one that is exploited for partisanship just as the previous one: Europe as the epitome of socialism. Already during the presidential campaign in October 2008, John McCain accused Barack Obama of longing for “European style socialism.” In 2012, Europe’s debt crisis made it easy for Mitt Romney, Newt Gingrich and other Republicans to reheat and repeat this imputation. Implicitly, it insinuates that the entire European continent has finally, twenty years after the breakdown of the communist dictatorship in its Eastern part, adopted this type of state-sponsored egalitarianism through its Western front gate. At some points during the 2012 campaign, Republicans used the notions Europe and Socialism synonymously whenever it came to defame Obama’s social agenda. Europe is the dirty other to “America the Beautiful.”

■ Or so it mushroomed in the overheated climate of the recent electoral campaign. One should not overrate the social impact of such clichés. Anti-Europeanism is in America a yet rather peripheral attitude, not at all equivalent to its counterpart, Anti-Americanism in Europe. As the German Studies professor Russel Berman has noted, “there are no anti-European demonstrations, no burning of French or German flags, no angry mobs with pitchforks and tractors in front of Louis Vuitton boutiques or BMW dealerships.”¹ And Peter Baldwin, the leading American expert on the history of the European welfare state, adds: “The Europeans concerned with gun control or the death penalty have few counterparts among American observers pointing” to the strength of neo-fascist parties in Europe, which are utterly absent in America.² As a 2008 British opinion poll shows, a huge majority of Americans favour closer relationships with Europe (91%), while on average of only 62% of Europeans are seeking closer relations to America, with significant differences between European countries: 70 and more per cent of Poles, Germans, and Irish desire such relations, while only 39 per cent of the French and 51 per cent of the British do so.³

■ Data like these, at least those on American views on Europe, are misleading, however. They assume that Americans perceive Europe as united and homogeneous. In fact, the opposite is true. In an academic fashion, Peter Baldwin has highlighted the differences between European regions and countries.

1 Russel A. Berman, *Anti-Americanism in Europe: A Cultural Problem* (Stanford, 2004), p. 59.

2 Peter Baldwin, *The Narcissism of Minor Differences. How America and Europe are Alike* (New York, 2009), p. 4.

3 British Council, *Talking Transatlantic* (Manchester, 2008), p. 12-13, http://www.worldpublicopinion.org/pipa/pdf/mar08/Brit-Council_Mar08_rpt.pdf, accessed 14 March 2013.

Based on elaborated statistical comparisons of various European countries and the United States, he deflates both American rightist and leftist ideas about the gaps between the two continents as well as European anti-American sentiments. He shows that the alleged differences between the continents are no greater than those between different European countries, whatever one compares: data on the economy, health care, social aid, criminality, education, religion, assimilation and so on. The gaps within Europe are larger than those between the two sides of the Atlantic Ocean. “America is not Sweden, for sure,” he says. “But nor is Italy Sweden, nor France, nor even Germany. And who says that Sweden is Europe any more than Vermont is America?”⁴

■ Baldwin’s warning of taking Europe as a uniform entity resonates with what Americans think when not concerned with high politics and party struggles. At least this is the result of an admittedly impressionist approach to the topic. Due to the lack of solid polls on American images of Europe (there are bookshelves of literature on the history and present of anti-Americanism in Europe and individual European countries but the opposite view has barely drawn attention of scholars of any discipline ever), I have asked the roughly 50 undergraduate students of a history class on Europe in the 20th century, which I teach at a very diverse liberal arts college close to Boston, to write a short essay on their views of Europe and to refer to what they have learned about Europe in their families, in school, and through mass media and popular culture whatsoever.⁵ The result is surprising yet consistent, notwithstanding some variation between the individual essays. Most students have a hard time establishing any coherent image of Europe, that is, to match the assignment. To be sure, they have a vague idea of the opposing clichés of Europe as addressed above. And articulate ideas of Europe as “more cultured” than America and as embracing “aestheticism in ways the United States does not.” What they have in mind is Europe’s art tradition, which (from a white person’s point of view) is of course older than the American one. Other students address the rich history, the plenitude of landmarks, architecture, and landscapes, the power of thousand-year old traditions and monuments. One student who has not yet been to Europe says: “I have an image of Europe that involves beautiful places and tourist attractions, such as the Eiffel Tower, Buckingham Palace, the Vatican, the Louvre, and Stonehenge.” Another student says: “I perceive Europe as being culturally rich and diverse.” ▶▶▶

4 Baldwin, *The Narcissism of Minor Differences*, blurb.

5 Obviously, these essays do not reflect the views of a demographically representative sample. Students at Clark and their families gravitate probably more to the Democrats than to the Republicans; the affluent and educated middle-class is overrepresented; and among students interested in European history (as opposed to the student body at large), people of color are underrepresented. The essays were submitted in February 2013.

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But what statements like these reveal is not so much an image of Europe but rather an accumulation of different images about different places, nations and countries. "In order to give a true idea of what images come into my head when I think of Europe I will have to speak about all of these countries separately," explains one student. And another one says: "Europe is [in America] almost never thought of as a single cohesive entity. Talking about 'Europe' usually means talking about specific countries."

This fragmented image of Europe is based on three different sources: oral traditions of families with European roots (that is roots in a specific country or region, like Norway, Albania, Germany, Poland); first- or second-hand travel experiences; and stereotypes (named by the students as such) as transmitted by mass media, especially movies and TV. Referring to travel experiences of friends, some students highlight the still existing gap between Western and Eastern Europe. Another one says: "When thinking of Europe, it is easy to picture things that are stereotypical [...], such as Danish clogs, German dirndls, or Norwegian bunads." The one who adores European aesthetics catches on the essence of most of his peers elaborations by pointing out that, "however, each country has different traditions and societal norms," from an "American point of view." For example, Greece, as well as Spain, is greatly struggling with their economy [...]. For the past decades, Russia has been feared due to its previous communist government. Even though it is no longer a communist country, many Americans still predominantly consider its citizens to be 'commies.' Furthermore, "it has been a common stereotype that French citizens are rude and unfriendly, especially to Americans. [...] It is also a common misconception for Americans to see all Italians as mobsters and mafia men." The bottom line is: "Each country is viewed differently, whether it is positive or negative, according to a typical American perspective." Another student refers to movies when listing (and distancing himself from) stereotypes, such as: "The French people are rude, smelly people who just smoke cigarettes and don't shave. [...] The German stereotype is very crude and quite rash. [...] The English are seen as all royals, classy, sophisticated tea-drinkers [...]. Poland is filled with a population of ignorant people who cannot seem to tie their shoes [...]. Amsterdam [...] is the world centre for marihuana smoking, prostitution, and drinking." Yet another student accounts for such stereotypes by first addressing the impact of movies and then yet stating that even "outside of cinema and pop culture, the stereotypes stuck: the British were effeminate, the French weak and snobby, and Germans were Aryan war-horses."



None of the students cites these stereotypes without distancing him or herself from them, and many add some sort of positive ideas about the continent. However, these positive ideas refer to Europe as travel destination, a leisure place—a theme park, full of oddities, full of contrasts, and above all a place where you can have lots of fun. Europe is exciting, is the message, if only for a while—just don't take it too seriously. The following map of the Bulgarian artist Yanko Tsvetkov is a persiflage on Americans' crude stereotypes of, and their ignorance about Europe. As such it is not free of stereotyping either.¹ But it catches quite well on the result of this paper: the message about a "Europe without dividing lines" has not yet made it to the New World. ■■■

¹ <http://alphadesigner.com/mapping-stereotypes/>, accessed 14 March 2013.

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WHAT IS EUROPE?

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Does the European continent have its own history that goes beyond national and regional histories? If so, are there any lessons that we can draw which may be helpful in better understanding the history of the world? In this essay we approach these questions from the point of view European economic development in the two centuries since the beginning of industrialisation. Throughout the 19th century, the European continent was a major player in global history as a consequence of rapid economic, social and institutional transformations that provided the resources and skills to control large parts of the rest of the world, through international trade, investment flows and the migration of people. The links between Europe and the World were channelled with varying degrees of intensity between independent nation states or through colonial rule. The trend increased since the end of the Napoleonic wars and became more intense after the American civil war, and by the eve of the First World War, Europe was at the centre of world trade and finances, technological progress and military power. The gold standard, which pegged currencies across the five continents, was at the centre of the world economic transactions, giving a great relevance to the central banks and treasuries of the largest European powers, namely Britain, France and Germany. Throughout the 20th century, that balance of power changed, as Europe experienced two devastating wars and new sources of power stemmed from other parts of the world, either by economic supremacy, or political emancipation.

■ These are well-known episodes. But to what extent can we speak of Europe in this context? Are there common traits within the continent that allows for such a contraposition between Europe and the rest of the world? We argue here that there is such an entity from the point of view of its economic history and that lessons can be drawn for the rest of the world about changes in European economic fortunes. Our tentative answer points to the conclusion that the European continent provides an example of the benefits of economic integration within an institutionally and socially diversified framework. That combination was the outcome of at least two centuries of developments, where setbacks occurred and the achievements are by no means irreversible. ▶▶▶

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PATTERNS OF EUROPEAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

One striking feature of European economic development since the Industrial Revolution is the fact that the distribution of relative levels of income per capita remained relatively stable.

■ Levels of income per capita are indicative of levels of combined productivity of land, labour, capital, including human capital, and thus they reflect the progress in the efficiency of production. This relatively stable pattern of European development is quite clear when comparisons are made at national levels. As such, Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria and Switzerland, today amongst the nations with higher levels of income per capita, were also at the forefront of the league 150 or 200 years ago. Some countries improved their lot more rapidly than others, such as the Scandinavian countries, Spain, or Italy, but even those were already far better by mid 19th century than the countries that remained backward for longer periods of time, as was the case of Portugal, the Balkan nations and presumably southern Italy. If we go deeper in the analysis and consider regional instead of national boundaries, we may find a similar pattern, where wealthier regions by the eve of the industrialisation period are largely also better off later on. Such are the cases of Catalonia in Spain or the Czech lands in the Austria-Hungarian Empire. The axis from London to Milan is at the core of the European economy since the medieval fairs and trade routes, and mid 19th century industrialisation did not change that in a significant way.

UNDERSTANDING EUROPEAN INDUSTRIALISATION

The changes in the European economy just described were connected through geography, in the sense that there is a strong correlation of levels and intensity of industrialisation and economic growth between neighbouring territories. Economic development in Europe can be best described by a core with more intense activity, which faded away towards the peripheral regions where technical innovation and economic activity were less intense. This pattern is clearly recognised by the fact that relative per capita income levels are higher in Belgium, northern France, Germany and Italy, and then they decline as we travel towards Poland and Romania or Spain and southern Italy. This economic geography is clearly a European phenomenon. It can be understood as the outcome of both path dependency and particular characteristics of each region. In fact, European industrialisation occurred first in those places where industrial tradition was longer, where there was a tradition what has been designated as proto-industrial activity and where at the same time there were the resources to explore the 19th century revolutionary technology, namely coal and iron deposits. As such, according to such perspective, regions with a proto-industrial heritage but without the appropriate mineral resources, as well as regions rich in coal or iron but with little industrial tradition, did not thrive so rapidly as regions that had both. Clearly this is just one way of describing a complex set of transformations and, although basically correct, it is necessarily incomplete. It does not take into account the fact that there were exceptions of different kinds. For one, industrialisation was not the only path to prosperity, as it demonstrated by countries such as the Netherlands or Denmark that had a rapid transformation since the early 19th century by exploring their agricultural potential. It also does not take into account other basic factors of growth, such as institutional development or education. It also does not take directly into account the role of public policies, such as tariffs or investment in social overhead capital. But it does provide a clear description of the continental pattern of industrial and economic development in Europe showing, where national boundaries do not seem to have a primary role. ▶▶▶

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WAS THE BRITISH INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION UNIQUE?

At the root of European industrial transformation was the deep transformation of the British economy from the second half of the 18th century onwards. The British Industrial Revolution was a unique achievement but it also pertains to wider history of European economic transformation. In fact, the increase in manufacturing output using new technology and concentrated in large scale operations can be seen as the economic response to particular characteristics of the British society, economy and environment, where the Enlightenment produced the needed spiritual and technical innovations, and commerce the appropriate cost structure that favoured investment in capital goods such as the spinning wheel, the steam machine and railways. Such large economic transformations were part of the wider European history, as it is shown by the fact that they were promptly adopted in the regions that had conditions closer to those of Britain, with closer commercial links. Quickly, the Industrial Revolution became a European phenomenon, either by emulation or by replication. The ensuing economic transformation was however slow, not only in Britain, lasting down to the 1870s, but also in the rest of the continent, where industrialisation continued well into the 20th century. Interestingly, the speed of industrialisation is closely correlated to the geographical distance from Britain, and the last industrial nations could be found in countries such as Portugal in the West or Romania in the East part of the continent.

THE DRIVERS OF EUROPEAN INDUSTRIALISATION

Industrialisation and economic growth depend on proximate and secondary causes. In a concise description, the former can be defined by investment capacity and technological innovation, and the latter by the institutional environment and education. Such factors of growth can be largely enhanced by the exchange of ideas, capital, goods and services, as well as people and European industrialisation was to a large extent dependent on such exchanges. As new techniques were made available across the English Channel, producers in France, Flanders or the Ruhr area which faced similar economic conditions, were willing to import in order to modernise their industries. People and capital travelling across borders would help that process.

By the same token, as new and cheaper goods were made available across different parts of the continent, consumers were also ready to buy, and merchants ready to cater for trade, which could be compensated by goods and services travelling in the opposite direction. Flows of technology, goods and the rest would also lead investors to build and maintain roads, channels and, ultimately, railways, and provide the necessary financial services. On the other hand, private and mostly public institutions joined this virtuous cycle providing the framework needed for the security of the transactions between people, regions and nations. Such patterns were of course not new in Europe, but the 19th century brought a new vigour, as industrialisation made such transactions more intense and widespread in scope. Again, the intensity of the flow of ideas, people, capital, goods and services across the Continent varied according to the same geographical pattern, where the core was dominant and the peripheries had a lesser role. This was clearly a common European pattern.

THE REVERSAL OF FORTUNES

The First World War, besides its heavy humanitarian costs, had tremendous consequences in the development of European convergence in all dimensions. The war led to an immediate stop in international trade, particularly long-distance which was more dependent on secure trade and navigation routes, as well as the flow of people and capital. The war, as it became more and more prolonged, also had an impact on national economic structures, which were shaped by protectionist policies and the diversion of resources towards the military needs. The gold standard was also ended throughout Europe, as the conditions for the existence fixed exchange rates deteriorated sharply with the decline in international trade. In the 1920s, national economies somehow recovered but as international trade and capital flows did not, the recovery was short lived and ultimately fell under financial distresses of which the 1929 New York stock exchange crash and the ensuing Great Depression were the more important factors. The interwar period shows clearly how the success of national developments was to a large extent dependent on the fortunes of the European economy. In this new industrial age, nations could not prosper economically without a prosperous overall European context. Clearly, this period shows how economic policy coordinated at the international level can matter. ▶▶▶

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THE RECOVERY

The path of recovery following the Second World War was in many respects different from that of the previous period, starting with the Bretton Wood agreements and the US dominance in western markets, and all the way to the formation of European institutions such as the OECD and the Common Market. Clearly the motivation of such arrangements was the simultaneous recovery of both national and international economies. Clearly in this period of high rates of economic growth, European national governments had to cope with international cooperation of competing international institutions. Protectionism and isolation were no longer the rule, at least within certain geographical areas. The higher levels of political and economic integration in Western Europe were however contradicted by the divide of the Continent in two political blocks with little, albeit growing, contact between them. Economic integration was eased by the large adjustment potential that the disruption provoked by the two World Wars and the protectionist policies of the interwar period. Yet it went far beyond that and the period up to 1973 became known as the golden age of growth which affected all of the European continent, from south to north, from east to west. After falling behind with the 1973 oil crisis and the fall of the Berlin Wall, in 1989, the European continent entered a new period of rapid advances in prosperity which was also accompanied by further economic and political integration. Those changes followed a pattern which recovered that of 19th century industrialisation, with very few exceptions. In fact, the wealthiest and poorest regions or countries on the continent by the eve of the new millennium were mostly the same that can be defined in the years after the end of the Napoleonic wars. A map of the evolution of income per capita or industrialisation levels in Europe across the two centuries mentioned here is the best demonstration that there is in fact a European economy with very long roots.

PATTERNS OF DIVERSIFICATION

Geographical unity in economic development was not necessarily accompanied by unification of political institutions or social and cultural values. A traveller across the European continent will find many differences in almost all aspects of day to day living which make direct connection between the present and the more or less distant past. Those differences are not necessarily atavistic, but rather they are the outcome of different responses to different challenges of the economic, social or cultural environments. Europe in the last two centuries is thus the outcome of a pattern of development with many similarities, as well as the outcome of many different institutional and cultural responses. These two axes probably represent tensions that are not to be solved but only managed indefinitely and the prospects of development are most probably dependent on which forces are dominant. In the 19th century, economic integration dominated, although national interests were also present with a growing level of intensity. During the interwar period, national interests became clearly dominant, whereas the forces of economic integration somehow faded away. After the Second World War, coordination ruled again, but this time under the supervision of international institutions. In the last decades of the century, all moved in the same direction again, but this time in a more open and demanding way. Undoubtedly, these patterns provide a template for developments elsewhere in the world, in what both unity and diversity are concerned.

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VALEURS PARTAGÉES POUR DES APPROCHES EUROPÉENNES EN PHASE AVEC LE MULTICULTURALISME DU MONDE ACTUEL

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Le partage de mêmes valeurs et l'adhésion à celles-ci est tenu de très longue date pour un facteur indispensable de cohésion et d'unité dans toute société et plus spécialement dans toute entité politique. C'est un facteur qui est considéré comme facilitant l'exercice de leur autorité aux détenteurs du pouvoir qui sont en général les promoteurs de ces valeurs. Celles – ci confèrent aussi un sens aux événements vécus par les membres du groupe qui les voient comme l'expression de leurs idéaux. Les responsables et les ressortissants des divers pays européens resteront largement sur cette ligne qui sera longtemps le modèle politique jugé le plus naturel.

■ **O**r nous sommes à un moment où la mondialisation et le contexte européen remettent en cause ce paradigme. Il s'agit notamment de passer d'un système de valeurs inhérentes au modèle national à des valeurs voulues universelles par des instances internationales. Un changement radical de perspective s'imposerait donc pour répondre à de nouvelles modalités de relations et de contacts entre les Etats-nations dans le domaine politique, économique, social et culturel.

■ **M**ais est – il possible que ce monde globalisé et cette Europe en évolution bénéficient comme le cadre national de valeurs supposées être aussi bien définies, aussi bien reconnues, aussi efficaces ? C'est tout l'enjeu de la réflexion sur le partage des valeurs qu'il faut mener aujourd'hui. ▶▶▶

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LES AVATARS DU PARTAGE DES VALEURS DANS LE MODELE NATIONAL

Pour répondre à cette question il y a lieu de se demander d'abord si le modèle national a permis un partage des valeurs aussi satisfaisant que les politiciens, les historiens et divers observateurs l'évoquent souvent.

LE PARTAGE DES VALEURS COMME CARACTÉRISTIQUE DU MODÈLE NATIONAL

■ Dans les Etats-nations qui ont été la formule la plus répandue en Europe entre le XVII^e et le XX^e siècles avant de se généraliser sur les autres continents, l'existence d'un corps de valeurs partagées par la plus large partie de la population a toujours été considérée comme une caractéristique essentielle. C'est bien entendu le cas des pays qui ont connu l'influence des Lumières puis celle de la Révolution française de 1789 et qui sont aussi bien la France que les Etats-Unis d'Amérique. Mais c'est aussi le cas de pays européens qui, comme l'Angleterre, par les initiatives de leur souverain et sous l'influence de philosophes politiques comme Locke ont pris un chemin différent qui a toutefois conduit à des formules pas incompatibles avec le modèle précédent. C'est encore de celui – ci que voudront s'inspirer les nouveaux Etats issus du mouvement des nationalités au XIX^e siècle dans l'Europe balkanique ou en Amérique du Sud. Les Etats créés après la première guerre mondiale comme ceux nés de la décolonisation après la seconde guerre mondiale ont eux aussi voulu se couler dans le même moule.

VALEURS UNIVERSELLES ET VALEURS NATIONALES

■ Il s'est toujours agi en même temps d'exalter des valeurs universelles et de célébrer des valeurs inhérentes à un patrimoine et une culture uniques considérés comme trop longtemps opprimés par un pouvoir ennemi de l'intérieur ou de l'extérieur. L'Etat devenu national n'est plus le simple lieu où doivent s'appliquer les édits d'un souverain mais le garant d'un système de valeurs qui lui confère un profil bien différent. Le respect des valeurs de ce système doit assurer la légitimité du gouvernement et forger l'identité d'un peuple. C'est aussi, en coopération avec la société, le rôle de l'Etat de contribuer à la connaissance de la culture et du patrimoine de la nation notamment par l'enseignement qui doit réserver une large place à l'histoire du pays. Les valeurs universelles de ce système de valeurs et ses clés de voute sont toujours la liberté et la solidarité. Le besoin de liberté a inspiré les protestations, les révoltes et les révolutions qui permis de s'affranchir d'oppressions extérieures voire intérieures.

C'est grâce à la solidarité que se créera le sentiment d'appartenance à une même nation qu'on dénommera la conscience nationale. Cette conscience nationale célébrera des valeurs plus particulières à cause de la spécificité d'une histoire et des traditions indispensables à l'idée d'une identité propre à la nation.

■ Il s'agit pourtant de savoir jusqu'à quel point les ambitions de ces programmes ont pu être réalisées et même si elles étaient réalisables.

DE L'ENTHOUSIASME NATIONAL AUX DÉRIVES NATIONALISTES

■ D'abord dans les Etats-nations issus des mouvements dits de nationalités, après des guerres d'indépendance, le contraste est presque toujours fort entre la période de conflit et la période qui lui fait suite. La première période donne lieu à un partage presque idyllique des valeurs au nom desquelles les luttes sont menées avec un engagement général et radical pour un idéal national nourri des attraits de la nation en gestation. Mais la période suivante qui arrive après une indépendance parfois incomplète et illusoire est marquée par les désaccords entre les premiers partis politiques qui aboutissent à des rivalités entre des clans pour l'accès au pouvoir.

■ A ce qu'on a pu appeler les nations romantiques, qui viennent d'être évoquée, on peut opposer des nations dites classiques, supposées s'être constituées comme sans le savoir sur le long terme et sans soubresauts aussi violents. On peut y ranger la France si on reporte le début de sa formation en nation à Jeanne d'Arc ou Louis XIV et non plus aux périodes révolutionnaire ou napoléonienne. Toutefois les rivalités politiques y seront parfois aussi violentes que chez leurs sœurs cadettes et aboutiront à des extrémismes qui n'auront rien à leur envier. C'est ce qui se produira avec les flambées de nationalisme qui rétréciront le champ des valeurs à des attitudes sectaires prônant l'exclusion de certaines catégories au nom de préjugés ou d'extrémismes comme le racisme. Ces nationalismes seront ainsi les cimetières du partage des valeurs puisque qu'il deviendra celui de valeurs détournées de leurs orientations initiales ou d'autres inventées pour la circonstance. On en aura de dramatiques exemples. Avec la mobilisation des foules allemandes contre la république de Weimar dénoncée comme « Undeutsch », comme non allemande et comme une démocratie étrangère à la tradition germanique. Avec la séduction des foules italiennes par la guerre d'Ethiopie célébrée comme le premier pas vers un empire colonial. ▶▶▶

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En outre ces pseudo – valeurs seront imposées par des services aux ordres des maîtres du pouvoir qu'il s'agisse d'abord de simples propagandistes ou de services organisés. C'est de plus un partage de façade qui remplacera le véritable à cause de l'existence de policiers ou de délateurs chargés de détecter et de sanctionner ceux qui refusent de suivre ou n'y mettent pas assez d'ardeur. On fera bien entendu l'expérience de toutes ces perversions avec le nazisme, le fascisme ou le franquisme. Ce sera aussi l'occasion de constater que les idéologies politiques sont aux antipodes d'un vrai système de valeurs par ses simplismes ou ses détournements du sens des mots ou des situations. Il convient aussi de prévenir que si le nationalisme a des formes pathologiques comme celles qui viennent d'être mentionnées, il en présente aussi de banales qui ne sont pas moins nocives. Car elles revendiquent toujours des supériorités de mauvais aloi qui nuisent à la possibilité d'un dialogue entre les nations sur un pied d'égalité. On en a un exemple symptomatique avec le texte suivant publié en France en 1864 : « La nation française à laquelle nous avons le plaisir d'appartenir est de toutes les nations la plus civilisée, la plus grande ; elle est en même temps la plus polie, sa courtoisie est célèbre dans tout l'univers ». Ce texte a été publié à Paris par l'éditeur Hachette qui bénéficie depuis toujours d'une solide réputation. C'est donc la preuve qu'à l'époque une telle déclaration ne paraissait pas impubliable et que les regains de nationalisme sont toujours possibles comme s'ils étaient anodins.

LA PERSISTANCE DE GROUPES NE BÉNÉFICIAINT PAS DU PARTAGE DES VALEURS

■ De tels points de vue se font plus rares aujourd'hui parce que leurs conséquences sont mieux imaginées et mieux évitées. Elles subsistent pourtant dans certaines parties du monde et même en Europe où des populations importantes ont longtemps pâti et pâtissent encore de situations contraires aux valeurs qui devraient prévaloir.

■ Il s'agit d'abord des habitants de certaines parties du territoire national qui ont une histoire et une culture différentes de celles officiellement reconnues. En Europe diverses mesures ont été prises en leur faveur qui vont de l'attribution de réglementations spéciales à des formes d'autonomie. Mais elles sont souvent jugées insatisfaisantes. L'enseignement de l'histoire particulière de certaines régions ou l'enseignement de leurs langues n'existe pas ou est réduit à la portion congrue. L'absence de ratification de la Charte européenne des langues régionales ou minoritaires du Conseil de l'Europe par plusieurs Etats membres en témoigne.

■ Les travailleurs migrants ou les populations immigrées sont aussi la plupart du temps dans des situations où le partage des valeurs de référence de l'Etat d'accueil n'intervient pas. Les jeunes de ces catégories ont des scolarités qui ne leur permettent pas d'acquérir une bonne maîtrise de la langue de la majorité ou d'accéder aux formations qui leur offriraient les meilleures chances d'échapper au chômage et d'avoir une vie active équilibrée et rémunératrice.

■ Tous ces phénomènes provoquent la formation de minorités qui se distinguent de la majorité par l'impossibilité de partager les valeurs de celle-ci à cause de leurs particularités ethniques et culturelles. Ce qui est ainsi mis en cause c'est le pacte devant s'établir dans une société dont tous les membres devraient honorer les mêmes valeurs. Cela contribuera à terme à relativiser les élans d'unanimité et de patriotisme supposés se produire en cas de menace ou de guerre. En fin de compte les Etats-nations qui auraient dû être les royaumes du partage des valeurs risquent de finir par n'en être que des façades trompeuses.

LES PRÉCÉDENTS DE LA COLONISATION

■ Ce décalage sera encore plus fortement ressenti et à terme violemment dénoncé dans les empires coloniaux. Il ne paraîtra même plus nécessaire d'y feindre le partage des valeurs avec la métropole. Il sera rendu impossible par le refus d'accorder à la majorité des colonisés la même citoyenneté qu'aux colonisateurs. Les uns et les autres n'auront pas le même état civil ni les mêmes documents d'identité. Ils n'auront donc pas non plus les mêmes possibilités de déplacements dans la colonie ou entre la colonie et la métropole. Le système scolaire comportera des écoles distinctes pour les colons de souche et les « indigènes ». Ceux-ci auront leurs propres tribunaux rendant souvent des sentences plus sévères. Ils auront accès à l'armée mais ce sera dans des unités spéciales où leur uniforme, avec un souci d'exotisme ségrégatif, signalera leur origine. Toutes ces dispositions n'empêcheront pas que la colonisation affiche la prétention d'apporter la civilisation avec son développement social, économique et culturel. Son absence criante provoquera la formation de groupes de colonisés qui souvent après une éducation de qualité obtenue à grand peine et presque dérobée dénonceront la mascarade des valeurs dont ils ont pâti et militeront pour l'indépendance. ▶▶▶

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■ Mais les séquelles d'un tel détournement seront longues et lourdes pour les anciennes colonies comme pour les anciennes métropoles. Les pays décolonisés auront beaucoup de difficultés à échapper aux faux-semblants en matière de partage des valeurs et aux simulacres de démocratie et de développement avec tous leurs avatars. L'Europe finalement chassée mettra longtemps à trouver avec ses anciennes dépendances des modalités de coopération fondées sur l'égalité et la confiance. L'Europe paiera aussi un prix élevé à ce qu'on serait tenté d'appeler les tricheries avec ses valeurs. Entre autres, les exploitations auxquelles elle s'est livrée lui ont permis des facilités dont des secteurs de son économie pâtissent encore. Les colons chassés par les indépendances ont dû retourner dans leur pays d'origine où ils ont souvent eu du mal à se réadapter et ont parfois constitué comme de nouvelles minorités en marge de leurs concitoyens.

UN BILAN MITIGÉ

■ Après un tel panorama le bilan qui s'impose est mitigé. Il faut sans doute convenir qu'à ses origines le modèle national a pu sembler un gage de modernité qui rendait les peuples maîtres de leur destin la plupart du temps après des longues périodes de sujétions ou d'oppressions. Mais pour avoir dû s'adapter à des contextes de plus en plus variés, il lui été plus en plus difficile de rester axé sur les valeurs de justice, d'égalité, de solidarité comme à ses débuts. Son élan initial s'est trop souvent perdu dans les arcanes de la politique. Il est aussi probable qu'il était pensé comme peu capable de réunir des groupes ayant des histoires et des cultures très différentes surtout si chacun d'entre eux était très nombreux ou répartis sur des territoires très étendus. Le fédéralisme qui semble dans ce cas la meilleure solution ne s'insère peut-être pas aisément dans un modèle national. Les discussions sur la dose de fédéralisme acceptable dans l'Union Européenne incitent à le penser. Or la mondialisation n'a fait qu'accroître les risques pour le modèle national de ne pas offrir de solutions appropriées dans des situations où rien ne paraît plus à la mesure de ce modèle.

VERS UN PARTAGE EFFECTIF DES VALEURS DANS UN MONDE MULTIPOLAIRE ET MULTICULTUREL ?

Mais la mondialisation n'est-elle pas dans tous les domaines une absence de limites et de repères qui ne rendrait guère optimiste sur les chances de pouvoir proposer un nouveau modèle ? Au lieu de l'Etat-nation les courants d'échanges incessants seraient la seule et vraie réalité dans laquelle se fondraient les identités.

L'AUTRE FACE DE LA MONDIALISATION

■ Il n'est pourtant pas inéluctable de s'en remettre à une conception aussi brutale de la mondialisation qui reste encadrée par des règles non seulement au plan de l'économie mais également à celui des valeurs.

■ L'Organisation Mondiale du Commerce veille à ce que la mondialisation respecte des réglementations qui interdisent notamment les concurrences débridées et de leur côté les Etats veillent à ce que des pratiques comme le dumping ne faussent pas les prix et le commerce international.

■ Au plan des valeurs, la mondialisation, dès ses débuts, a suscité des initiatives qui n'ont pas cessé d'être relayées. Les dispositions de la Déclaration des Droits de l'homme de 1945 ont eu pour objectifs de rendre désormais impossibles les exactions intervenues pendant la seconde guerre mondiale et d'ouvrir une nouvelle ère de l'histoire de l'humanité où le respect de la personne humaine serait une priorité absolue. Depuis sa rédaction cette Déclaration n'a pas cessé d'être enrichie par d'autres initiatives dont celles du Conseil de l'Europe dont la plus récente est le Livre blanc sur le dialogue interculturel « Vivre ensemble dans l'égalité ». »

■ Les relations entre les Etats ont aussi été repensées pour en particulier échapper aux rapports de force que Clausewitz avait imposés comme l'unique perspective. La Charte de Nations Unies a voulu instaurer une autre pratique des relations internationales fondée sur la volonté d'éviter les conflits armés et de favoriser entre les adversaires les compromis préservant l'existence des deux parties ou lieu de vouloir l'annihilation de l'une d'entre elles. On pouvait ainsi espérer passer d'un monde clivé en blocs antagonistes à un monde multipolaire où prévaudrait la recherche de solutions pacifiques. Au plan culturel l'UNESCO s'est attaché à compléter cette multipolarité par un multiculturalisme permettant d'éviter le choc des civilisations. ▶▶▶

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LES CHANCES D'ÊTRE PARTAGÉES POUR

■ Ainsi sont proposées des valeurs qui ont un nouveau profil et un nouveau statut. Elles sont bien universelles parce qu'elles doivent concerner l'humanité entière. Elles sont mieux identifiables et moins contestables que dans le passé. Les instances internationales qui en sont maintenant les garantes sont plus acceptables par tous que les autorités politiques ou religieuses qui les prônaient le plus souvent jusqu'ici.

■ Certes les raisons de douter qu'elles soient mieux partagées ne manquent pas. L'ONU demeure incapable d'éviter les guerres et les génocides. Trop de gouvernements ne se soucient que de leur propre intérêt. Ces impuissances et ces égoïsmes alimentent les puissants courants d'individualisme qui à l'heure actuelle souhaitent la diminution du rôle de l'Etat et poussent à la perte de la notion de bien commun.

■ Pourtant en même temps que ces manifestations, notre époque enregistre d'incessantes mobilisations pour des causes qui témoignent d'un indéniable intérêt pour les valeurs de notre temps. Les mouvements de soutien au livre « Indignez-vous » de Stéphane Hessel n'ont pas voulu stigmatiser l'impuissance de ces valeurs devant l'état du monde actuel mais regretter que trop de milieux les ignorent encore. Il y a en permanence bien d'autres mobilisations contre les injustices, les ségrégations, les inégalités entre les genres et la liste pourrait s'allonger à l'infini. Il faut aussi souligner que ces mouvements émanent de plus en plus de la société civile dont de multiples associations dotées de statuts reconnus expriment les préoccupations et les choix. Ces prises de position sont par ailleurs maintenant relayées par les réseaux sociaux de plus en plus nombreux et de plus en plus actifs. Il en résulte que les options de la société civile qui s'expriment par ces divers canaux finissent par compter tout autant que les prises de positions officielles surtout compte tenu de la place réservée par les médias aux courants de la société civile pour donner la vision la plus fidèle de l'opinion.

Et il y a bien d'autres signes encourageants. En janvier 2013, à l'occasion de la célébration du Traité de l'Elysée entre l'Allemagne et la France, les ministres des affaires étrangères des deux Etats, dans une déclaration commune à la presse, ont souligné que leur amitié consacrée par ce traité reposait sur « un solide socle de valeurs partagées »¹ notamment le respect de la liberté et de la diversité culturelle. Un autre signe symptomatique de l'intérêt porté aux valeurs d'aujourd'hui est la multiplication des études à leur sujet. En France vient de paraître un ouvrage dont le titre est symbolique puisqu'il est « Valeurs partagées, face au bouleversement des valeurs, la recherche d'un nouveau consensus »². Cet ouvrage reprend en effet la plupart des thématiques liées aux conséquences de la mondialisation sur le profil des valeurs et leur partage.

■ Pour mieux se rassurer sur les possibilités de voir dûment partagées les nouvelles valeurs, un dernier obstacle doit pourtant encore être surmonté. Il est à craindre que les valeurs de maintenant soient trop rationalisées pour susciter des adhésions comparables à celles dont bénéficiaient les valeurs d'inspiration religieuse ou nationale. C'est une question qui se pose depuis longtemps. Déjà, avant la seconde guerre mondiale, le sociologue Ferdinand Tönnies avait envisagé que les sociétés occidentales puissent passer de l'état de communauté (Gemeinschaft) où les membres des groupes ressentaient la chaleur des liens qui les unissaient à la société (Gesellschaft) où s'imposait un univers de règles abstraites et froides. L'opposition faite par Tönnies a donné lieu à de vives discussions et elle vaut probablement surtout lorsque sévissent des idéologies dont le systématisme corsette les membres de la société. Les valeurs actuelles doivent donc se penser et se vivre dans la lucidité sans oublier ni les obstacles auxquels peut se heurter leur mise en œuvre ni l'énergie à déployer pour que des déceptions inévitables n'interdisent pas les engagements et les combats nécessaires. ▶▶▶

¹ Journal « Le Monde » 22 janvier 2013.

² Sous la direction de Dominique Reynié, Presses universitaires de France, Paris février 2013.

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LES APPROCHES EUROPÉENNES POUR CE CONTEXTE

Les approches européennes pour ce contexte, exigent à la fois l'abandon d'attitudes encore souvent prédominantes et le choix de nouvelles pratiques moins familières.

ELIMINER LES ATTITUDES NATIONALISTES

■ Comme on s'en doute, la pratique du nationalisme est celle à laquelle il porterait de renoncer le plus totalement et le plus rapidement possible. D'abord elles pervertissent la vision que chaque pays a de son histoire, de sa culture en les dotant d'une spécificité absolue qui induit un complexe de supériorité. Par ailleurs, ce complexe fausse les relations et les échanges avec les autres histoires et les autres cultures. Le nationalisme sévit encore aussi bien à l'échelle mondiale qu'à l'échelle européenne. La mondialisation s'est traduite par l'importance prise par l'Asie qui est encore déchirée par des accès de nationalisme qui vus d'Europe paraissent d'une époque révolue. Pourtant l'Europe elle-même n'échappe pas à des attitudes d'un registre comparable avec la persistance d'anciennes animosités, la fréquente résurgence de la nécessité de défendre des intérêts nationaux déclarés intangibles. De ce fait, comme on l'a déjà signalé, le fédéralisme dans l'Union Européenne est toujours évoqué dans ses versions les plus modestes et les plus lointaines. Du reste les Etats membres qui ont adopté un fédéralisme intérieur sont le théâtre de rivalités qui peuvent finir par provoquer de sérieuses fissures dans le cadre en vigueur.

POUR UNE AUTRE CONCEPTION DU PATRIOTISME

■ Ces difficultés tiennent aussi à la persistance d'une conception trop simpliste du passé et de l'avenir qui alimente un patriotisme intolérant et vindicatif. Il faudrait désormais considérer le patriotisme comme une marque de l'historicité de tout être humain né dans un lieu et à un moment de l'histoire. Mais comme le soulignent les historiens s'intéressant aux « régimes de l'historicité »¹, cela ne saurait enfermer ni dans la mémoire d'expériences passées intouchables ni dans la revendication d'un avenir fixé d'avance une fois pour toutes. La multiperspectivité devrait être mise à profit pour susciter toutes les ouvertures possibles.

¹ Cf. Delacroix Christian, Dosse François et Garcia Patrick (sous la direction de), *Historicités*, La Découverte, Paris 2009.

TENIR COMPTE DE LA SÉCULARISATION DES VALEURS

■ Il conviendrait aussi que soit pleinement tenu compte de la sécularisation des valeurs intervenue avec le rôle accru des instances internationales dans leur définition et leur promotion. C'est une évolution comparable à celle qu'ont connue et connaissent encore la plupart des religions et sans laquelle elles risqueraient de dégénérer dans l'intolérance et le fanatisme. Il en résulte notamment que les valeurs sont inévitablement confrontées à des crises et à des combats pour se faire reconnaître. Par la diversité de ses histoires et de ses cultures, l'Europe offre sans aucun doute des expériences symptomatiques de ces crises et de ces combats pour bénéficier des valeurs qu'appelle désormais un monde multipolaire et multiculturel. Ces expériences méritent sûrement d'être partagées avec le reste du monde un peu comme l'ambitionnaient les romans d'apprentissage de l'époque romantique.

CONCILIER L'UNIVERSEL ET LE PARTICULIER

■ Car à l'instar de ceux-ci l'Europe doit chercher comment réussir à concilier les valeurs universelles qu'appelle la mondialisation et les valeurs particulières liées à des racines dont il ne semble ni possible ni souhaitable de se détacher. Or si cet enjeu est depuis longtemps celui de l'Europe, il est de plus en plus celui de tous les pays en même temps entraînés dans la mondialisation et soucieux de préserver ce qui jusqu'à présent les a individualisés. Il n'est donc pas étonnant qu'on puisse imaginer la nécessité d'arriver « à une nouvelle conception de la nation débarrassée des messianismes et des millénarismes, comme des idéologies et des utopies, qui ne s'oppose pas à l'universel mais en permette précisément l'enracinement »². Si l'Europe léguait cet héritage, elle aurait les meilleures chances d'être en bonne place dans le monde d'aujourd'hui. ■■■

² Daniel Jean, *Demain la nation*, Seuil 2012, P. 136.

IMAGINING THE BALKANS, IDENTITIES AND MEMORY IN THE LONG 19TH CENTURY

Philippos Mazarakis-Ainian
National Historical Museum
Greece

IMAGINING THE BALKANS

The exhibition “Imagining the Balkans, Identities and Memory in the Long 19th Century” was a project sponsored and coordinated by UNESCO, as part of a policy enhancing intercultural dialogue in South East Europe¹.

South-East Europe is a region characterised by international and interethnic tensions, which usually seem to originate directly from the past and from antagonistic readings of historical events. The aim of the project therefore was to initiate some sort of co-operation between national museums, which are perceived as – and often truly are – caretakers and promoters of the exclusive national ideals of each state.

The project, after much debate, was eventually named after the title of an inspired book by Maria Todorova², professor at the University of Illinois, USA, a historian of Bulgarian Origin. Maria Todorova has demonstrated that the image of the region today results of ideological constructions and prejudices, spanning several centuries and which, imported from the West, have often been internalised in the specific national ideologies of the region. She has shown that the image of the Balkans as a quasi-non-European province, hovering between western civilisation and oriental backwardness, infested with national hatred, civilisation conflict and with a propensity for barbarity, is actually the result of international and financial domination politics. Such perceptions have always been present in foreign relations, but in our case became especially visible when 19th century Europe, having experienced the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution, in full economic and political expansion and driven by a romantic spirit, came in closer contact with an Ottoman world facing a totally different situation at the time. “Balkans” is a byword for South-East Europe, usually perceived as a negative stereotype, which has less to do with reality than with imagination – it is a construct. This is precisely why it was chosen as a title to the exhibition. ▶▶▶

¹ Participating Museums: National History Museum, Albania; Museum of the Republic of Srpska, Bosnia and Herzegovina; National History Museum, Bulgaria; Croatian History Museum, Croatia; Leventis Municipal Museum of Nicosia, Cyprus; German Historical Museum, Germany; National Historical Museum, Greece; National Museum of Montenegro, Montenegro; National History Museum of Romania, Romania; Historical Museum of Serbia, Serbia; National Museum of Slovenia, Slovenia; Museum of Macedonia, “The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia”.

Other participants: Maria Todorova, Professor, University of Illinois, USA – Historical Advisor; Peter Aronsson, Professor, Linköpings University, Sweden (EUNAMUS project); Tulay Artan, Professor, Sabanci University, Turkey; Dario Disegni, Head of Cultural Affairs, Compagnia di San Paolo, Italy; Anne-Catherine Hauglustaine-Robert, International Committee on Exhibitions and Exchanges/ICOM; Christina Koulouri, Professor, Panteion University, Greece; Jean-Pierre Titz, Head of History Education Division, Council of Europe.

² Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, Oxford University Press, Oxford-New York, 1997 (2nd enlarged edition 2009).

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■ The descriptive subtitle of the exhibition uses a concept elaborated by another well known historian. The late Eric Hobsbawm¹, by “long 19th century”, meant the period starting with the twofold economical and ideological European revolution (Industrial and French revolutions) and ending with the First World War, when the old empires of Central-East Europe were dissolved. It is obvious why in the Balkan case identities are placed in plural, but the use of memory in the singular was very much conscientious. Memory in our discourse is perceived as a fluid phenomenon, which permeates borders, social and ethnic groups, nations, and takes on diverse forms with a great disparity of content. But if we search in a comparative way, the similarities re-emerge and permit us to understand in a comprehensive way the processes of historical evolution. We are therefore dealing with an era which saw the transformation of South-East Europe from multiethnic social coexistence under autocratic imperial regimes towards the breaking up into more homogeneous states, with nationality as the basic criterion of citizenship, and where power is supposed to derive directly from the people through republican institutions.

■ During all this period we are dealing with, while the information transmitted of the region to the West was conditioned by the views of upper-class European travelers and investors, it ignored the fact that situations similar to the ones experienced there were also to be seen in several other areas of the continent, albeit at different times, with different intensities, etc. When British travelers accuse the inhabitants of the Balkans, of being dirty, poor, treacherous, ungentlemanlike, rude, they do not realise that these are the same epithets that are applied to the industrial shanty towns of their own country². Nor is it realised that the comparison is biased: those who are accused are the lower classes of society, which are compared to the travelers' own upper class social standards.

■ More generally, it is quite common to see the economically backward Balkans accused of violence, authoritarianism, arbitrariness, etc., while the accusers' progressive and developed states were inflicting the same treatments upon their own colonies, not to mention the display of barbarity during the two World Wars, which were, in a very important measure, Western European products. Paramount to these, the mere notion of nationalism, of which Balkan people are always accused, is clearly a western ideological import to the region.

¹ E.J. Hobsbawm, *The age of Revolution: Europe 1789-1848*, New York and London, 1962; *The age of Capital: 1848-1875*, New York and London, 1975; *The age of Empire: 1875-1914*, New York, 1987.

² Rebecca West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, New York, Penguin, 1969, p.1095; as quoted within Maria Todorova, *op.cit.*, p.110.

These examples do not of course show a complete picture of the situations involved, but serve to underline the stereotypes the Southeastern European societies have to combat even today. This pattern of thinking has been resurfacing periodically, ever since then, with the dissolution of Yugoslavia being the latest example. This event is often interpreted as a re-emergence of base instincts, ignoring the unwary foreign involvement which contributed very significantly in brewing it, and it is even generalised as a “Balkan” war, not a “Yugoslav” one³, underlining the supposedly innate barbaric character of the region; not to mention the current European economic crisis and the caricature images of southern Europeans, imposed by the media to the economically stronger northern European societies.

■ The negative image of the Balkans has also been in a significant measure internalised in the mentalities of the local populations, who often think of themselves and of their neighbours as people undeserving the attribution of a full “European” identity. The pervasive notion, all through the region, that when one travels to one of the powerful Western European countries he/she is “going to Europe”, is highly indicative of this set of mind.

■ The exhibition therefore, set to restore a balanced image, by showing not only that the different nations share more than they think they do, but also that their evolutionary patterns are quite similar to those of other areas of Europe and the world. These briefly outlined ideas form basic concepts that the project is trying to combat. More precisely, we are trying to enhance co-operation among institutions usually devoted to telling the “orthodox” story of national identity, by making them think in an inclusive, way, not with the usual stereotype of the neighbor as an antagonist. The ultimate goal though, is precisely to show to our respective publics not only that we share more than we think we do, but also that we are all an integral part of something greater, and deserve respect for this.

■ The first group meeting of the project participants took place in October 2010 in Thessaloniki, with the additional participation of two external museums with experience in similar projects: the Museo Nazionale del Risorgimento Italiano of Turin and the Deutches Historisches Museum in Berlin. The International Council of Museums was represented by its Committee for Exhibitions Exchange. Other consulting partners were the EUNAMUS (an EU funded university co-operation project on visitor evaluation of National Museums), and of course the Council of Europe itself, through Jean-Pierre Titz, Head of the Division of History Education at the time. The European Association of History Educators EUROCLIO also participated at some point, as well as university professors specialising in the subject. ▶▶▶

³ Maria Todorova, *op.cit.*, p.158.

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■ After a few meetings, visits to relevant exhibition projects in Thessaloniki¹, Berlin² and Turin³, and lots of theoretical discussion, the real, active, preparation of an exhibition project had to begin. I must admit that I had been myself skeptical about its feasibility and had proposed, instead, that we organise an international conference. A conference would naturally involve people with a particular interest, while an exhibition is by definition more open to the general public's unpredictable reactions. It is quite established that views and approaches that are tolerated on a level of individual research, are often bitterly resisted when they are articulated through official channels. There are many published essays all around South-East Europe, offering alternative views about history, there are even major cooperation achievements⁴, but national schoolbooks are generally still very far away from this multi-perspective goal. In Greece, public uproar was triggered a few years ago, when an alternative textbook on modern history⁵ was introduced in primary schools. The discussion assumed the form of a mediatised scandal, much surpassing the real failings of this book.

■ To return to the project under discussion, the problem was that although a generally agreeable climate had already been established among the participants, nobody knew how to tackle the theme. There was a reticence among participants to put forward concrete ideas, in case they were seen in the wrong light by others, given that the selected subject matter rested upon the diverging national narratives which formed the background learning of every participant. A long list of ideas, seeming important to all of us, was nevertheless drafted, although in several cases their interpretations were probably different in each one's mind. This multitude of stray ideas was even compressed into just three main topic lines:

- ▶ Living in the Balkans
- ▶ Educating in the Balkans
- ▶ Representing the Balkans
 - a. Representing (Heroes, celebrations, symbols, maps, etc.)
 - b. Narrating (tales, writings, literature, history, etc.)

■ And then what? We still were in a vague domain of generalities, with no clue as to how to interpret this information in a way enabling us to formulate an exhibition concept. Our main problem was mistrust.

1 Permanent exhibitions of the Archaeological Museum and of the Museum of Byzantine Civilisation.
2 Exhibition "Hitler and the Germans, Nation and Crime", Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin, 15 October 2010 - 27 February 2011.
3 Exhibition "Making the Italians, 150 years of National History", Officine Grandi Riparazioni, Torino, 17 March - 4 November 2012.
4 For example: *Teaching Modern Southeast European History, Alternative Educational Materials, Workbook 2 - Nations and States in Southeast Europe*, Edited by Mirela-Luminița Murgescu, Series Editor: Christina Koulouri, Thessaloniki, Centre for Democracy and Reconciliation of South East Europe, 2005.
5 Maria Repoussi et al., *Στα Νεώτερα και Σύγχρονα Χρόνια, Ιστορία ΣΤ' Δημοτικού (In the Modern and Contemporary Years, History textbook for the 6th Primary grade)*, Pedagogical Institute, Greek Ministry of Education and Religion, 2007.

■ So, instead of trying to push for a coherent concept, all participants were asked to prepare a representative selection of 10 objects each, and to make a public presentation of their historical relevance. This way we were all forced to work into finding real exhibition items in our museums, and to try and put them into a broader historical perspective involving the whole region.

■ The next meeting⁶ was precisely devoted to this presentation of objects, which very quickly revealed the basic approaches of each museum. What came out of this exercise was that a clear majority of museums had definitely decided that we are making an exhibition on socio-political history of the 19th century, with the aim of showing the birth and development of national concepts, national ideas and national states, in conjunction with the economical and technological progress of that period.

■ A specific problem noticed with many items, was a tendency for an introvert justification of them. Exhibits truly relevant to our project would be justified through a national reading of events, not through their repercussion with the rest of the region, as was needed. This situation was to be found with everyone's proposals, but was more pronounced in the museums not having already had the chance for broad international partnerships.

■ Finally, a minority group of museums opted for a totally different orientation of the project, by providing ethnographic material alone. This choice has to do with specific reasons in each case. I will be bold enough to mention one by one the cases in question, while cautioning the reader that these opinions reflect my own perception of the attitudes offered by the museum partners:

- ▶ The National History Museum of Slovenia had a general attitude of an 'outsider' to the Balkans, the Slovenians being probably as much influenced by central Europe.
- ▶ The Sabanci Museum of Turkey, on the other hand, saw itself on the opposite shore of ideological debate, as representing the 'successor state' to the Ottoman Empire, traditional opponent of all the other regional nationalisms.
- ▶ The Leventis Municipal Museum of Cyprus found itself limited by the still unsolved political problem of the island. Critical discussion of any nation-building process in the island is inhibited by their situation in a practical state of provisional ceasefire ever since the Turkish military invasion of the 1970s.
- ▶ Finally, the Museum of Macedonia in its effort to present the nation-building phenomena of the "The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia", probably the youngest and most contested in the region, hovered between items related to ethnography and others more historical in character.

6 In Ljubljana, March 2012.

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The diverging approaches to the project led to very intensive discussions and in the end it was clear that all, to a greater or lesser degree, would have to revise their input. Strong leadership was needed at that point, and the steering group worked hard for convincing the rest to follow a historical path and for leaving outside interpretations that were not acceptable to all. The crucial point is that we managed to establish a basic confidence that even if somebody provided diverging objects or interpretations, these would be reworked in a spirit of cohesion, and that any reference clashing with another's perception would be discussed in common.

The establishment of confidence of course went both ways, because already through the presentation of our proposals, we had demonstrated in practical terms that we did not intend to bring forth antagonistic or revisionist ideas without criticising them. So the group felt bonded, and the following steps were much facilitated.

In the end, by considering the items proposed, we were able to devise a pattern of thematic chapters. As follows:

| | |
|---------------|--|
| Introduction: | A coffee shop |
| Chapter1: | Living in the old world |
| Ch. 2 | Travelling, communicating |
| Ch.3 | A new social order: the rise of the middle classes |
| Ch.4 | Creating and diffusing knowledge |
| Ch.5 | Mapping |
| Ch.6 | Using history* |
| Ch.7 | Heroes and Antiheroes* ¹ |
| Ch.8 | Public celebrations |
| Ch.9 | Images of the Nation |
| Conclusion: | Whose is this song? |

This sequence demonstrated an evolution of nation-building common to all the participants. Of course, there is no mention of chronology, because we decided to avoid any unnecessary dates. Despite having similar phenomena in all countries, their time frame could vary vastly and the aim was not to end up with 12 parallel national histories, nor was the description of specific events our goal. The idea was to outline the general social phenomena characterising the era in question.

¹ The two chapters marked with * were subsequently merged under "Using History, Making Heroes", as explained further on in the text.

For the next meeting² we had all amended our lists of proposed exhibits, and we had integrated them within the thematic chapters, together with tentative general texts. These texts were elaborated with direct regard to the objects themselves. The whole methodology was object-oriented and not concept-oriented.

The arrangement of objects and the texts were further worked upon in the following months. We made all captions fit within pre-defined formats, thus homogenising the diverse information as to length, form, style and content. At this stage we also decided to merge the chapters "Using History" and "Heroes and Antiheroes" as too closely related phenomena. The ensuing chapter was named "Using History, Making Heroes", while the notion of "antiheroes" was dropped as counterproductive. It was particularly resented by the Turkish side, which saw in it the expression of a negative image of the Ottomans, as mentioned before. Negative perceptions, even presented with a clear distance and not endorsed, can very easily produce misunderstandings. Unfortunately the Turkish museum³ decided even to retire from the project on this issue, although their representative to the group, Professor Tulay Artan, remained in a counseling role on the grounds of her university professorship.

Professor Maria Todorova and Greek professor Christina Koulouri, also a specialist in comparative Balkan history teaching, also reviewed the texts. Then, the final version was handed to the Slovenian National History Museum, who was entrusted with the design, and took upon it the responsibility of being the first host of the exhibition. The exhibition was finally opened on April 8, 2013 by the Director-General of UNESCO Ms Irina Bokova, in presence of the ministers of culture of the region, of the European Commission member for Culture Ms Androulla Vassiliou, and of the President of International Council of Museums (ICOM) Dr Hans-Martin Hinz.

The exhibition is scheduled to be presented in all the countries involved⁴, and will therefore travel for the next three years. Interest has been expressed by authorities and museums in Vienna and Marseille for receiving the exhibition, while the participants have agreed to engage an effort to conclude the tour by presenting the exhibition within one of the European political or cultural institutions.

➔ <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/venice/resources-services/host-facilities/special-events/imagining-the-balkans/>

² In Bucharest, June 2012.

³ Sabanci Museum, Istanbul.

⁴ Ljubljana, April 8th-August 25th, Belgrade, September-November 2013, Bucharest, December 2013 – April 2014, Sofia, April-June 2014. The tentative sequence for the following venues is Cetinje, Athens, Nicosia, Skopje, Tirana, Banja Luca, Zagreb.

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PERCEPTION OF EUROPE IN CHINA: AN OUTLINE

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PERCEPTION OF EUROPE IN CHINA

PREFACE

It is obviously valuable for Europeans to ponder how they are seen through others' eyes at a time when Europe hopes to create a common identity for the next generations and step much more firmly into the near future. Moreover, it could be more valuable when these perspectives come from a heterogeneous cultural background just like China. Undoubtedly, the whole story of the perception of Europe in Chinese history could not possibly be told in the limited space. As a result, this article is only an outline of the topic, of which not much is written either in Europe or in China.

The process of description and understanding as well as evaluation could be divided roughly into the following four eras:

1. Europe as a barbarous but exotic area before 16th century;
2. Europe as semi/quasi-civilised community with higher technology from 16th century to 18th century;
3. Europe as fearsome imperialist enemies but desirable destination of development after 1840;
4. Europe as a new emerging giant and creative but still young post-national entity since the European Union appeared.

It is understandable that none of the first three periodisations are built on empirical research due to the limitation of pre-modern society. However the last could be supported by evidence from some data analysis. ▶▶▶

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EUROPE AS A NEW EMERGING GIANT AND CREATIVE BUT STILL YOUNG POST-NATIONAL ENTITY SINCE EUROPEAN UNION APPEARED

A few intermittent steps of Europeanisation completed in the past 50 years, among which the signing of *Maastricht Treaty* on 7 February, 1991, launching of the *Euro* on 1 January 2002 and the ratification of *Treaty of Lisbon* on 1 December 2009 could be three turning points or landmarks. As a result, Europe is walking forward an unprecedented entity which has already occupied a very advantageous position in the multipolar world.

In general, the European Union is affirmatively accepted and positively received in Chinese opinions. For some scholars like the author, such kind of Europeanisation has shown 'a successful model of experiences of regional economic integration' and could open a road to 'multipolarisation of world'. The perspective has been written in a new high school textbook in Shanghai (the author of this text is one of the writers) and also located into a kind of certain cognitive target for students in preparing for examinations to enter universities.

Furthermore, we could cite some results of an empirical research on Chinese Public View towards the European Union (EU) in 2008 and make a simple analysis of reports on the EU in *People's Daily* (undoubtedly the major important platform for expression of Chinese government) from the ratification of *Treaty of Lisbon* on 1 December 2009 to the last day of 2012, in order to show more clearly and maybe more scientifically what Chinese think of the EU and what and why they do or do not like various behaviours of the EU.

The research in 2008 was undertaken by the institution of European Studies (IES) in the Chinese Academy of Social Science (CASS) that is definitely the biggest and most authoritative in China. 3000 copies of a questionnaire were distributed and recovered in nine provinces. This research was very careful and performed in detail with different variables, such as age, sex, educational status, profession, income and living region. Regardless of these variables, the following basic findings should be emphasised if we want to talk of the perception of Europe in contemporary China:

Firstly, the EU is a silver medal winner (38.6%) in the statistic of overall impression, far behind Russia (58.4%), but before USA (26.5%) and Japan (9.7%). Nevertheless, the majority of ordinary Chinese people still do not know the EU so much and the degree of familiarity is obviously lower than knowledge of Japan, Russia and America. And some public media such as newspapers and magazines (68%) as well as TV (66.7%) are still the major means of contact. ▶▶▶

Nevertheless, it was just one dimension of history. For a few intellectual and higher officials with both vigilance and open mind, Europe as an area equipped with stronger armaments and advanced political systems as well as maybe higher civilisation could be possibly located as Chinese destination of development. Without any doubt, these Eurocentric beliefs were not unified and in reality appeared one by one. Firstly military reform and national business cultivation were considered as both important tasks. Then, political reform even revolution for a republic stepped into the centre of the stage. Eventually, some people were disappointed with Chinese culture itself and looking forward to 'overthrow Confucius' and 'whole westernisation' (including spelling Chinese in Roman letter). In some senses, the decision of transformation to Bolshevism under the Chinese Communist Party (CPC) and copying the model of modernisation from the Soviet Union were also the results of such positive evaluation of Europe (Russia is also one part of Europe). However, after 1978 when the new policy of reform and opening was declared, it has been America not Europe that is regarded as the aim of Chinese modernisation.

Besides some dialectic descriptions of Europe as a force with destruction and construction just as Karl Marx used to point out the two sides of colonialism in India, which allowed critics of Europe to accept some European concepts, the history of 20th century had also given at least two other dimensions to the whole story:

- ▶ The crisis of modernisation and then the limitation of growth seem to reduce some reputations of Europe as a *summum bonum*.
- ▶ The power of ideology has exceeded the traditional picture of Europe as an Entity. The division between West and East Europe had been seen as an insuperable obstacle in Cold War. So Europe as a whole community disappeared in the struggle of so-called 'east wind against west wind' (*Mao Zedong*).

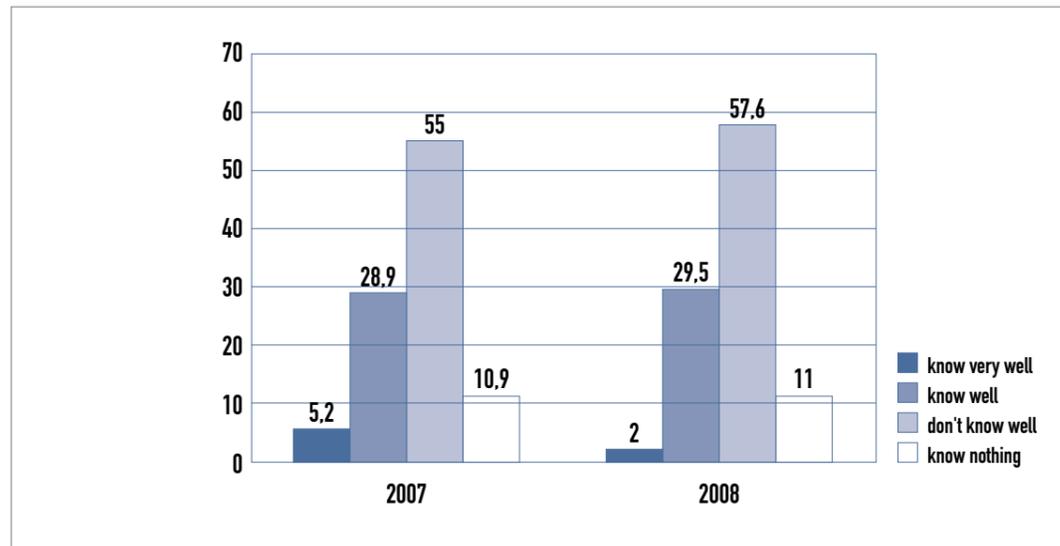


Chart 1: Degree of Understanding: EU in China (%).

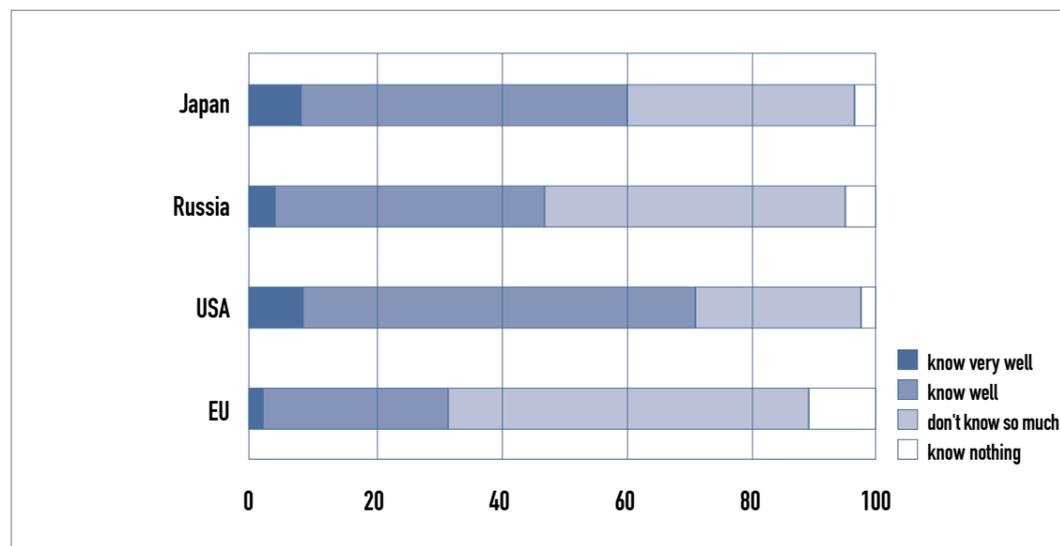


Chart 2: Degree of Understanding: Four Nations in China.

Secondly, the international influence of the EU is second to the USA and above China, Russia and Japan according to the statistics. However, the relationship between China and the EU is behind Sino-America, Sino-Japan and Sino-Russia. Nevertheless, more than 89% of reviewers selected 'cooperator' but not 'friend' (13.9%), 'competitor' (9.6%) or 'enemy' (0.3%) to describe Sino-EU relations.

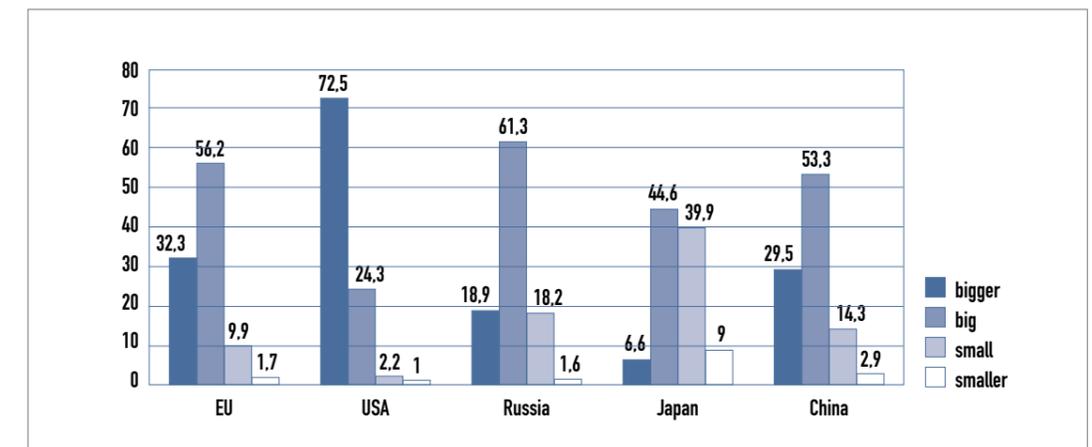


Chart 3: Importance of Nations in the World (%).

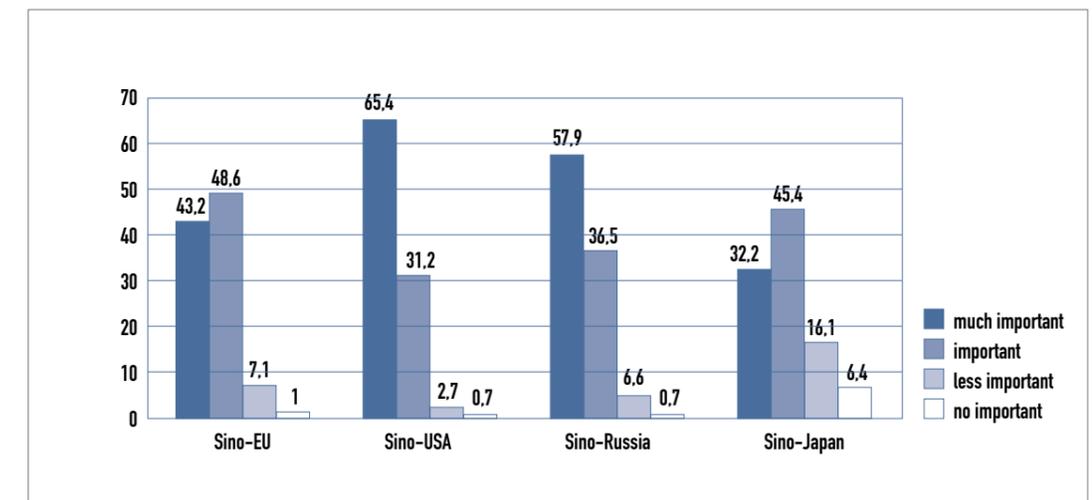


Chart 4: Importance of Relationship with China (%).



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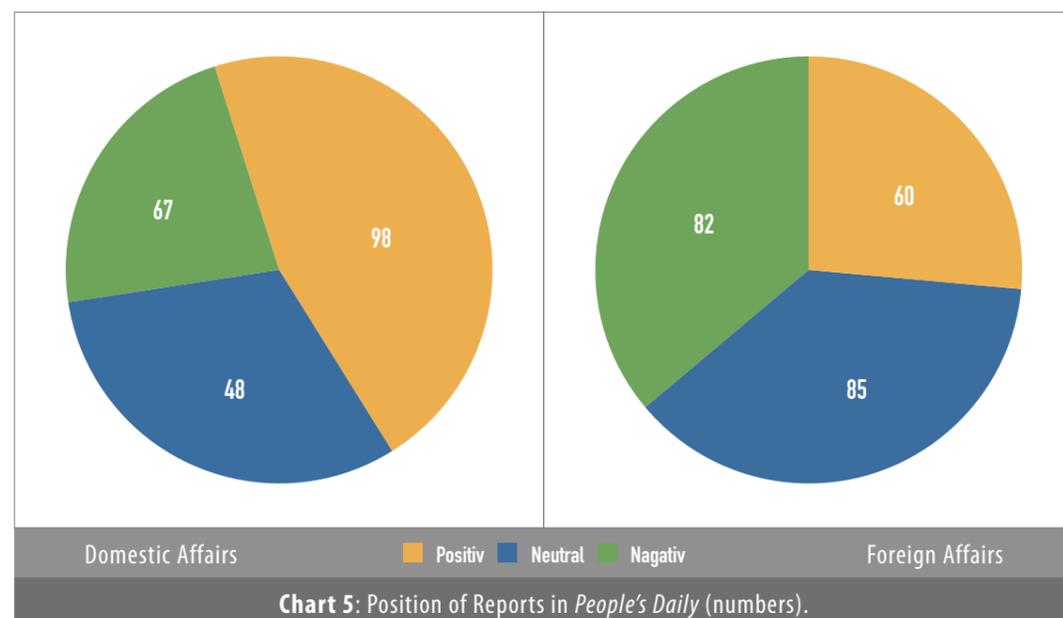
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By the way, the first four nations in the EU which are more familiar to China are France, Germany, Italy and Sweden. But the first four nations in the EU more friendly for China are Denmark, Sweden, United Kingdom and Germany.

A small analysis of *People's Daily* after the treaty of Lisbon could give us further suggestion about the perception of Europe at least in the Chinese government, which tries to influence the perspective of ordinary people with strong public media.



In the period between 2 December 2009 to 31 December 2012, there were 440 articles with the title or subtitle of 'European Union' or 'EU' in *People's Daily*. This number is higher than that of Africa (322) and Latin America (51), but lower than that of Asia (490), far behind that of USA (1893).

CONCLUSION

The perception of Europe in China has at least four types of appearances, if the rough description in this article could be accepted. Some changes are due to different historical steps of both sides. Some changes are affected by other comparisons (USA, Russia and Japan). Some changes come from the transition of standpoints (China-centric or Eurocentric). It is a pity that less Chinese attention of has been focused on some cultural activities related to European identity.

However, we can find some unchangeable characteristics in this long story. Firstly, Europe has been considered as a united community except for short time, regardless of mistakes or purposes. In this sense, the Europeanisation nowadays is not a surprise for China. Secondly, civilisation as a measure always played an important role, whether positive or negative. Thirdly, creativity seems a key expression, whether a hundred years ago or in the current period. It is also the Chinese expectation for the EU's future to see the creative solutions for several problems China is always facing, such as the relationship between central government and local governments in the field of finance, or cross-national identity by more peaceful ways.

However the Chinese idea about the EU may change, at least three things are likely to be indispensable factors: (1) Belief of coexistence; (2) Value of talking; (3) Perseverance in settling disputes. ▶▶▶

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DOES THE NATIONAL CURRICULUM ALLOW A EUROPEAN AND GLOBAL APPROACH IN HISTORY TEACHING? THE MULTI-PERSPECTIVE OPTIONS IN THE DUTCH NATIONAL CURRICULUM

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MULTI-PERSPECTIVE OPTIONS IN THE DUTCH NATIONAL CURRICULUM

INTRODUCTION

The national curriculum for history plays a crucial role in the options history teachers have to focus their lessons on European and world history. In many countries the curriculum is nationalistic in orientation. In this article the Dutch national curriculum is discussed and assessed on the possibilities it offers for a more European and global approach in history teaching. It could be interesting to compare your national curriculum with this Dutch example.

CURRICULA RANGING FROM NATIONALISTIC TO EUROPEAN AND GLOBAL IN OUTLOOK

There are European countries where today the curriculum has a very strong tendency for national and nationalist history, where the creation of a national identity is the main goal. The outside world is looked upon as 'them' contrasting with 'us'. The emphasis is often on national tragedies, great men, great victories and the exclusiveness of a great nation. In some countries history focuses on the glorious past and Europe and the world serve as places where the 'own' country has played impressive and important roles. In both examples a multi-perspective approach of national history within a European and global dimension will most likely not be fully appreciated. But how can you understand your own national history if it is not linked to that of the world around it? In these cases it depends on individual teachers with a broader view of history to integrate national, European and global history. Under these circumstances one cannot expect more than a few incidental projects that would meet these requirements.

Of course we can also find countries where the curriculum has a broader, European outlook. Here national history is linked to European events and developments. Compared to the narrow-minded nationalist approaches mentioned above, this could be considered to be an improvement because here the curriculum provides a more structural base for the more inclusive approach which recognises the interdependence, the interactions and encounters of one's own nation within Europe and the world. On the other hand the European outlook could also lead to a Eurocentric vision in which a superior Europe dominates the rest of the world and where there is no recognition of non-European history and the achievements of non-European countries or continents. ▶▶▶

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THE DUTCH NATIONAL CURRICULUM

Over the last two decades the Netherlands has changed its history curriculum considerably as a result of social and political pressure. This has led to a new and more open approach to the place and role of the Netherlands as a result of European and global developments. That is a first step and a condition for a European/global approach, but it will still take committed and skilled history teachers to use the possibilities this new curriculum offers.

■ In the Netherlands history teaching since the 1970s became less focused on factual knowledge of national history and more on learning of historical skills. The national chronological and narrative approach was traded in for a more dynamic, skill focused and thematic orientation. The shift from 'knowing' to 'doing' history dominated the Dutch curriculum until the late 1990s. This was reflected in the national exams, from the 1980s onwards, where only students from upper secondary education are tested. Two historical themes were studied in depth, guided by clear specifications on persons, dates, events and developments, and students were tested on both subject knowledge and skills connected to source material. Some examples of these historical themes are: *Decolonisation, Cold War and the war in Vietnam, the colonial relationship between the Netherlands and the Netherlands-East-Indies and dynamics and stagnation in the Dutch Republic, (15th -18th centuries)*.

■ When it became apparent that Dutch students, and also many adults, had very little factual and chronological historical knowledge, this caused quite a stir and led to public debate. Had the Dutch forgotten their past? A call for reform of history education was the result. It led to a new plea for chronological and factual knowledge at the expense of in depth thematic subject knowledge and the application of skills. A second step was the construction of a new curriculum to ensure the return of chronological survey knowledge. The responsible Commission on Historical and Social Education (CHMV) in 2001 came with a surprising proposal. Chronological survey knowledge was not to be the main objective of the new curriculum, but it was to be the vehicle for the development of historical consciousness, which was the ultimate goal of history teaching.

TEN ERA CURRICULUM

The chronological survey knowledge would help students to confidently move around in historical time and it would provide them with contextual knowledge to have a better understanding (consciousness) of history. In order to facilitate the acquisition of this knowledge the commission proposed a new didactical instrument of a Ten Era curriculum with easily recognisable names and dates, e.g. Era of Greeks and Romans, 3000 BC-500 AD, Era of Discoverers and Reformers, 1500-1600 or Era of world wars, 1900-1950. Each era was fitted with a logo (*see appendix 1 for the full overview*).

■ Another and even more daring novelty was the choice for a frame of reference which consists of general features of an era and to ignore any reference to specific names, dates, significant events, let alone (national) heroes. In total there are 49 general features, more or less equally divided over the ten eras. According to the commission any choice for a canonical overview of knowledge would be arbitrary and would lead to a one-dimensional memorisation of facts instead of the development of historical thinking and historical consciousness.

A FEW EXAMPLES OF THE GENERAL FEATURES

The Era of Hunters and Farmers, up to 3000BC has three distinctive features: *The way of life of hunters and gatherers; the emergence of agriculture and agricultural communities; and the emergence of the first urban communities.*

■ The Era of Regents and Princes, 1600-1700 has four distinctive features: *monarchs striving for absolute power; the special position of the Dutch republic in political respect and the economic and cultural flowering of the Dutch Republic; world-wide trade contact, commercial capitalism; and the beginnings of a world economy and the scientific revolution.* ▶▶▶

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There is no mentioning of specific names, dates, events or heroes, because the chronological framework was designed to support the development of historical consciousness and historical thinking. Every school has the freedom to make their own choices in the examples they use to illustrate the general features. It doesn't matter if you use Columbus or Vasco da Gama as long as the 'beginnings of European overseas expansion' are understood and recognised by the students as being part of the Era of Discoverers and Reformers, 1500- 1600, and as a process and start of a new phase in European and world history. The same goes for teaching and learning of modern imperialism, e.g. the Dutch expansion in the Dutch East Indies or the French expansion in Africa. As long as students can identify (one of) those developments as being linked to the Era of Citizens and Steam Engines, 1800-1900 and that it is a general feature of this period 'modern imperialism resulting from industrialisation'. Students prove their knowledge of this general feature when they are able to recognise and understand primary or secondary sources related to modern imperialism. (see appendix 2 for a full overview of the 49 general features divided into the Ten Era's). Out of the 49 general features only four exclusively mention Dutch history and therefore have a broader, mainly European focus.

The new curriculum was designed as a spiral curriculum. It was to be used in primary, lower secondary and upper secondary education as the best guarantee for deepening understanding, historical consciousness and historical thinking. This proposal for the new curriculum met with fierce debate. Academics and scholars challenged the chronological division in ten eras as being arbitrary and the distinctive features were even more criticised. Were they the best choice for that era? What to do with developments which continued through several eras? Why were they so Eurocentric? Would these features escape stereotyping? How was enhancing national history served by this approach? Would our multicultural society become more cohesive through this curriculum? Others, like the National Test Institute Cito, had more pragmatic objections. How can we develop national exams (for upper secondary history students) for this sort of general survey knowledge without working from a clear specification of the compulsory subject knowledge? Despite the opposition the new curriculum was accepted by parliament in 2006.

THE CANON

A political murder in 2002 and a religious murder in 2004 shocked the country and renewed the discussion on Dutch identity. Questions like: "Who are we?" and "What happened to our open and tolerant society?" were discussed over and over again. The influential Dutch Education Council reacted on this situation and stated in 2005 that society needed a Dutch 'canon' to strengthen our national identity, but also to make sure that immigrants can relate and respond to Dutch history, culture and society. It would be a way of sharing history and furthering integration and good citizenship. In 2006 the appointed Canon-committee presented their '50-windows' on Dutch history and culture. (see <http://www.entoen.nu/canon/en> for the full overview of the '50-windows' of the Dutch canon). As was to be expected the canon led to heated public debate on the choices made. Some called it 'the invented tradition of 2000 years of Dutch History', others referred to 'indoctrination' and 'state pedagogics' and almost everyone agreed that the choice of the '50-windows' was arbitrary. In 2009, the parliament decided that the canon would be incorporated in the core objectives of primary and lower secondary education, meaning that the canon should provide the examples used in the Ten Era curriculum. There was no mentioning of the role of the canon in upper secondary education and the final exams.

UNNATURAL MARRIAGE

So now we have two contrasting historical approaches in the Dutch history curriculum. The Ten Era Curriculum intentionally focuses on general features enhancing historical consciousness and historical thinking, while the canon deliberately focuses on detailed Dutch canonical knowledge. It is quite an unnatural marriage between the two. The introduction of the canon has weakened the teaching and learning of the Ten Era Curriculum, especially in primary education because a lot of time is spent on the stories, the clips and worksheets provided by the canon website. As a result the concept of the spiral curriculum, that would see all Dutch pupils encounter the Ten Era's at least twice in their school career, is under pressure. It also makes it even less likely that history teachers at these levels will have the opportunity to integrate (elements of) the European and global perspective in their lessons since they are obliged to use examples from the Dutch canon to elucidate the general features of the Ten Era's. ▶▶▶

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OPPORTUNITIES

While primary and lower secondary history education are obliged to link Dutch canonical knowledge and European general features, upper secondary education can expand the horizon of the students by integrating (elements of) global history in the general features of the Ten Era curriculum. But since there is no explicit mentioning of global history in the curriculum, and as a result also not in history textbooks, it depends on the individual teachers if this global approach is implemented.

It is a positive note to realise that in all Dutch teacher training colleges (for teaching at lower secondary education) global history is part of their curriculum and that students are educated to see the broader multi-perspectives global history presents. On the other hand it is most likely that only a part of the teachers will actually integrate the global approach in their lessons.

It would require changes in the curriculum to embed the global approach in history teaching. Maybe that the rapid growing number of bilingual schools (up to 25% of all Dutch secondary schools) and ELOS-schools (approx. 7%) will also prove to be advocates for a more globally oriented history curriculum, because a nationalistic history curriculum will simply not do anymore for schools with such an explicit European profile.

CONCLUSION

Despite the unnatural combination of both canonical knowledge and survey knowledge in the Dutch History curriculum, there are chances and opportunities for history teachers to broaden the horizon of their students. In the teacher training colleges all Dutch student- teachers are being educated in global history and they will have the knowledge and skills to make good use of that.

In conclusion I think the Dutch History spiral curriculum, with its Ten Era chronology and the 49 general features in combination with the canonical knowledge, offers opportunities for a European and even global approach to history teaching. Maybe when comparing your own curriculum with this Dutch example you will also find possibilities to broaden the historical horizon of your students.

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APPENDIX 1

THE TEN ERA CHRONOLOGY WITH EASY RECOGNISABLE NAMES, DATES AND LOGOS



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APPENDIX 2

SURVEY KNOWLEDGE IN DUTCH HISTORY EDUCATION

Features of era 1:

Era of Hunters and Farmers, up to 3000 BC

- ▶ the way of life of hunters and gatherers.
- ▶ the emergence of agriculture and agricultural communities.
- ▶ the emergence of the first urban communities.

Features of era 2:

Era of Greeks and Roman, 3000 BC-500 AD

- ▶ the development of a scientific way of thinking and thoughts about politics and citizenship in the Greek city state.
- ▶ the forms of Greco-Roman classical material culture.
- ▶ the growth of the Roman Empire by which Greco-Roman culture was spread throughout Europe.
- ▶ the confrontation between Greco-Roman culture and the Germanic cultures of North-West-Europe.
- ▶ the development of Judaism and Christianity as the first monotheistic religions.

Features of era 3:

Era of Monks and Knights, 500-1000

- ▶ the spread of Christianity throughout Europe.
- ▶ the emergence and spread of Islam.
- ▶ the nearly complete replacement in Western Europe of the urban culture by a self supporting agricultural culture, organised in domains with serfdom.
- ▶ the emergence of feudal relations in administration.

Features of era 4:

Era of Cities and States, 1000-1500

- ▶ the rise of trade and crafts, providing the base for a revival of the urban society.
- ▶ the emergence of an urban citizenry and a growing autonomy of cities.
- ▶ the conflict in the Christian world about the question whether a spiritual or a secular authority should have primacy.
- ▶ the expansion of the Christian world, such as manifested in the crusades.
- ▶ the beginnings of national and centralised states.

Features of era 5:

Era of Discoverers and Reformers, 1500-1600

- ▶ the beginnings of European overseas expansion.
- ▶ the changing world view and portrayal of mankind of the Renaissance and the beginnings of a new scientific interest.
- ▶ the renewed orientation on the heritage of classical Antiquity.
- ▶ the protestant reformation resulting in a division of the Christian church in Western Europe.
- ▶ the conflict in the Netherlands resulting in the founding of an independent Netherlands State.

Features of era 6:

Era of Regents and Princes, 1600-1700

- ▶ monarchs striving for absolute power.
- ▶ the special position of the Dutch Republic in political respect and the economic and cultural flowering of the Dutch Republic.
- ▶ worldwide trade contacts, commercial capitalism and the beginnings of a world economy.
- ▶ the scientific revolution.

Features of era 7:

Era of Wigs and Revolutions, 1700-1800

- ▶ rational optimism and enlightened thinking applied to all fields of society: religion, politics, economics and social relations.
- ▶ the continuing existence of an 'ancien régime' and attempts of princes to shape monarchical government in a contemporary and enlightened manner (enlightened absolutism).
- ▶ the extension of European overseas domination, especially the founding of plantation colonies and the transatlantic slave trade involved, and the emergence of abolitionism.
- ▶ the democratic revolutions in western countries, resulting in discussions about constitutions, fundamental rights and citizenship.

Features of era 8:

Era of Citizens and Steam Engines, 1800-1900

- ▶ the industrial revolution in the western world, providing the base for an industrial society.
- ▶ discussions about the 'social issue'.
- ▶ modern imperialism resulting from industrialisation.
- ▶ the emergence of emancipation movements.
- ▶ ongoing democratisation, more and more men and women taking part in the political process.
- ▶ the emergence of socio-political movements: liberalism, nationalism, socialism, confessionalism and feminism.

Features of era 9:

Era of Crisis and World Wars, 1900-1950

- ▶ the role of modern means of propaganda and communication and forms of mass organisation.
- ▶ the practice of the totalitarian ideologies communism and fascism / national-socialism.
- ▶ the crisis of world capitalism.
- ▶ the waging of two world wars
- ▶ racism and discrimination, resulting in genocide, especially directed against the Jews / the German occupation of the Netherlands.
- ▶ destructions on an unprecedented scale by weapons of mass destruction and the involvement of civil population in warfare.
- ▶ forms of resistance against Western-European imperialism.

Features of era 10:

Era of Television and Computer 1950-

- ▶ the division of the world into two ideological blocks seized by an arms race and the threat of atomic war resulting from that.
- ▶ decolonisation which ended western hegemony in the world.
- ▶ the unification of Europe.
- ▶ the increasing affluence in the western world, which resulted in drastic socio-cultural changes in the western world since the 1960s.
- ▶ the development of multiform and multicultural societies. ■■■

CHALLENGES IN TEACHING AND STUDYING HISTORY IN GEORGIA

Natia Pirtskhalava

Teachers' Professional Development Center
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The new vision on democracy and democratic values has emerged in Georgia since the collapse of the Soviet Union. The new policy has brought about many changes over the past years. Changes on a large scale occurred in history and history teaching. In contrast to teaching history in the Soviet time which was one-sided expressing only the ideas of the Communist regime, now teaching history has obtained a new approach; new textbooks, new teacher's books have been published, new methodological guidebooks created, new perspectives, are promoted. However, it is not so easy to break old stereotypes in teaching history and a lot of old teaching methods are still in use. One major problem that schools could not manage to get over is focusing only on facts and dates, rather than analysis of the periods and processes. Therefore, during the examination students are mostly tested on memory and concentration of facts rather than on critical thinking skills.

Let us analyse the History Test prepared by the Georgian Assessment Centre.

STUDENTS' NATIONAL EXAMS

Year 2010 - History test structure

Contents: World history, Georgian history, civic Education

Total score -80 points

| | | |
|---|---|------------------|
| 1 | 15 Multiple questions | 15 points |
| 2 | Put in write in correct chronological order | 9 points |
| 3 | Put appropriate words in given sentences | 6 points |
| 4 | Matching exercise | 8 points |
| 5 | Find mistakes and correct it | 20 points |
| 6 | Document analysing (understanding) | 12 points |
| 7 | Map analysing (understanding) | 10 points |
| | Total | 80 points |

The table clearly shows the main problem: out of a total of 80 points factual knowledge has the most weight- 57 marks. Only the last two tasks (6 and 7) with 22 points include source and map analysis. In fact even these tasks do not provide the opportunity for students to analyse the sources; the questions are only to understand the text which is the lowest stage in Bloom's Taxonomy. ►►►

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For example: The questions from the source are:

- ▶ According to the source, what did X person say about the Gals?
- ▶ Why do these people have different names?
- ▶ What was their work?
- ▶ What was the need for changing the work?
- ▶ Based on the given source select three positive aspects as to why they changed the living space.

As we see from the example, most of the questions are closed, and require from the student a direct answer. There are no writing tasks, neither open-ended questions nor mini essays, unlike other history tests, for example IB, AP tests. The only requirement for students is to understand, to find, to take adequate information from the source - and do not go beyond the lowest stage in Bloom's Taxonomy.

The same problems occur on the task called map analysing. The question from the map includes:

- ▶ Between which countries is the war and which country is not involved in this process?
- ▶ Based on only information from the map, in which year did the war start?
- ▶ Which country became the winner?
- ▶ Find on the map a newly conquered city.
- ▶ Select at least two cities, which became part of the victorious country and is not part of Georgia today.
- ▶ Based on the map, which city was difficult to conquer? Explain your answer.
- ▶ What do you think about which side Georgians should take and why?

As you see from the questions, students are mostly asked to find, to select, to look carefully. Only the last question is an open-ended question, in which students have to write one short argument.

Now, let us look at the chart showing how teachers of history are assessed for the certificate to become a teacher by the national Assessment centre. This certificate is obligatory for all history teachers.

| | | |
|---|---|-----------|
| 1 | Multiple choice questions | 14 points |
| 2 | Arrange in chronological order | 5 points |
| 3 | Find and correct the mistakes in the narrative | 9 points |
| 4 | Matching exercise | 4 points |
| Discussion question: From the text above find topics to be discussed by students | | |
| 5 | Write two short different arguments | 3 points |
| Analysing historical source | | |
| 6 | Who? Why? Based on the source why? When? | 14 points |
| Analysing historical map: Which period is on the map? Based on which evidence do you think so? Which is a new country with brown colour on the map? Based on the map describe the political situation in Mesopotamia in chronological order | | |
| 7 | What will be your answer if a student asks what the Red colour represents on the map? | 7 points |
| 8 | To evaluate students' work | 9 points |

As we see from the chart the picture is almost identical. The tasks on the test are oriented on the teacher's ability to remember the facts, understand the texts and give short answers, map reading skill - again on understanding. If the teacher has good ability to memorise the facts and remembers more, she/he is awarded with more points.

If we summarise both requirements (for students and for teachers) we can draw the conclusion that nothing much has changed in teaching history in Georgia. Why should teachers bother to go into deep knowledge and discussions, analysis and debates about the historical process or events when there is no requirement?

Because of this, during the lessons for teachers the priority is still factual knowledge. Despite the fact, that there are new books with discussion questions and with variety of activities, sometimes they just ignore them. They face a dilemma: to prepare students (and themselves) for the examination or to train their skills? Unfortunately the priority goes to the first option. ▶▶▶

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Furthermore, the problem of lack of skills training for teachers still prevails. Teachers' Professional Development Centre (Teachers' House) is trying to fill this gap by providing training in which teachers' attention is focused on how to develop document analysis skills, how to build and structure argument in history, use debate as a teaching tool and other interesting modules. However a very small number of teachers want to participate in this professional developing training. Mostly their aim is to pass national exams well and get the certificate which will increase their salary, so, motivation is low; they do not bother much about their professional development; they do not worry about gaining in-depth knowledge or enhancing their methodological practice.

Sadly, another factor that also leads to inappropriate teaching of history in Georgia is the Soviet Past, the Soviet mentality. To some extent we have to blame textbooks for this. Even in new textbooks (with positives and negative sides), there are still a lot of stereotypes. What can the teachers do in this case? Since teachers are provided only with textbooks and have no other additional resources they have to be guided only by the textbooks.

Let us take an extract from one textbook about the Soviet Period.

THE EVENT OF 1956 IN GEORGIA

Narrative:

Since March 3, 1956 the students of Tbilisi Universities started manifestations. Other Population also started to join. The central streets of Tbilisi and right riverside of Mtkvari was full of demonstrators. On the right riverside, near the monument of Stalin there were several thousands of demonstrators. On 5-9 of March manifestations and meetings became permanent. The protest movement covered all Georgia. Many thousands of meetings were held in Gori, in Telavi, in Kutaisi, in Batumi and in all regional centres.

The demonstrators demand was to stop criticism of Stalin and stop humiliation of Georgians.

They also wanted removal of Nikita Khrushchev and assign Molotov as a leader of political Government and the comrade in arms of Stalin. Khrushchev decided to use force against the peaceful demonstrators. In 1956, on March 9, in the middle of the night, soviet troops attacked the demonstrators with tanks. About 150 people, mostly students were killed. Many were wounded.

From the text above we see some problems here. The first paragraph is presented in a dramatic way. The story tells, how the demonstrators stayed together, that there were people from all generations, from the whole of Georgia and they protested. The authors emphasise in the first paragraph the importance of manifestations and protests. It is shown, that to protest during the Soviet period was a really important and unusual fact, and however there is nothing said about the aims of the protesters.

In the second paragraph we see the aim of demonstrators: their demand to restore Stalin's name. But here, in exactly the same paragraph authors underline how the protestors were defeated.

This is the text from the textbooks. The readers are 12 grade students. What is the problem here? Mostly the authors are trying to focus on the event and the result and very shortly, in a superficial manner describe the process and the aim of demonstrators. Why? One answer to this question is, that we still have some kind of complex about the Soviet Past, so called historical complex.

If we go that far, another serious problem shows up: some teachers have nostalgia for the Soviet System and that perspective results in confusion.

To sum up, there are the following factors which hinder teaching history professionally:

- ▶ vague information in textbooks;
- ▶ events presented in a subjective way;
- ▶ showing and underlining only one perspective;
- ▶ lack of judgment and discussions;
- ▶ facts based on limited and subjective evidence.

So, society in Georgia is divided in several groups: those who have critical and objective approach; those who have nostalgic views of the past; and those for whom the textbook is like a bible- what is written there, is true and should not be criticised.

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MODERN PERSPECTIVE ON TEACHING HISTORY

As an example I would like to present the part of my training session where I tried to broaden the teachers' horizon about the analogical issue and teach them how to find parallels, analyse the problems from both sides, bring into considerations different perspectives, ideas, eyewitnesses' points of view, drawing inferences and deductions of their own.

The topic: 1956 in Hungary and Georgia

| 1956 year in Hungary-Soviet satellite country | 1956 year in Georgia-Soviet republic |
|--|--|
| Causes "the secret speech" | Causes "the secret speech" |
| Process: fact analysis, official government source, eyewitness' testimonies, photos, facts and opinions, narrative/ testimonies/ presentations of both perspectives. | Process: sources, narrative, eyewitness, testimonies. To write both perspectives official government source/-eyewitness testimonies. Photos. |
| Short-term results | Short-term results |
| Long-term results | Long-term results |

■ Lastly it will be effective to ask students to find the similarities and differences and answer the question:

To what extent the Hungarian and Georgian events in 1956 were similar?

■ Even though some teachers use modern methodology, have lessons in museums, in archives and on other historical areas, the question still remains: is history presented objectively? The answer is yes and no. For example: If you want to visit the Georgian National Museum and see Museum of Occupation on the website you will read: *Georgian national museum's Soviet Occupation museum was founded in 2006, on 26 of May, by the order of Georgian President... The permanent exposition represents Bolshevik Russian's occupation of Georgia in 1921 and all facts are related to this event.*

■ All these exposition is about the 20th century Soviet Georgia's occupation. Only one perspective is shown that Georgians are heroes and victims of Russian occupants. Nothing is said about Georgian Bolsheviks and the focus is only on Bolsheviks from Russia. Such examples of xenophobia we often come across in our daily life.

■ Georgian society is not ready to realise and admit any kind of connection to the totalitarian regime. It is much easier to show yourself as a victim, rather than to show reality, that you once belonged and were part of the Soviet history.

TEACHING STALINISM IN THE CLASSROOM: A PERMANENT PROBLEM

■ According to the national curriculum the topic Soviet Georgia (Soviet Union) is taught in the 11 and 12 grades.

■ In textbooks there is just superficial information rather than unit chapters. There are a few facts and a few statistics about Stalin's period: the purges of Soviet Georgia with some famous names, figures that several thousand were exiled or killed. Very little is written about the domestic policy of Stalin; nothing is said about Soviet Georgia economy of this period, about social life. In the textbook about Stalin is written: *"Stalin's personal qualities, his strict policy were the beneficial factor in winning the Second World War". (2012 Tbilisi, Georgia. Textbook - XII grade. Publisher-Sulakauri press; page-148)*

■ There are still a lot of controversies among students and teachers. For some Stalin is a genius; for others just evil from the Middle Ages. One student wrote: *"Stalin was a genius. He won the war".* When I asked, have you ever heard about purges? About repressions? About totalitarian regimes? About Gulags? He said: yes, sure, but he needed this, this was the only way to have a strong country. This kind of comments frequently occur during the lessons and teacher trainings as well.

■ This attitude is not an exception. This kind of approach still exists in society. It comes from the students'/teachers family background. If the background was terrible, or the family member was the victim of this totalitarian regime, students realise the Stalinism adequately. But if the student's family background was party nomenclature, if their parents became wealthy during and after this period, their emotions are totally different- *"Stalin was a totalitarian, but he built effective strong country".*

■ The problem is the same among the teachers, students and among the society. The problem is that after such a long period from this regime, after the collapse of the Soviet Union there are no discussions about this phenomena such as Stalinism. Society still needs to think and answer the questions:

- ▶ What are the main difference between totalitarian regimes?
- ▶ What is the main obstacle to re-interpreting Stalinism?
- ▶ Why is there no discussion about Stalinism?
- ▶ Do we need the monument of Stalin?
- ▶ Why people still love Stalin?
- ▶ Was Stalin a Georgian or a Soviet leader?

New website resource for Historians: There is one website about the Soviet Georgia History (Some documents are available in English too). SOVLAB-The Soviet past Research Laboratory. <http://sovlab.ge/en>. For teachers, students and for historians this is great opportunity to see, to read, to look on new materials, and projects available on this website. ■■■

TEACHING ABOUT GLOBAL HISTORY

AN APPROACH TO BASIC STRATEGIES IN THE CLASSROOM

Professor Susanne Popp
University of Augsburg
Germany

Teaching "Europe and the world" demands building appropriate working methods and skills/habits of historical questioning and thinking.

BASIC IDEAS ON TEACHING "EUROPE AND THE WORLD" IN THE HISTORY CLASSROOM

1. PEDAGOGICALLY MISLEADING IDEAS / EUROCENTRIC HISTORICAL THINKING

Ignoring the broader (transregional or global) historical context of European history; understanding the so-called 'European miracle' as a merely intrinsic development of an antecedent European 'nature'

Under-estimating the syncretistic nature of European civilisation as a whole in past and present

Under-estimating the role of migration of people, ideas and goods and of the direct and indirect influences from 'outside' in European history

Ignoring the changing role Europe played in the world

Incomplete understanding of:

- ▶ the concept of Mankind
- ▶ major or global trends in history as framework for European history
- ▶ general ideas in history as framework for European history
- ▶ the concept of 'longue durée'
- ▶ the role of migration and exchange in history of long and short term.

2. OTHER PEDAGOGICALLY RELEVANT ASPECTS

Pupils think – more or less unconsciously - that the history dealt with in the classroom is the most IMPORTANT part of history (their own country/Europe *acting in history* vs. the other parts of the world being antagonists or background actors or having no history)

Knowing nothing about the history of others does not prevent stereotyping the 'other' histories (on the contrary).

Incomplete concepts of basic contents of European history

- ▶ Role of Muslim Arabs in the European heritage by preserving and transmitting ancient texts to medieval and Renaissance Europe
- ▶ Common heritage of Muslim and Christian World
- ▶ Christian medieval Europe as backward area at the periphery of the contemporaneous 'world'
- ▶ The contexts of the discovery of the Americas (instead of being seen as evidence of European superiority)
- ▶ The dimension of European expansion during the first and second period of colonialism
- ▶ The contradiction between the European ideas of universal human rights/democracy/liberalism and the exclusion of colonial and other people from these rights.



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1. WORLD MAPS: MACRO-PERSPECTIVES

| | | |
|---|----------------------------|---|
| INTENTIONS | BASIS FOR | Looking at the large-scale contexts of European history in order to reflect Europe's position in the world at a given time: |
| | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ looking at the demographic, political, economic, technological, cultural main centres of the contemporaneous world (and the periphery regions) ▶ looking at the major transregional trade routes (sea, land, sea ports, goods, means of transportation), metropolitan regions and contact zones ▶ looking at the expansion of world religions and big empires (sea, land) ▶ looking at the big migration routes (people, ideas). |
| | | Looking at transregional phenomena – relevant in Europe and in other places of the world. |
| | | Reflecting relative and ideological geographic terms like 'West', 'East', 'Orient' |
| Overview over European history allocated in a global scale framework | Comparisons | |
| Stimulating the attention to transregional contexts of the European history | Change of perspective | |
| Stimulating the attention for transregional phenomena | Transregional perspectives | |
| AND: Skills of working with maps of various scales (national, European, global) | | Looking at the original and the European names of people and places in history |

2. COMPARISONS

| | | |
|---|--|--|
| INTENTIONS | In combination with the world maps and timelines. | Two-sided (bilateral) comparison: Europe and other regions in the world: |
| | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ in order to better understand main features of European history ▶ in order to understand commonalities and differences between Europe and other parts of the world ▶ in order to overcome stereotypes regarding European history (e.g. about the uniqueness of European history) and the history of other parts of the world (e.g. backwardness, uniformity ...) |
| | | Relational comparison: Looking at the relative dimension of differences e.g. Christianity vs. Islam vs. Buddhism |
| | | Synchronic and diachronic comparison. |
| training of a necessary historical thinking skill | Looking at historical identities an historical culture, e.g. | |
| test of common ideas and everyday concepts | Collective memory (remembrance days, symbols), | |
| clearing the concepts. | 'key events' | |

3. TIMELINES MACRO-PERSPECTIVES CHANGE AND CONTINUITY

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| INTENTIONS | In combination with world maps, comparisons, concepts and change of perspective. | Long term and short term time concepts: |
| | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ The 'longue durée' concept (long term) and the structural change; the 'eventual history' concept (short term time line and the priority of events) ▶ insight in the different explanatory power of these two concepts (e.g. Europe's leading role: not always but about 400 years) |
| | | Reflecting change and continuity both in long term and short term perspectives |
| | | Reflecting calendars and era-concepts as historical phenomena; |
| training of a necessary working method | | Reflecting ways of tradition. |
| training in basic historical skills | | |
| timelines as a means of comparison and change of perspective | | |



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4. CHANGE OF PERSPECTIVE

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| <p>INTENTIONS</p> <p>Stimulating the understanding of the perspectivity of any historical narrative</p> <hr/> <p>Insight in the heuristic function of Change of Perspective</p> <hr/> <p>Change of perspective as basic skill of historical thinking in a multicultural and globalising world</p> | <p>In combination with comparisons and world maps.</p> | <p>Two-sided (bilateral) change of perspective:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ European ideas of civilisations 'outside' Europe and perceptions of Europe in other parts of the world ▶ Diverse perspectives on common history <hr/> <p>Change of perspective: changing between a local (national, European) and a global level respecting point of view</p> <hr/> <p>Change of perspective as a result by overcoming one-sided or Eurocentric points of view by putting them into wider contexts and the framework of interaction.</p> |
|--|---|---|

5. QUESTIONING / REFLECTING

| | | |
|--|---|--|
| <p>INTENTIONS</p> <p>Deepening the knowledge and the concepts by testing in a transregional or global meaning</p> <hr/> <p>Deepening the understanding</p> <hr/> <p>Stimulating a certain critical habit of questions that relate Europe and the world.</p> | <p>In combination with comparisons and world maps.</p> | <p>Questions like:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Is this phenomenon of European history unique in world history? (Uniqueness) ▶ Is this phenomenon of European history to be seen as a part of a global trend in world history? (Generalisation) ▶ Does this topic play a role in the history curriculum of other regions/nations – and: which one? Under which perspective? ▶ What about moral judgment? |
|--|---|--|

Teaching "Europe and the world" demands building appropriate working methods and skills/habits of historical questioning and thinking. ■ ■ ■

EUROPE AND THE WORLD

Professor Dominic Sachsenmaier
Jacobs University
Germany

EUROPE AND THE WORLD

In the first part of my talk, I will discuss how European historiography has been dealing with the 'world.' As I will argue, in most European history departments and education systems, the world outside of Europe was long playing only a rather marginal role. This persistence of rather Eurocentric disciplinary traditions also had an impact on how a large number of historians conceptualised the relationship between "Europe and the World."

Generally speaking, there has been a tendency to treat European history in a rather holistic manner when placing it into a global context. I will confront the idea of a coherent European culture with some recent academic projects which render our vision of 'Europe in the world' far more complex. On many levels, single regions of Europe (such as the North Sea realm or the Balkans) were being globally connected in profoundly different ways. For this reason, it is hard to assume that Europe as a whole interacted with the world at large.

However, this more complex picture of European historical interactions with other parts of the world will not lead me to completely deconstruct the category of 'European history.' Rather, taking the complex landscapes of global entanglements into the picture, opens up opportunities to enrich the current debates on contours of Europe and its future relationships with the world. For instance, global historical perspectives will also help us to better grasp intra-European differences such as the gap between wealthy and poor economies in Europe itself. After all, differences of this kind are not only the results of intra-European developments but of global transformations during the industrial age and after. ▶▶▶

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THE WORLD IN THE HISTORY OF EUROPEAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

Transcultural and world historical thinking had a long tradition in Europe, which in some eyes even reach back to the writings of the ancient Greek historian Herodotus. Since later antiquity the genre of universal histories, constructed along biblical timelines, played an important role in European historiography. Biblical visions were being challenged by historical records from other parts of the world during the early modern period, which added some pressure to growing tendencies to universal histories following more secular narratives.

■ However, it was particularly during the Enlightenment period when world historical reflections enjoyed an elevated standing among Europe's intellectual circles. Some of the most renowned thinkers of the time chose to engage in cultural or civilisational comparisons in order to accentuate their own ideas. For instance, Voltaire (d. 1778) or Christian Wolff (d. 1754) referred to Jesuit and other reports from China in order to espouse their ideal of political order without legal privileges for aristocrats and clergymen. An interesting development during this period is the growing number of cultural or civilisational comparisons. An example, which continues to be renowned up until the present day, is Charles de Montesquieu's (d. 1755) *Spirit of the Laws*, which is centred on the idea that climate has a strong influence on forms of political, social and legal order¹.

■ The growing presence of comparative scholarship should not lead us to hurriedly celebrate Enlightenment cosmopolitanism, however. Thinkers like Voltaire may have referred to outside cultures in order to accentuate their critique of conditions at home. At the same time, however, they regarded European culture as a uniquely enabling framework for human reason - and it was reason which they appreciated more than any other human quality or talent. Scottish Enlightenment thinkers like Lord Kames (d. 1782), William Robertson (d. 1793) or Adam Ferguson (d. 1816) tended to operate with even more clearly defined conceptions of civilisational maturity when theorising about changes in political, social, and economic systems. Such assumed global timelines put parts of Europe ahead of other civilisations, at least in areas that they considered to be crucial for the progress of societies.

1 Montesquieu, Charles de, *De l'esprit des loix*, 1748.

■ The belief in Europe as a self-enveloping culture of rationality had already been quite common during the Enlightenment period. It became even more pronounced and widely shared during the 19th century. Moreover, it gained more ground outside of the West. Eurocentric interpretations of the world's past were conditioned by the present: the global frameworks of a century during which much of the planet's landmass was subjugated under European rule. During the 1800s and early 1900s it was particularly the spread of history education systems and university-based departments which helped to translate Eurocentric world orders into commonly accepted world historical thinking.

■ In an intricate and drawn-out process, history departments with professors employed as civil officials were being established, at first in parts of Europe and North America and subsequently in other world regions². Modern historical scholarship around the world came to be characterised by similar criteria for obtaining degrees such as the doctorate, and it cultivated identical tools like the use of the footnote. Furthermore, societies with highly divergent epistemological traditions developed similar definitions of what was acceptable into the canon of academic historiography³. There was a growing demand for European-style scholarship which, however, did not lead to a complete homogenisation of historical thinking across the globe. Rather, locally specific traditions continued to season historical thinking even within new forms of university-based historical scholarship.

■ Also in the field of historiography, the emerging global academic system did not operate on the logics of a flat world. Much rather, the power patterns of a colonial or imperialist world order left a deep imprint on the professional milieu of academic historians which was nationally divided but at the same time transnationally entangled⁴. In other words, from the very beginning of this global system of academic historiography, the single national units were not horizontally aligned. As a global network of knowledge, academic historiography was characterised by significant hierarchies of knowledge - hierarchies which reflected 19th and 20th century Western dominance. In this pattern, the position of central societies and peripheral ones became clearly visible in daily academic practice. For example, historians in societies such as Germany, France, or Great Britain only needed to be familiar with scholarship in some supposedly 'advanced' key societies in the West. ▶▶▶

2 See for example Lingelbach, Gabriele, "The Institutionalization and Professionalization of Historiography in Europe and the United States", in Stuart Macintyre, Juan Manguerra & Attila Pok (eds.), *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, vol. 4: 1800-1945, Oxford UP, 2011, p. 78-96.

3 Anthony Grafton, *The Footnote. A Curious History*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997.

4 Mignolo, Walter D., *Global Histories/Local Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking*, Princeton University Press, 2000.

By contrast, their colleagues in other parts of the world, ranging from Chile to Japan, could hardly build a career as historians without even considering (either through translations or through reading relevant texts in English) the most relevant literature produced in the West¹.

■ These hierarchical sociologies of knowledge in the field of history also impacted the ways in which world historical narratives developed in different societies around the globe. In Europe, the tendency to narrate the history of the world while assuming the privileged position of a higher civilisation got even more accentuated during the 1800s. Moreover, the notion that European learning was equipped with unique amounts of information about other cultures added further stimulus to the idea that as a global powerhouse, Europe was uniquely equipped to develop master narratives for the rest of the world. Whereas many Enlightenment thinkers had at least professed the ideals of civilisational learning, the most influential world historical works of the 19th century were written from the pose of a superordinate civilisation. In other words, there was not much readiness to accept alternative cultural perspectives as viable options for the future. Examples for prominent thinkers who - each in his own way - was following such a direction range from Auguste Comte (d. 1857) and Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (d. 1831) to Marx and Weber.

■ Certainly, also in the West there were counter-currents to this Eurocentric mainstream. Yet at the same time, 19th century European cultural identities and visions of world order not only manifested themselves through changing world historical narratives but also through the changing position of world history within the guildhalls of historians. Universal history or world history as a genre itself became far more marginalised in Europe than it had been before. As an overall trend, knowledge about world regions outside of the West was less and less regarded as part of the standard portfolio of modern education. Generally speaking, the rest of the world was seen as too far behind the Western engine as to be seriously studied as a guide or reference. Around the same time, the study of world regions such as China or India was segregated into special fields like Sinology or Indology which were largely philologically oriented and primarily focused on the pre-modern period².

1 For more details see Sachsenmaier, Dominic, *Global Perspectives on Global History. Theories and Approaches in a Connected World*, Cambridge UP, 2011, chapter one.

2 Wallerstein, Immanuel et al. (eds.), *Open the Social Sciences: Report of the Gulbenkian Commission on the Restructuring of the Social Sciences*, Stanford University Press, 1996.

■ While this was happening in Europe, or in some cases also later, a related trend took place in a growing number of societies elsewhere. The outcome of this same transformation did, however often point into the opposite direction as in the West. In many societies, ranging from the Ottoman Empire to China and from India to Japan, 'world history' started gaining a more prominent standing rather than declining in importance. It did so in conjunction with the growing appeal of national historiography and new, scientific methodologies. To put it in a nutshell, new visions of the past were often seen as the keys to future-oriented modernisation efforts. There was a clear tendency to define 'Western' epistemologies and perspectives as universal and other forms of learning as parochial. A large number of historical works written on all continents did either explicitly or implicitly endorse the idea that Europe was a uniquely dynamic civilisation whose rationalism, dynamism and potential for freedom carried a high potential for the other parts of the world³. For those forces who advocated a new historiography as a key to modernity, not only Western historical scholarship figured as an important source of information but Western history itself. Many influential scholars and intellectuals regarded the study of European history and Western expansionism as a way of identifying factors and forces that were relevant for any modernisation effort. Through studying the example of advanced societies (which in addition to Europe and North America included Japan by the beginning of the 20th century) many historians outside of the West hoped to gain knowledge that they regarded as immediately relevant for the own societies' modernisation drives⁴.

■ As a consequence, outside of the West, the history of Europe received much attention at both the levels of research universities and the general education system. In Europe itself, however, the opposite has not been the case: non-Western history and world history are extremely marginalised in academic historiography and the overall education system. This actually causes some significant differences between the modes of historical awareness among students and scholars in countries like China or India on the one side and Europe on the other side. In China, for instance, a student cannot even graduate from high school without having studied both Chinese and Western history, in other words without having received at least some degree of a bi-cultural education. This allows students to develop such crucial skills as multi-perspectivity and the ability to relativise one's own cultural pattern when comparing it with the outside world. ▶▶▶

3 For more details see Sachsenmaier, Dominic, *Global Perspectives on Global History. Theories and Approaches in a Connected World*, Cambridge UP, 2011, chapter one.

4 See for example Woolf, Daniel, *A Global History of History: the Making of Clio's Empire from Antiquity to the Present* (Cambridge; Cambridge UP, 2011), p. 399-454.

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Despite Europe's commitment to the values of cosmopolitanism, entire cohorts of students and scholars are still basically mono-cultural by training. The required knowledge and the standard portfolio for overall knowledge horizons (the German 'Bildung') hardly transgress the West. In other words, the mental maps and topographies of history education in most European societies have not significantly changed from the 19th and the early 20th centuries, a time of Western supremacy when it seemed unnecessary to seriously deal with other parts of the world. Yet continuing this mono-cultural outlook becomes worryingly out of time in an age like our current present one, which is characterised by a rather profound shifting of geo-economic and -political power and influence away from the North Atlantic World. European leaders of the present and the future are just insignificantly prepared for the parameters of a century in which societies such as China, India and Brazil are very likely to turn into significant powers which will also impact (directly or indirectly) conditions in Europe.

But the still dominant introverted perspectives in European historiographical cultures also cause other problems. Most notably, it also puts significant constraints on the debates regarding the contours of European history. Exactly because there is only little expertise among European scholars and history educators, the debates on the contours of Europe and its past are more limited than they could be. In many world historical works (particularly textbooks) there is still a tendency to define 'Europe' as an objectively given historical realm, which interacts with the world somehow *in toto*. The reality was (and still is), however, far more complex, and an awareness of this more complex reality adds much potential for the current intra-European debates on the future of Europe and its past trajectories.

EUROPE AND THE WORLD RELEVANT HISTORIOGRAPHICAL CURRENTS

The rest of the world is remarkably absent in many recently published histories of Europe. Equally marginalised are the connections between Europe and the outside world, including imperialism and the world wars. In many prominent overviews of modern European history they are reduced to brief remarks in passing, fitting comfortably onto a few pages.¹

¹ This is, for example, the case with N. Davies, *Europe: A History* (Oxford, 1996); and H. Schulze, *Phoenix Europa. Die Moderne. Von 1740 bis heute* (Berlin, 1998). Additional examples are critically discussed by J. Osterhammel, "Europamodelle und imperiale Kontexte", *Journal of Modern European History* 2 (2004) 2, 157–182. See also F. Pingel, *The European Home: Representations of Twentieth Century Europe in History Textbooks* (Strasbourg, 2000). For the following passages see Sachsenmaier, Dominic, "Recent Trends in European History - The World Beyond Europe and Alternative Historical Spaces", *Journal of Modern European History*, 7-1 (2009), p. 5-25.

Excluding the rest of the world from the picture suggests that Europe's global expansion was not a genuine part of its own past. It also implies that the entanglements with the world beyond had very few repercussions for Europe,² and indeed some recently acclaimed works openly went against the idea that Europe during various stages of its past had been subject to significant outside influences³.

Given this situation, there is a remarkable disjuncture between much of the new literature on European history in a narrower sense and some fields belonging to European history in a wider sense. The blossoming literature on Atlantic history or colonial encounters, for example, has thus far not found many inroads into the project of writing new European histories.⁴ Parts of the new historiography of Europe are in danger of painting images of the European past that are filled with stereotypes and unquestioned generalisations. In the future we will need more sustained and concerted efforts to critically reconsider the spatial paradigms underlying much of the new European historiography. This means re-conceptualising European history as a product of interactions with the outside world, which would challenge the notion of Europe as a largely independent historical arena. This enormous task can be divided into several problem zones which are each characterised by particular necessities and opportunities.

Above all, Europe-centred visions of European history need to be tested against alternative conceptions of space developed by other branches of historiography. Much of the scholarship on European history in a narrow sense could be greatly invigorated by some of the more recent literature in fields operating with alternative conceptions of historical space. Greater levels of influence from the growing field of Atlantic history, for example, would counteract the tendency in many new European histories to treat the Atlantic primarily as a boundary and to refer to North America as a contrast foil in order to extrapolate some alleged European commonalities. Important social historical work has been produced on the myriad of intra-European migrations, family connections, and personal interactions characterising the continent before and after the age of the nation state.⁵ What still needs to be explored in due detail, are the repercussions of processes such as the mass emigration of Europeans to the American continent, particularly during the 19th and early 20th centuries. ▶▶▶

² A critique of the Eurocentrism in most of the new historiographical research on Europe is A. Eckert, "Europäische Zeitgeschichte und der Rest der Welt", *Zeithistorische Forschungen – Studies in Contemporary History* 1 (2004) 3.

³ For example: S. Gougenheim, *Aristote au Mont Saint Michel* (Paris, 2008). The work which was widely discussed in France turns against the idea of Islamic influences on Europe during the Middle Ages.

⁴ A good overview of new developments in colonial history is F. Cooper, *Colonialism in Question. Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2005) and H. Pietschmann, ed., *Atlantic History: History of the Atlantic System, 1580-1830* (Göttingen, 2002).

⁵ For example H. Kaelble, *A Social History of Western Europe, 1880–1980* (Dublin, 1989); and G. Crossick and H.-G. Haupt, *Die Kleinbürger. Eine europäische Sozialgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1998).

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Close family connections, economic networks, and public spheres were created across continental boundaries, which in turn had a great influence on social milieus in Europe.¹ Relevant examples range from trans-Atlantic networks of migrant families to European merchant clans with offshoots in the colonies.²

■ If these trans-continental entanglements are taken into account, the conceptions of space underlying our understanding of European societies and their historical trajectories must be widened.³ For example, in many regards the social history of Britain, Ireland, and some other countries was more closely connected with North America than with much of Eastern Europe, at least during the age of imperialism.

■ Also the beginnings of transnational urban cultures and fashions needs to be understood less in strictly European terms than as spatially far more complex phenomena. Because of intensive social interconnections and cultural flows at a trans-continental level, many facets of 19th and 20th century London were more closely attuned to places such as New York or Sydney than to Warsaw or Athens.⁴ Similar observations could certainly be made of consumer patterns and other aspects of popular culture as well as even for political and cultural identities. For example, at the time of the British Empire, the English elites, and to a certain degree also the general public, tended to see itself more closely attuned to the settler colonies in the Commonwealth than to large parts of the 'continent',⁵ and the heritage of this historical situation can still be felt today. Not all colonies were marked by a peripheral status in the socio-cultural flows that characterised imperial formations.

1 For example D. Hoerder and L.P. Moch, eds., *European Migrants: Global and Local Perspectives* (Boston, 1996).
2 See for example S. Davies et al., eds., *Dock Workers: International Explorations in Comparative Labour History, 1790–1970*, 2 volumes, (Ashgate, 2000).
3 The Yale anthropologist Arjun Appadurai, for example, suggests thinking in terms of social, technological and other "scapes" of close interactions cutting across national, regional and continental boundaries: A. Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis, 1996).
4 See for example F.W. Knight, and P.K. Liss, eds., *Atlantic Port Cities: Economy, Culture, and Society in the Atlantic World, 1650-1850* (Knoxville, 1991); and F. Driver and D. Gilbert, eds., *Imperial Cities: Landscape, Display and Identity* (Manchester and New York, 1999). Partly heading into the direction of trans-continental spaces: L. Bekemans and E. Mira, eds., *Civitas Europa. Cities: Urban Systems and Cultural Regions between Diversity and Convergence* (Brussels, 2000).
5 See for example C. Hall, ed., *Cultures of Empire: Colonizers in Britain and the Empire in the 19th and 20th Centuries: A Reader* (New York, 2000); or A. Burton, "Rules of Thumb: British History and 'Imperial Culture' in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Britain", *Women's History Review* 4 (1994), 483–501.

In certain regards, it may even be more appropriate to see some empires not so much as the products of 'European' dominance but rather as distinct cultural and political systems, which in each case involved parts of Europe but not the entire continent.⁶ The flows, transfers and interdependencies within some empires could certainly be more intense than between many nations and regions of Europe. For example, research has begun to show that even important facets of modern English civil society originated in a far more trans-cultural dynamic than had been commonly assumed.⁷

■ Along similar lines, scholars have started taking greater interest in the reverse influences of the colonial system on the United Kingdom, Germany, and other societies.⁸ Indeed, much of modern British cultural history, for instance, would be unthinkable without the imperial experience, just as it would be hard to approach Russian history without paying due attention to the consequences of its Eurasian expansion.⁹ In many other parts of Europe, by contrast, the upper echelons of society were personally and politically less invested in the trans-Oceanic world.

■ Furthermore, one should recall that European regions changed or 'modernised' according to various rhythms and stages, which often followed the logics of their connectedness to centres and resources in other parts of the world.¹⁰ For example, it would certainly be inadequate to depict massive transformations such as the emergence of the modern nation-state in terms of the global spread of a distinctively European pattern of political order. Rather than emanating from an uninfluenced European epicentre, modern national revolutions emerged in a complex Atlantic nexus,¹¹ and they actually spread to Japan, parts of Latin America and other societies before transforming political order in much of Central and Eastern Europe. In this context one should not forget that during the Enlightenment age and the 19th century much of Eastern and Southern Europe was excluded from tropes of civilisation and modernity.¹² ▶▶▶

6 See for example P. Stern, "A Politie of Civill and Military Power: Political Thought and the Late-Seventeenth Century Foundations of the East India Company-State", *Journal of British Studies* 47 (2008) 2, 253-283.
7 For example H. Fischer-Tiné, "Global Civil Society and the Forces of Empire: The Salvation Army, British Imperialism and the 'Pre-history' of NGOs (ca. 1880-1920)", in *Competing Visions of World Order*, ed. S. Conrad and D. Sachsenmaier (New York, 2007).
8 See for example J. Codell and D. Macleod, eds., *Orientalism Transplanted. The Impact of the Colonies on British Culture* (Ashgate, 1998); and S. Conrad and S. Randeria, eds., *Jenseits des Eurozentrismus. Postkoloniale Perspektiven in den Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften* (Frankfurt, 2002). An earlier critique pointing to reverse flows of influence: S. Amin, *Eurocentrism* (New York, 1989).
9 N. Dirks, ed., *Colonialism and Culture* (Ann Arbor, 1992).
10 An influential article arguing this point: M. Geyer and C. Bright, "World History in a Global Age", *American Historical Review* 100 (1995)4, 1034-1060.
11 See for example H.-O. Kleinmann, "Der Atlantische Raum als Problem des europäischen Staatensystems", *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas* 38 (2001), 7–30.
12 See L. Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford, 1994).

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■ The list of alternative conceptions of space transgressing national boundaries but not matching the boundaries of Europe can be extended in many different ways. Examples for relevant fields range from economic history to intellectual history. A case is the history of ideas: it has been argued convincingly that certain facets of Western European political culture are historically rooted in shared institutional and philosophical settings.¹ In addition to this, it would be fruitful and important to add the experience of imperialism and colonialism into the picture. Atlantic experiences and networks, for example, certainly played more important roles in the growing presence of discourses of freedom and democratic movements than a strictly European perspective would possibly be able to grasp.²

THE CONTOURS OF EUROPEAN HISTORY

The divergent experiences of European macro- and micro-regions make it indeed hard to develop continental narratives of topics such as political cultures, industrialisation, political institutions or social stratifications.³ The debates on European history and its place in the world have two tendencies, which in my eyes are both somewhat problematic. Firstly, there is the aforementioned trend to define Europe *a priori* as a coherent historical entity, which in the face of the literature discussed above is somewhat problematic. Secondly, there is a strong emphasis on the concept of 'unity in diversity,' which in some cases has come to celebrate more Europe's diversity rather than its unity.

■ It would be intellectually fruitful and also politically as well as socially relevant to lead these two poles together. After all, there are certainly very diverse experiences in the trajectories of European history, and they are connected with Europe's multifaceted global roles. About a generation ago, some significant scholarly literature has been produced on the idea of globally connected regions.

¹ Reinhard, "Was ist europäische politische Kultur?"

² About new literature on this topic see E. H. Gould, "Entangled Atlantic Histories", *American Historical Review* 112 (2007) 5, 1415–1422; and L.M. Dubois, "An Enslaved Enlightenment: Re-Thinking the Intellectual History of the French Atlantic", *Social History* 31 (2006) 1, 1–14. A "classic" text, which headed towards Atlantic perspectives: R. Palmer, *The Age of Democratic Revolution* (Princeton, 1964).

³ A discussion of this problem and several examples are provided by M.G. Müller, "Wo und wann war Europa? Überlegungen zu einem Konzept von europäischer Geschichte", *Comparativ* 14 (2004) 3, 72–82. See also K. Kaser et al., ed., *Europa und die Grenzen im Kopf* (Klagenfurt, 2004).

Some authors saw not only in different degrees of industrialisation but also varying ways of global connectedness a key to explain why, particularly since the late 18th century, some regions of Europe declined in terms of their economic power and why other regions have fared much better. Some studies have even argued that the economic and intellectual marginality of, for example, some Eastern European societies *vis-à-vis* some Western parts of the continent may – at least on some levels - be regarded as comparable or even structurally related to the relations of some former Latin American colonies with the same core regions.⁴

■ In that sense, studying Europe's relation with the world can grant us new insights into the economic and other gaps which characterise Europe up until the present day. In the general public, the debates on these intra-European economic and societal differences have even intensified since the beginning of the Euro crisis. In Germany and some other rich countries there has even been a somewhat disconcerting trend to view the current condition (as well as large parts of contemporary history) of societies as the result of local cultures and political problems. That voices may eventually erode European identities and notions of a shared history and set of values, needs hardly to be mentioned.

■ Bringing the global and at the same time the historical back into the picture may turn these debates in a rather promising direction, however. Scholars need get a better understanding of what global and local dynamics were underlying the decline of entire European regions since the 18th century. It is equally important to consider what factors and forces (global and local) conditioned the rise of other regions (like parts of Northern and Western Europe) around the same time. Together this may help generate a vision of European history, which rather than celebrating the continent's diversity or postulating its civilisational unity, is sensitive to the entangled and yet divergent experiences of European regions, particularly during the past two hundred years. Addressing European gaps from a global and at the same time regionally sensitive set of perspectives can help generate historical debates which many citizens of Europe may perceive as more timely, particularly in the face of the current crisis. Going even further than that, a greater awareness of the global dynamics underlying European discrepancies in the past and in the present can support new debates on European forms of solidarity. ■■■

⁴ For example, J.L. Love, *Crafting the Third World: Theorizing Underdevelopment in Rumania and Brazil* (Stanford, 1996).

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■ The textbook contains a wealth of maps and black-and-white illustrations. The image of Otto III. appears in the chapter entitled 'Germany in the 10th and 11th Centuries: The Rush for the West-Slavic Territories'. It consists of one half of the two-page homage from the Book of Gospels, which was completed on behalf of Emperor Otto III in the Reichenau monastery around 998 (today in the possession of the Bavarian State Library in Munich). The sovereignty picture that belongs to it, printed here on the right-hand side and in a smaller format than it appears in the Book of Gospels, shows the emperor on a throne, surrounded by members of the Empire Church and the nobility. He is paid homage by four provinces of his empire: Roma, Gallia, Germanium and the West Slavs.

■ The emperor's motto of 'Renewing the Roman Empire' from around the turn of the millennium is particularly highlighted by the extensive details in the text and the specific positioning of the image. This idea conceived Rome as the epitome of the ancient Roman universal empire and the starting point from whence the emperor and the pope would collaborate towards a universal mission. Although Otto III is honoured as the emperor in the textbook's portrayal, the focus is placed on the four sections of the empire that were designed to be of equal standing, including Poland. Following Mieszko I's conversion to Christianity in 966, Poland joined the circle of 'Christian Europe' and was confirmed as such by the Emperor's designation of Bolesław Chrobry as a Christian ruler during this visit to Gniezno in the year 1000 ('Act of Gnesen'). The textbook equates this 'Act' with his coronation to King of Poland.

■ The completion of the Book of Gospels coincides with the newfound independence of central European states. The expansion of Christian Europe brought Poland onto the stage of European politics for the first time. It is significant that the two halves of the picture have been exchanged and printed separately from one another on the textbook pages. It is not clear from the picture captions that both images constitute the same source. The actual moment of homage and – in turn – the idea of the Reich thus lose importance to the benefit of the 'universal monarchy' concept as envisaged by Charles the Great, which was supposed to combine the entirety of 'Latin Europe' to a 'political unit'.

■ We may deduce from the confident manner in which most Polish textbooks refer to this image that it is one of the most widespread illustrations in the national history-writing of Poland. The image's reception clarifies the strength of the connection between the European idea and the conviction of the significance of one's own country within the continent. The claim to be an equal and independent part of the Christian community, which here is historically justified, appears to conflict with the political power constellations of the time the textbook was printed (towards the end of the 1950s), when the Cold War's East-West divide was becoming politically, geographically and also mentally established within Europe. The issue of denomination and the resort to a Europe-wide foundation of values shaped Poland's national self-image, even during the socialist period. Poland continued to conceive itself as Europe's 'defence system' (antemurale Christianitatis) ultimately in the role of fending off 'barbarism from the East'. ▶▶

Commentary: Ewa Anklam Translation: Wendy Anne Kopisch

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COMMENTARY

■ The present work is a European and Western history textbook for middle schools (five-year secondary educational institutions for students aged 12 years and up) of the time. Pursuant to the Enforcement Ordinance of the Middle School Order of 1901, history courses were divided into Japanese History and Western History, and with the addition of geography, were taught three hours per week per academic year. At the time, the rate of advancement to middle schools, which were for boys, was around 6% for those who graduated from primary schools (Yoneda: 35).

■ The author of the work, Kengo Murakawa (1876-1946), was an associate professor at Tokyo Imperial University. From 1903 to 1906 he studied in Europe, attending the University of Munich, among others (Yamanaka: 314-317).

■ Murakawa divides his work into 74 chapters and devotes about three pages to each. Chapter 22, however, is somewhat of an exception in that it spans six pages. Section 2 in particular, the section that translates as the “Application of Sciences”, which appears above, reveals a narrative that portrays two very different attitudes that Murakawa held towards Europe. The first is one in which Europe, with its highly- developed civilization, is a paradigm to be emulated, and the second pits European countries against Japan as competitors. It is not a stretch to say that this narrative represents the views of many contemporary Japanese intellectuals.

■ Regarding the former, “exemplar” portrayal of Europe, Murakawa takes note of the “phenomenal progress” in transportation and communications in Europe driven by scientific advances, and also recognizes that contemporary medical developments have “done much towards reducing human suffering.”

■ The attitudes expressed in these passages largely reflect widely-held objectives in Japan, namely to emulate and absorb the “Western model of civilization”. Immediately after the Meiji Restoration, a diplomatic mission led by Tomomi Iwakura, consisting of 48 persons, was sent to Europe and the United States on a fact-finding mission that was to last about two years and cover 12 countries (Tanaka: 205—213). Renowned Meiji thinker and educator Yukichi Fukuzawa became a proponent of not merely adopting Western technology, but of reforming the culture of the country itself (Maruyama: 60-61; Kano: 54-56). In recent years, research into the era has revealed that such cultural reform movements were part of a phenomenon that gained currency with only a small segment of society (Irokawa: 78-83), but there can be no doubt that subsequent elite segments of society took Western models and made them their own ideal in their value systems.

■ Regarding Murakawa’s “second” perspective of the East-West paradigm, it is hard not to read into the fact that the modernization projects alluded to above were in line with Japan’s Imperialist policies (Irokawa: 74- 75), as suggested by the “Datsu-a-ron” (“Leaving Asia”) positions taken by Fukuzawa. Put differently, treating European countries as models simultaneously meant striving for the power to compete against them. The description of Europe as a Western competitor in the last chapter of this work, which is titled “Japan’s Position in the World” does not mince words. The author offers the following:

■ The major powers of the world are six in number: the five powers of Great Britain, Germany, the United States, France, and Russia; plus Japan, which makes six. Of these powers, Japan is the only world power not part of the so-called “Indo-Aryan” race. Given its position as the most optimal to fuse with Western culture, the people of Japan not only feel optimistic about future prospects, but should at the same time be aware of the enormous responsibility placed upon them (279-280). ▶▶▶

Commentary: Yoshitaka Terada/Takahiro Kondo

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■ In sharp contrast to the painful European experience of the Great War, over the course of the conflict Japan became the foremost industrial nation in Asia. In economic terms, it transformed from a debtor nation to a creditor nation. Given the rapid and dramatic transition that Japan underwent, there are historians even today that hold that Japan joined the ranks of the Five Powers of the day (the U.S., Britain, France, Italy, and Japan) (Ota: 324), while textbooks that stress the “fall” of Europe suggest an overriding awareness among people that Japan was already a major power.

■ The realization that European powers were on the decline, plus the awareness that Japan was on the rise, led to two distinct shifts in awareness. The first was a keen awareness of the United States as a political, economic and cultural center, one that was replacing Europe (Mitani: 61-63). One piece of evidence supporting this thesis is the fact that, even in this textbook, in the portion dealing with the “economic restoration problem”, it is asserted that Europe cannot recover without the economic assistance of the United States.

■ Second, around the time of the outbreak of the First World War, there were movements that gained momentum which criticized the capitalist model imposed by Europeans, and instead sought to restore Japanese and Asian civilization in its place. By 1924, when this textbook was published, the nationalist body Kochisha had been formed, which was led by the Japanese philosopher Okawa Shumei, who advocated the “liberation of Asian peoples”. At the core of Okawa’s ideology was the notion that Japanese culture was unique and superior to others, and his mission was to pave the road for historic vanguards of the Japanese race (Ota: 336-337).

■ The passages above not only directly anticipate the decline of Europe and ensuing strife as a result of the First World War, in doing so it also predicts the coming conflict between Japan and the United States. ■ ■ ■

Commentary: Yoshitaka Terada/Takahiro Kondo

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TRANSFERABILITY OF THINKING SKILLS AND CONCEPTS USED IN HISTORY

■ The theory propagated by Vygotsky, known as a socio-historical approach to learning has contributed much to the constructivist movement in education. His well-known contribution to teaching and learning is his idea of the zone of proximal development, which refers to the relationship between pupils' developmental level when working on their own and their potential development through problem solving under the guidance of adults or peers who know more. Another of Vygotsky's concerns was the over use of, and over-importance given to, testing to measure children's abilities, these which Vygotsky believed produces a static rather than a dynamic learning environment.

■ Vygotsky (1978) emphasises the role of the teacher as facilitator. Absorbing skills and concepts on one's own is a slow process; however under structured guidance the learner can reach a higher attainment.

■ According to Vygotsky (1962) teaching and learning are inseparable from their social context. Keith Barton and Linda Levstik's work in America on children's learning in history is significant in highlighting the importance of the social context. Beside cognitive developmental stages and children's experiences of school, they describe how other factors such as relatives and media, influence children's thoughts processes and learning. (Barton 1994, 1997; Barton & Levstik 1996).

■ Human beings are capable of cultural and cognitive behaviour which Vygotsky called 'semiotic mediation'. This belief led Vygotsky to place great importance on the role of instruction in children's learning. Thus the intervention process is crucial and the teacher who knows his or her pupils well is best placed to instigate learning. Today we frequently refer to this process as 'scaffolding' to describe the interactions between adult and child, which constitute the support provided as children learn how to perform a task they previously could not do on their own.

While attempts to readdress the balance in societies and to teach about groups perceived as the 'other' through history teaching projects run by the Council of Europe and Euroclio (European Association of History Educators) are commendable, it is rather naïve to expect change in content to be the whole solution. A shift in topics will not cause a shift in thinking; placing immigration and the history of human rights instead of more traditional topics such as the French Revolution or the First World War will not necessarily make people respect human rights or sympathise with the plight of newcomers in their homeland. Unfortunately, prejudice endures even after considerable exposure to logical cognitive reasoning, or as G.W.Allport famously said: "Defeated intellectually, prejudice lingers emotionally" (Allport, 1955, p.311).

■ Projects such as *Historiana* and *Shared Histories for a Europe without Dividing Lines*¹ are a step in the right direction, for they do go hand in hand with a pedagogy based on thinking skills. This is important because unlike facts and content information which could be classified as 'content', skills are not tied to the topic being studied, but the concepts and knowledge experienced may be transferred to other, unrelated topics.

■ If one assumes that learning can be applied to new settings one must also believe in this transferability of learnt skills. The research described in this paper was designed with the hope that the skills pupils learn during the activities on the Ottoman Empire in the 16th century, will in fact be transferred to the way they view Muslims or Christians today. There are various studies in existence which emphasise the idea that much of what is learned is specific to the situation in which it is learned (Lave, 1988; Lave and Wenger, 1991; Greeno, Smith, and Moore, 1992). Carraher, Carraher and Schlieman (1985) accounts of Brazilian street children who could not work certain mathematical computations in the classroom but were performing similar ones everyday while selling in the streets supports this. These studies appear to imply that particular skills practised in one situation do not transfer to other situations. ▶▶▶

¹ *Historiana* is an ongoing project by Euroclio, the European Association of History Educators, started in 2010. It is an attempt to create the first ever online history interactive textbook for the whole of Europe. And *Shared Histories for a Europe without Dividing Lines* is an intergovernmental project developed by the Council of Europe

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ISLAMAPHOBIA IN MALTESE SOCIETY

Islamophobia has long been a phenomenon in Malta due to the island's strong Catholic culture and long history of conflict, with Muslim Arabs or Turks frequently regarded as 'the enemy'. Today with the appearance of irregular immigrants from Africa who started arriving in Malta after 2000, the local population is faced with a new situation, that is, with the presence of a small but growing Muslim community on the island.

Islam and Christianity are two religions which each have their own set of beliefs, rituals and practices; historically these two organised religions were communal systems which historically defined two blocks of empires. One was either a believer or an infidel, one either belonged to the group or not; interestingly both groups used very similar terms to describe themselves and the 'other'. It was a division into two comprehensive domains, a division which unfortunately may take on a central significance even today in history classes in Maltese schools.

Exploring identity, diversity and multiperspectivity in the teaching and learning of history is an acute current concern of history pedagogists.¹ In some ways the researcher is fortunate in that while Islamophobia is very much a present day phenomenon, the topic chosen here for the classroom that of 'the Great Siege' is not related to a present on-going conflict situation. Therefore there is not the added difficulty of an on-going conflict situation when it can be very difficult to address the 'other' perspective as attested by the work of Eyal Navah² and Alan McCully³.

A key part of a democratic process is understanding different points of view, learning to tolerate uncertainty and gaining awareness that history holds very few cases in which guilt and innocence can be assigned unambiguously to one particular side of a conflict. Cognitively understanding shades of grey can be a very difficult concept for students to achieve and a very hard concept to teach. As Christine Counsell says, "Teachers need time to learn to teach in ways that are challenging and pupils need careful training if they are to get used to the idea that the history lesson is the place where you learn to tolerate uncertainty." (Counsell, 2004, p.29) ▶▶▶

It would appear that on certain occasions the human mind does compartmentalise tasks for particular situations and transfer of these skills to another situation does not occur. However, it does not follow from this that transfer of skills cannot occur at all. Many of the examples which support strictly situated learning come from the field of mathematics, while it is obvious that some skills, like reading, are continually transferred from one context to another. As Anderson, Reder and Simon (1996, p.6) say "The fact that we can engage in a discussion of the context-dependence of knowledge is itself evidence for the context-independence of reading and writing competence." In history education Barton and Levistik's work showed that the cultural situation their pupils were coming from determined their historical thinking (Barton and Levistik 1996). The skills learned in a non-school setting, the family and the media were being used to work out the tasks given by the researchers in a classroom exercise. Therefore transfer of historical knowledge as well as skills such as understanding chronology did in this case occur.

History does not repeat itself; there are too many variables at work for exactly identical situations to arise. However, similar patterns can be detected in history. David Theo Goldberg certainly sees racism as specific to a particular situation and not as a clear-cut fixed emotion: "race is irreducibly a political category...and there is no generic racism, only historically specific racisms each with its own sociotemporally specific causes." Goldberg (1993, p.90). On the other hand, Bodenhauser, Mussweiler, Gabriel and Moreno seem to be correct when they state that "pervasive, culturally embedded forms of social conditioning tend to produce consistent patterns of affective reactions to certain social groups." (Bodenhauser, Mussweiler, Gabriel and Moreno, 2001, p.321) There does seem to be a mechanism that puts into action an automatic response which is triggered off when a group is negatively evaluated, regardless of circumstances and temporal context. For example, there are many parallels between historical and present-day hate crimes; racially motivated acts are born out of racist attitudes, making those attitudes powerful predictors of subsequent hate crime (Hamm, 1993) Other similarities between past and present hate crimes include characteristics of the crimes, perpetrators and victims (Petrosino, 2003).

¹ For example Euroclio (European Association of History Educators) 2008 Conference was entitled "The Past in the Present: Exploring Identity, Diversity and Values through History Teaching". Similarly Euroclio 2009 Conference was entitled "Taking the Perspective of the Others: Intercultural Dialogue, Teaching and Learning History"

² Professor Eyal Navah attempted to use history teaching to produce a common narrative of Israel and Palestine. This project was explained in his paper "First steps towards reconciliation: a two narratives approach of history education in an inter-conflict situation: Palestinians and Israelis" Paper given at Euroclio April 2008 general conference.

³ Alan McCully used history teaching to analyse the Northern Ireland conflict with school children. See for example "They took Ireland away from us and we have to fight to get it back": Using fictional characters to explore the relationship between historical interpretation and contemporary attitudes' (with N. Pilgrim), Teaching History (2004) 114, 17-21; History Education's Responses to a Divided Community: the example of Northern Ireland, Storia e Memoria (2005) xiv (1), 97-106; Teaching controversial Issues in a Divided Society: Learning from Northern Ireland, Propero, (2005), 11 (4), 38-46

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MALTESE SOCIETY

Malta is predominately a Catholic island. Its constitution clearly states:

1. The religion of Malta is the Roman Catholic Apostolic Religion.
2. The authorities of the Roman Catholic Apostolic Church have the duty and the right to teach which principles are right and which are wrong.
3. Religious teaching of the Roman Catholic Apostolic Faith shall be provided in all State schools as part of compulsory education. (Constitution of Malta Act, 1964 line 2)

This notwithstanding, Malta is a member of the European Union and functions as a democracy, which grants freedom of conscience to individuals. Unfortunately this does not safeguard against fundamentalist religious views which do exist and these distort images and misconceptions of 'the other'. Borg and Mayo describe this basic lack of knowledge of the culture of 'other' in the case of Malta in the following way:

“...the term 'Turk' is often used interchangeably with 'Muslim'. The imagery generated by the 18th and 19th century literature dealing with the 'traditional enemy' [read:Turks] is that of 'the sons of Mohammed', who regarding the Maltese as 'wicked', were bent on 'enslaving' Malta to convert it to Islam and to replace the Bible with the Qu'ran.”
(Borg and Mayo, 2007, p. 181)

The various minor racist incidents against Muslims that occur in Malta, undoubtedly owe their roots to this and similar depictions in the Media with regards to Muslims. For example in May 2009, a small group of Muslim men as a form of protest, after being refused the use of a flat to gather together and pray, decided to pray outside on a popular seafront promenade. This provoked a major incident in Malta with numerous newspapers and blog sites being inundated with complaints at this perceived provocation, and the 15 Muslim men “needed the presence of two police officers to ensure they were not attacked, insulted or otherwise harassed” (Caruana Galizia 2009, 13).

THE DESIGN OF THE RESEARCH

This paper details an attempt to use history teaching as a possible tool to combat prejudice and one-sided images of 'the other' within the Maltese context using a topic from the Maltese History National Curriculum, that of the Great Siege of Malta in 1565.

The history learning activities were carried out in a co-educational private school with three different classes of Year Eight students (12/13 year-olds), a total of 74 pupils. These classes consisted of mixed achievers and were not set or streamed in any way; the pupils' social backgrounds were reasonably homogeneous, with their parents tending to come from an upper middle class background. The vast majority of pupils are Catholics and the school offers compulsory Catholic Religious education, although it exempts pupils from attending Religious classes if their parents formally request that their children opt out. This school educates pupils from the ages of 3 to 16 and most subjects including history are taught in English.

The objective of this research study was to re-address the negative depictions of 'the Muslims' in Maltese society and to offer pupils in one school an opportunity to explore history through the perspective of 'the other'.

The author decided to work within the topic of the Great Siege of 1565, which is one of the topics on the school's curriculum. The 1560s were the hey-day of the Ottoman Empire and Malta was part of a larger Turkish plan to imperial expansion. At this time, Malta had great strategic value, for if the Ottomans captured Malta, they would be able to use it as a location where they could build their forces and Malta was territory very close to the Christian Europe. However, rather than the usual presentation of the Turks as the invaders who suddenly make an appearance in the narrative, I gained the permission of the school and class history teacher for the class to include an extra lesson on the Great Ottoman Empire as an introduction to the topic.

The aim of this study was to provide an opportunity for these students to learn about the Ottoman Empire by understanding different perspectives and learning about the complexities of human motivation. The medium through which this was done was by the analysis of primary historical sources. ▶▶▶

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Figure 7 : Pupils talking about what the Ottoman Empire after analysing their sources.

■ After the 20-minute group work session, each group reported back to the class on what they could say about the Ottoman Empire from the set of sources they had been given (Figure 7).

■ A few days after this lesson, pupils were then asked again to answer in writing the same question they had been asked before the lesson: “What do you think Malta would have been like in the 16th century, as a place to live in, had the Ottoman Turks won the Great Siege in 1565?” and “Why do you think this?”

DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF STUDENTS' RESPONSES

Analysis of “What do you think Malta would have been like in the 16th century, as a place to live in, had the Ottoman Turks won the Great Siege in 1565?”

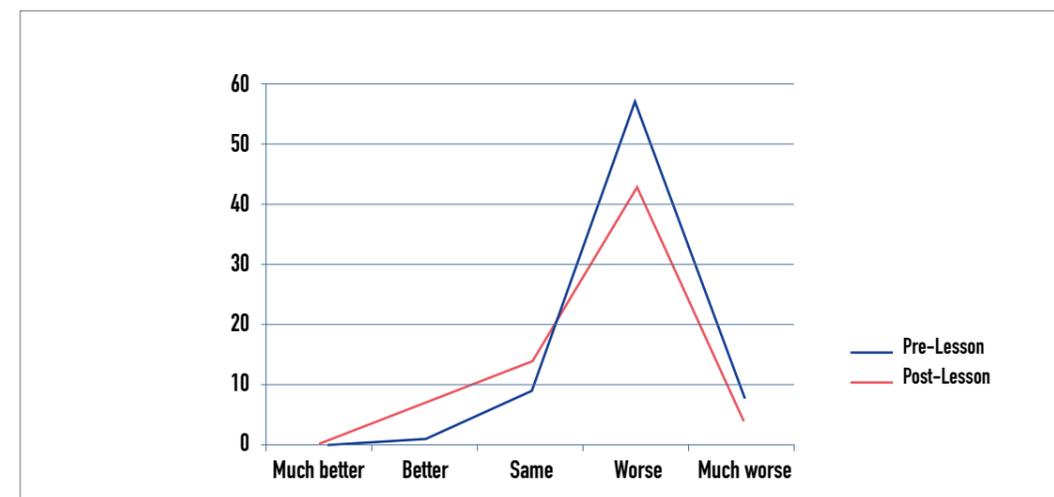
■ The students' response to the first part of the question produced the quantitative data. The Likert scale was used to analyse the pre-lesson and post-lesson responses.

■ “What do you think Malta would have been like in the 16th century, as a place to live in, had the Ottoman Turks won the Great Siege in 1565?”

- ▶ A much better place to live in
- ▶ A better place to live in
- ▶ The same
- ▶ A worse place to live in
- ▶ A much worse place to live in

| | Much better | Better | Same | Worse | Much Worse |
|-------------|-------------|--------|------|-------|------------|
| Pre-lesson | 0 | 1 | 9 | 57 | 7 |
| Post-lesson | 0 | 7 | 14 | 43 | 4 |

Table 1: Results of analysis of students' responses to the first part of the question.



Graph 1: Students' responses to the first part of the question displayed as a line graph.



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From Graph 1 comparing the pre-lesson results (blue) to the post-lesson results (red) it was observed that after the lesson fewer pupils selected worse/much worse and more selected better/the same than before the lesson.

Another way of representing the pre- and post-lesson results is to assign the following values to the different responses and then calculate an average score for each case:

- 1 = A much better place to live
- 2 = A better place to live
- 3 = The same
- 4 = A worse place to live
- 5 = A much worse place to live

This gives a mean score of 3.95 for the pre-lesson vote and a score of 3.65 for the post-lesson vote. These figures indicate that in the pre-lesson results, the mean score was almost at "A worse place to live", while the post-lesson results lie around midway between "The same" and "A worse place to live", indicating a shift of 0.3 in the mean from pre- to post-lesson results.

This is quite a reasonable positive result considering the small scale of the experiment; it is very encouraging to note that a slight shift in attitude occurred after just one lesson. Of course there might be various variables at play which affect students' responses, such as students picking up the enthusiasm of the teacher in favour of the Ottoman Empire and therefore re-thinking their response the second time round to conform more to what they think is the expected response rather than what they really believe. However, it is also possible that they might genuinely have responded differently because they now have a better insight into the Ottoman Empire and their awareness has been raised to other possibilities.

ANALYSIS OF "WHY?"

The students' responses to the "Why?" in the second part of their question was of great use as qualitative data, which shed further light on students' thoughts on the topic. It was evident that a major concern which influenced students' responses¹ was undoubtedly the issue of religion. According to many students, whether Malta would have been a better place or not after a Turkish conquest depended on whether the Maltese would have been allowed to practice or not their religion. As one student commented before the lesson was conducted it would have been a much worse place to live in *"I think it would be bad because the Order [the Christian leaders of the Maltese, the Knights of St. John] was a very generous environment and the Turks were not so we would probably be living in a place full of hate and cruelty against the God that we believe in."* The following are more examples of students' comments before the lesson on why Malta would have been a worse place to live in where the apprehension of losing one's religion is clear:

because the Order of St. John were kind while the Turks were cruel and maybe wouldn't have the right medicines and our religion would change."

I think Malta would be a worse place to live in because the Turks are ruthless and they would have made Malta slaves possibly converting our religion, which would have a big impact on our country's heritage."

Despite a shift towards less extreme views, after the students participated in the lesson, as indicated in graph 1, religion still remained the primary concern of the students albeit now tempered with positive remarks such as the comment that the Turks were "good at medicine" and would not destroy churches but convert them. However, this would apparently have been insufficient to prevent Malta becoming a worse place to live in.

I think that if the Ottomans won the Great Siege, it would be a worse place to live in because they would probably put up more taxes and change some of our churches and cathedrals into mosques."

The Turks will kill all the catholic people but the Turks are advanced in medicine."

Because we would have had to learn another different religion and live a completely different lifestyle to now."

¹ Students responses are quoted verbatim including grammar and spelling mistakes.

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After the lesson which showed that Muslim leaders such as Mehmet could act responsibly one student did not think this was enough and was of the view that Malta would have been a much worse place to live in because *"A worse place to live in because although Mehmet let some christian items in the church stay up he would have made them convert to Islam and made them their slaves and would have to pay harsh taxes to the Ottoman Turks."*

Nobody either before or after the lesson said Malta would have been a much better place to live in had the Turks won; before the lesson only one student from the three classes answered that Malta would have been a better place to live in had the Turks won. She said *"I think it would have been a better place to live in because the Turks were good people"*. On the other hand, after the lesson there were 7 students who said that they thought Malta would have been a better place to live in. These are their responses to the "Why?" question:

As the Ottoman Turks had a very interesting culture, it would add much more to the Maltese culture and add to its architecture".

The Turks respected all religions in Malta the majority of the populace was Christian only some of the populace was Muslim, the Turks wouldn't change the populace, they would respect our religion no matter what".

I think it would be different and so I would like to try it and it would be different".

I think it would be better because the Ottomans are very peaceful and hard working people. They are also musical, artistic and rich."

After learning a bit about them I think that they are very good rulers and they were a very large empire. The only problem is that they were a monarchy."

Again there are no guarantees that the answers represent an actual change in attitude, however, the statements are accompanied by information students gained during the activities of the lesson, specifically mentioning the areas they analysed in their primary sources. It would appear that indeed knowledge does bring about more nuanced judgements and a more complex understanding of a historical situation. There is also an acknowledgement that while the Ottoman Empire was different from Malta it was not necessarily a bad difference but an interesting one - as one student said *"and so I would like to try it"*.

Greater knowledge did not always give rise to less hostile attitudes towards the Turks; indeed, newly acquired knowledge was used by some students to justify why Malta would have been a worse place to live in: *"It really depends but if the Turks used it for a port or something we would have become slaves and have to build Mosques and our religion will have to change and lots of confusion and wars to get Malta back to the Order"*.

The reasons given by those students responding that Malta would have been the same, neither better nor worse, were also highly illuminating. Before the lesson, simple and superficial answers were given by the students such as: *"It would be the same because everyone will still be happy, even if our religion changes."* as well as the slightly confused response which again hinges the interpretation of such a change as good or bad on whether the religion of the Maltese people would have been subject to changes: *"I think it would have been the same because perhaps the Turks would have been like the knights just wanting the Maltese to convert to Islam. They could have justly done the conditions if you want to convert to Islam or not."* A practical as well as a nationalistic reason was given by one student who said that he chose "the same" *"because whether a Maltese leader or a Turkish leader won the Great Siege it wouldn't make a difference. I would have preferred a Maltese leader obviously because we live in Malta. If the Muslims took over Malta would probably be very rich because Muslims come from Libya and Libya are very rich"*. After the lesson, the responses that said Malta would have been the same after a Turkish conquest, were more in number and tended to be more detailed and revealed more historical thought such as this example: *"I think it would have been the same because the Turks would have taught us different things like medication; but then again we would probably have had to change religion yet again. We might not have been able to be under English rule so we might not be speaking English now. They could have also used the poor as slaves"* and *"Because the knights helped the Maltese live a good place but even the Ottomans would because when they showed mercy in Rhodes to the knights they most probably would have done the same to Malta. Also they show a lot of mercy as they did when they conquered Constantinople."* Other comments considered that Malta would be the same because *"I think it would stay the same as the Ottoman Turks are very cultured but I think the only thing which would change are the religion and the way we are governed"* and *"The Ottoman Turks would have bought a lot of different culture to the Maltese Islands and the Turks were decent people."* ▶▶

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While change of religion was the most frequently cited as a reason for Malta being a worse place to live in after a hypothetical conquest; it was not the only consideration; captivity and slavery were fears before and after the lesson. Students said *"I think this because the Turks wanted Malta probably to make the Maltese slaves"*, *"because if you were a Christian you would be slave"* (before lesson) and *"because we could have been slaves for the Turks"* (after lesson). There is also the concern that it would be *"a much worse place to live in because there will be fighting!"* and that Malta would be caught up in wars and fighting. One student explained the confusion that would follow a Turkish conquest by alluding to several historically and in our times military considerations: *"It really depends but if the Turks used it for a port or something we would have become slaves and have to build Mosques and our religion will have to change and lots of confusion and wars to get Malta back to the Order"*.

For history teaching it is also worth noting students' understanding or lack of understanding, of the concept of long-term and short-term consequences in history. The question *"What do you think Malta would have been like in the 16th century, as a place to live in, had the Ottoman Turks won the Great Siege in 1565?"* and *"Why do you think so?"* actually asks for students to name short-term consequences, as it was deemed too complex to ask 12/13 year olds about the long-term consequences spanning hundreds of years which would be necessary if one asked about how an Ottoman victory in the Great Siege would have affected Malta today. Indeed some student responses did focus only on the short-term consequences as in this example *"Because the Turks would want to capture other Islands and make Malta a base of war and make them fight with them"* and *"Because at the time things were harder and there was always a risk. It was easy to lose a family member and easy to lose your house. Freedom and happiness was also hard to gain as if the Turks would have won everything would change and they would destroy the Maltese spirit and do everything there way and how they want it and Malta would have no rights."*

However, analysis of the responses indicates that many of the responses of the students, when thinking about the consequences, pictured Malta today. Many students were not thinking of the short-term consequences for Malta in the 16th century; rather for many of them there was an immediate shift to today. More specifically it is evident that their thought processes focused on how this would affect 'us'/'me' (the Maltese/me as a Maltese person) today. It is interesting to note the frequent use of pronouns like 'I', 'we' and 'our' even when referring to the 16th century the students are identifying with the Maltese population of that time as 'us' and analysing the situation in a very personal and subjective way. For example:

" I think that if the Turks won the Great Siege Malta would be a worse place to live in because our culture would be changed completely and we would probably have to follow new rules and religions and probably dress in different ways and there would be a lot of Arabic buildings and artifacts."

" I think Malta would be a worse place to live in because of the cruel masters. Maybe our religion would have changed and our life wouldn't be the same as it is now."

" I think that it would be a worse place to live in because there won't be much Christianity, no more freedom and I am happy to be Maltese."

Some even attempted to relate the effects of a hypothetical Ottoman conquest in Malta in 1565 not just to today or the immediate short term but to other historic events, such as Malta becoming a British colony in the 19th century: *"We might not have been able to be under English rule so we might not be speaking English now."* And the student who said *"Because if they won in 1565, then there might've been war more often, and Malta wouldn't have much independence"* is most probably thinking of Malta's independence in 1964. One student even explicitly referred to a perception of the Turks today *"Because the Turkish countries nowadays are in war and are having a lot of problems"* although the student was probably referring here to the Arab uprisings which were current news when this research was conducted, therefore the student is evidently making the typical Maltese mistake of mixing up the Turks with the Arabs. ▶▶▶

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CONCLUSION

One cannot change hundreds of years of 'us' and 'them' mentality overnight. However, by moving away from lecture-type traditional history teaching towards a more constructivist approach, some progress in terms of attitudes did occur. In this study students were not presented with a collection of facts but they participated in the construction of the narrative.

Students created different interpretations from primary historical sources, which greatly helped to create new frames of thought and a sense of ownership of the interpretation. This can be seen from the frequent reference in their statements after the lesson to their 'discoveries' on the Ottoman Empire which came about from their class tasks on the sources. It is evident from this that the teacher was not doing the thinking for the pupils; but by key questions allowed learners' change of perception to gradually emerge. In Vygotskian terms, the teacher was the facilitator of the learning. It would seem that what is actually happening in this instant was that learning is occurred piece by piece, one part at a time with fresh knowledge being absorbed while old information being discarded and conflicts resolved as the students constructed new conceptual frames of reference.

Strategies learnt in history lessons have an immediate importance outside history; history is not an inert discipline, but rather affects the whole way in which we see the world. In this case the students became acquainted with the Ottoman Empire, which is traditionally figured as 'the enemy', and they began making sense of a world that was alien and foreign to them and how it interacts and impacts on their world. All this notwithstanding, one must tread very carefully and not blithely assume that history teaching can automatically change attitudes. Roselyn Ashby and Peter Lee present a forceful argument warning against "simple-minded and grandiose claims that prejudice against other cultures or ethnic groups will be dispelled by empathy exercises in history at school. People's views are in large part based on material interests, fear, and their social relations with others: the presentation of rational alternatives in education is often almost powerless against all this." (Ashby, R & Lee, P. p.65).

Nevertheless from students' responses in this study one can detect evidence of a deeper historical understanding taking root after the lesson, and a change in attitude did occur, although it is difficult to say how significant and long-term that change will be.

More studies are needed to produce empirical evidence to support the notion that communication promotes awareness and that in turn this knowledge about 'the other', acquired through such awareness, will make society more democratic and more humane. One possible way of achieving this, is through education, and in this case specifically history education.

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ENCOUNTERS BETWEEN EUROPE AND THE WORLD

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SOME COMMENTS ON THE PROJECT AND ITS GOALS

This project's aim clearly is to promote the idea that all the member states of the Council of Europe share a common historical heritage and a common future. It starts from the assumption that Europe should be regarded as a spatial entity, which means that historians can and should "transcend national considerations". It wants to promote "shared knowledge" of national histories. That of course can only be very much applauded. On top of that, if not primarily, it also wants to promote shared perceptions of the history of Europe as defined by the Council of Europe members, in the hope this might help in bringing about a Europe "without dividing lines" and in creating "a multicultural Europe open to the world". There is even talk of "confidence building". These are high and I must say fairly peculiar ambitions. Some comments are in order.

■ **A**t the moment, the idea that Europe would share a history, let alone an identity, is not exactly popular with the population of the member states of the European Union (EU) and the Council of Europe. There clearly at the moment is no "freely expressed resolve to build a united future" and one may wonder whether on the level of the general public such a resolve has ever existed. There are plenty of reasons to be very concerned about the future of in any case the European Union. In that respect, the idea of using shared histories in order to create a "Europe without dividing lines" certainly is timely. Chances, however, that one might change popular ideas about history via official education are slight. No word is emphasised more in the project description than the word 'common'. Actually, however, there is not much relevant history that is common to *all* member states of the Council of Europe, which are supposed to form 'Europe'. Azerbaijan and Belgium are only close in the alphabet: they share hardly anything. The project talks about "tensions and conflicts that may have arisen". Actually Europe's history not only shows extreme variety: tensions and conflicts are a *substantial* and *integral* part of it. Its political history is marked by war. In that respect the best contribution of historians to a common future might well be to make people forget about history. But in practice neither simply forgetting nor intentionally passing by what went 'wrong' in the past works. Leaving out fundamental elements in describing the past makes distorted history as does focusing intentionally on similarities or differences. Professional historians therefore, and that is my third point, ought to seriously discuss whether it would actually be their job to try and present specific interpretations of history for specific goals. ▶▶▶

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Continental superpower France had too many engagements on the European Continent to be as successful an empire builder as might have been expected. The worldwide struggles between the British and the French in the period 1754 to 1763 resulted in a British victory that badly weakened French power in the Americas, Africa and Asia. Even Napoleon later on could never seriously endanger Britain's empire. The other major continental power in the heart of Europe, the empire of the Austrian Habsburgs, hardly if at all took part in overseas adventures. The Ostend Company, that operated from the Austrian Netherlands and was set up to trade with the Indies, can count as the major and fairly successful exception in particular in its tea trade with China. But in 1731, after about a decade, the British and Dutch aborted this experiment. Under Frederick the Great there were experiments to set up Prussian trade with America and Asia via Emden but this in the end too led to nothing. The Kingdom of Denmark and Norway had some fortresses in Africa, India, and the Danish West Indies, and extended its rule over the Faroe Islands, Iceland and Greenland. Sweden had some tiny colonies in the Americas. The smallest European coloniser, Duchy of Courland, for a while ruled over Tobago. The rest, that is the bulk of Europe, was at least not directly involved in major overseas expansions.

■ The story of European overseas expansion tends to focus on the period from Columbus onwards. Actually he fitted into a tradition of exploration. I need only refer to the exploits of Henry the Navigator of Portugal who seized Ceuta in 1415. During the Middle Ages also Italian Republics like Venice, Genoa and Pisa had already ventured outside Europe proper. One could find Italians in Northern Africa and the Canary Islands and in the Eastern Mediterranean. These precursors of the great intercontinental explorations and conquests had to give way to others. The same can be said about the 'Vikings', who moved westwards and discovered America but did not create lasting settlements there. They did in Iceland, the Faroe Islands and Greenland. Those last three realms all became part of the Dano-Norwegian Kingdom.

■ These tentative explorations nevertheless marked a watershed in European history: up until the beginning of the second millennium Europe was invaded rather than invader. As late as the 13th and 14th centuries, Mongol raids penetrated Europe as far as Kiev, Poland, Hungary and Croatia. Their Golden Horde Khanate included large parts of Southern Russia. Its last remnants would only disappear in the 18th century. The Reconquista of the Iberian Peninsula came only to an end in 1492, the very year that Columbus discovered America. At that time, however, the Ottomans had already started their advance in South-eastern Europe. They had already Constantinople in 1453. The Mediterranean that so long had been 'Europe's heart' became somewhat peripheral.

■ With the 19th century, on the other hand, Europe's encounters with the outside world entered yet a new phase. The British assembled the biggest empire in history. At its 'height' in 1922 it encompassed over 20% of global land mass and, in 1938, almost 20% of global population. Europeans widely expanded their territories in Asia and intensified their interference in that continent e.g. in China and Japan. The British turned India into the core of their empire and the Dutch did the same with the Netherlands Indies. The French conquered 'their' Indochina. The notorious 'scramble for Africa' began. Newly founded states like Germany, Italy and Belgium also wanted their 'fair share' of the global pie, but were relatively unsuccessful, as so much of the spoils had already been seized. Nevertheless, it was only in the 1930s that the extension of Europe's overseas possessions reached its maximum size.

■ What happened overseas permanently impinged on policies and politics in Europe, including those countries that had no overseas realms. But Europe of course also was home to more 'normal', contiguous land empires. The one with the most impressive name and the longest pedigree, the Holy Roman Empire, actually existed in name only. The sun never set on the realm of the Spanish Habsburgs and Bourbons. The empire of the Austrian Habsburgs was confined to Europe. Germany's state building proved enormously successful in the sense that it became the strongest state of Europe and from 1871 to 1918 was actually called an empire. Overseas extensions notwithstanding it too always continued to be a European empire. Its ambitions about a *Griff nach der Weltmacht* twice came to naught in disastrous world wars. France's empire building in Europe never really worked. Neither Louis XIV nor Napoleon managed to permanently add substantial amounts of land to the Hexagon. Its territory in the Maghreb, where Algeria long was a French Department, might be regarded as a kind of overland extension. The most successful land empire in Europe – even more successful than the Ottoman Empire – when it comes to intercontinental expansion was Russia. It added enormous landmasses in Asia to its realm. ▶▶▶

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THE END OF EMPIRES?

Europe's empires overseas, at least in the formal sense of the word, have all disappeared. The main period of decolonisation here were the decades from 1945 to 1975. Portugal and Spain suffered major imperial losses at the beginning of the 19th century in the Americas. The Portuguese as Europe's first transcontinental empire builders fanatically held on to parts of their empire in Africa and Asia till the 1970s. Spain in 1898 lost Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam and the Philippines, which was considered a national disaster. It too was very reluctant to let loose the rest of its empire and only gave up its last African colony in 1975, the same year in which the Netherlands gave up their last major colony, Suriname. The Netherlands Indies had already become Indonesia in 1949. France as well as the United Kingdom lost most of their colonies in the three decades after 1945. Latecomer Italy actually already lost all its African colonies in 1941 during the Second World War, including Ethiopia that it had only conquered in 1936. Belgium gave up its African territories in the beginning of the 1960s.

■ The impact of European presence in other parts of the world differs widely. In the Americas a fatal combination of war, coercion and in particular disease almost completely wiped out the existing societies. European immigrants to a large extent managed to turn the New World into a New Europe. Their impact has been so obvious and overwhelming that it needs no further comment. In Africa the impact of European expansion of course was major because of slave trade. But up until decades into the 19th century Europeans hardly left any *direct* imprint because they considered most of the continent as too unhealthy and impenetrable. With some exceptions actual colonisation of Africa hardly lasted a century. Asia in the early modern era – as it is now – was the most populous part of world with several highly developed societies. Those for long only dealt with Europeans on their conditions. In the Mughal Empire, at least till its slow disintegration set in, Europeans could only have their way in certain niches. In the Ottoman Empire, they were fairly free to do as they pleased but up to the 18th century that was because Ottoman rulers were quite self-confident and even supported Western traders as long as they were not a direct threat to their rule. In China, Westerners were only allowed on a sufferance and with many restrictions. The same goes for Japan. Korea was completely closed to outsiders. The strong presence of Europe in Asia basically was confined to parts of the 19th and 20th centuries – and then only for certain countries.

■ What is left of Europe's overseas empires are tiny rests. The Azores and Madeira are still part of Portugal, now as autonomous regions. The Canary Islands have that status as parts of Spain where Ceuta and Melilla are autonomous cities. The Kingdom of the Netherlands consists of the Netherlands plus Aruba, Curacao and Sint Maarten – the last three located in the Caribbean. The vast majority of the Netherlands is located in Europe, with the exception of its three special municipalities Saba, Sint Eustatius and Bonaire, also located in the Caribbean. Their number of inhabitants is less than 30, 000. The United Kingdom still has fourteen overseas territories. The total number of their inhabitants is less than 300, 000. Guernsey, Jersey and the Isle of Man are crown dependencies and not part of it. France still has its *France d'outre-mer* consisting in several territories with often quite different statuses and in total some 2.7 million inhabitants. Greenland and the Faroe Islands, with together some 100, 000 inhabitants, are still integral parts of the Kingdom of Denmark. But that is about it.

■ The fact that after the Second World War, Europe lost its overseas empires in just a couple of decades, does not mean that empire-building no longer played a role in its history. The Cold War that so long dominated its post-war history was a clash of empires in which the old European powers were no longer *agents* but *acted upon*. For most countries on the Eastern side of the Iron Curtain that was patently clear. They were colonised by the Soviet Union. Official autonomy and actual room to manoeuvre of the countries on its Western side clearly were much bigger. But that should not obscure the fact that they, in particular in matters of defence, had lost much of their sovereignty to organisations like NATO and thus in the end to the United States.

■ Referring to the Cold War means referring to the Soviet Union, a huge land empire that only disappeared in the last decade of the 20th century, long after all the other major European land empires. We must nevertheless realise how normal such empires had always been and how long they actually continued to exist. The empire over which the Austrian Habsburgs ruled only disappeared with the First World War. That war also heralded the end of Germany as empire as its emperor was forced to abdicate and as it lost parts of its territory in Europe and all its colonies. The break with the past here nevertheless was less radical. The Ottoman Empire, a polity that stretched out across three continents, ceased to exist in 1923 and was succeeded by several successor states. One of them was Turkey that still stretches out across two continents. ▶▶▶

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The Russian Empire, as indicated, notwithstanding the successful bid for power of the Bolsheviks and all revolutionary changes, actually continued to exist from 1922 till 1991 in the form of a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, also encompassing territory in two different continents. Russia still does. Outside Europe, the imperial rule of the Mughals in India was terminated but in a way their empire was continued by the British and later by Indian governments after independence. The territory over which China's government rules at the moment is strikingly similar to that of Qing China in the 19th century. Although the comparison will not be popular with its rulers, one certainly could discuss the question to what extent the European Union can be regarded as an empire.

Table 3: Western European Empires: approximate square mile distribution by geographical area c. 1775 (in percentage of square miles)

| Areas | Empires | | | | | |
|----------------|-------------|------------|----------|----------|----------|---------|
| | Spanish | Portuguese | Dutch | British | French | Danish |
| Europe | 3.9 | 0.9 | 2.5 | 11.3 | 81.8 | 99.1 |
| Atlantic Isles | 0.1 | 0.1 | - | 3.9 | - | - |
| Coastal Africa | 0.0 | 9.1 | 38.0 | 2.7 | 0.7 | - |
| Americas | 93.7 | 89.6 | 22.5 | 59.3 | 17.4 | 0.9 |
| SE Asia | 2.4 | 0.2 | 37.0 | 22.8 | - | - |
| Total | 4, 937, 994 | 3, 66, 777 | 651, 533 | 788, 846 | 259, 627 | 15, 580 |

Source: Carole Shammas, 'The revolutionary impact of European demand for tropical goods' in: John J. McCusker and Kenneth Morgan, eds., *The early modern Atlantic economy* (Cambridge 2000) 167.

Table 4: Colonies of Western Europe, the United States and Japan

| Date | Land area colonised as percentage of world total | Population colonised as percentage world total |
|------|--|--|
| 1760 | 18 | 3 |
| 1830 | 6 | 18 |
| 1880 | 18 | 22 |
| 1913 | 39 | 31 |
| 1938 | 42 | 32 |

Source: Jane Burbank and Fredrick Cooper, *Empires in world history. Power and the politics of difference* (Princeton 2010) 288.

Historians have long focused on the emergence and behaviour of national territorial states but these actually were fairly exceptional latecomers in history and, even in Western history, only 'normal' from the French Revolution till the Second World War. They were never self-contained. Encounters with the rest of world have always been so normal that only the long-lasting fairly obsessive focus on national states can explain why they would currently be a topic that needs extra and separate attention of historians. The rest of the world has always been a major factor in the policies of European countries, when not directly then indirectly. For imperial powers it simply had to be. They increasingly engaged in global wars. The Seven Years War and the Napoleonic Wars would be very clear and consequential examples of wars in which Europeans confronted each other – and of course non-Europeans - all over the globe. So obviously would be the First and the Second World Wars. That we are living in a globalised world ever since World War Two is so obvious I am not going to discuss it.

INTERCONTINENTAL MIGRATIONS

Empire building of whatever kind and transcontinental exchanges implied the movement of people, as did their disappearance. With respect to its population, Europe too never was self-contained. Looking at migration, we, unsurprisingly, find a pattern fairly similar to that of territorial expansion. Up until the beginning of the second millennium, more people entered Europe than left it. Then increasingly Europeans went on the move to other continents, with a clear peak in the 19th century. The period between the two world wars marked a sharp slowdown in intercontinental migration. After the Second World War, the inflow of people from outside Europe but also from Europe's peripheries, into the core of the European economy slowly but inexorably increased. ▶▶

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■ For migration flows into Europe in the Middle Ages we do not have many and in any case not many trustworthy figures. The groups of raiding warriors that conquered large stretches of land in Europe as a rule were surprisingly small. The same applies to groups spreading outward. The biggest movement will have been that of Germans spreading to Europe's east and southeast. One might claim that Europe was as to a large extent the product of a process of conquest and colonisation during the High Middle Ages from a core in what now are Eastern France and Western Germany. For the early modern period we have more information. The number of people entering Europe during that era again was relatively small. I only gave the most important immigrations. A couple of 10, 000 people moved from the Asian to the European part of the Ottoman Empire. In the first half of the 17th century alone, a couple of hundred thousand people came from Mongolia to Russia. About half a million Muslims were taken as slaves to Italy in the 16th and 17th centuries. Between 1440 and 1640, Portuguese traders took an estimated 300, 000 slaves from West Africa to the Iberian Peninsula.

■ The number of Europeans going to other continents in the three centuries after Columbus was substantial though definitely lower than one would expect considering the enormous literature about 'European expansion'. Between 1492 and 1760, in total an estimated 900, 000 people from the British Isles, 700, 000 Spaniards, 500, 000 Portuguese, 100, 000 French, and 20, 000 Dutch left Europe for the New World. At the beginning of the 19th century, in 1820, the total number of Europeans that had moved there still had not surpassed the three million mark. Between 1600 and 1795 some two million Europeans travelled to Asia. At the end of the 18th century, when there were more Europeans in Asia than ever before, their number still was not higher than 100, 000. There were not more than some 30, 000 Britons in India then. The number of Europeans who actually settled in Africa before 1800, never surpassed a couple of ten thousands.

■ By far the biggest intercontinental movement of people in the context of Europe's 'encounter' with the world was the transatlantic slave trade that was organised by Europeans. Between 1519 and 1867 more than eleven million Africans were shipped from Africa across the Atlantic to the Americas, where they had to work as slaves. About one million Europeans were captured and enslaved, often by Barbary corsairs, to work in Northern Africa. Overall, it is striking how much of total intercontinental migration that is relevant here, was not voluntary or only to some extent. Between 1700 and 1775 in total 308, 000 people immigrated to the thirteen colonies that were to become the United States: 104, 000 of them were indentured servants, 52, 000 convicts and prisoners, and only 152, 000 free people. Between 1788 and 1840 the British sent 80, 000 convicts to New South Wales (Australia) and almost 70, 000 to Tasmania. Many of those who served in Army or Navy in other continents can also hardly be called 'volunteers'.

■ In the 19th century after the Napoleonic Wars, we see an unprecedented outflow of Europeans. Between the end of the Napoleonic Wars and the First World War, some forty million Europeans migrated to another continent. Most of them went to the United States. Transcontinental migration really took off in the 1840s. First it was mostly Britons who crossed the Atlantic, then Germans and then, from the 1870s, migrants from Northern Europe. From the 1880s onwards, most of the migrants came from Southern and Eastern Europe. Differences between countries were big. Between 1850 and 1920 no less than almost sixteen million people left the United Kingdom and Ireland for the Americas. For Italy the number was some 8.5 million; for Germany over four million, but for France only some 385, 000. Four million Germans on top of that went to Siberia during the 19th century to obtain free land.

■ That outward European migration reached a peak just before the First World War. It then decreased sharply. With decolonisation and a new intensification of intercontinental economic interaction, flows of migrants began to go in an opposite direction, as far as Europe was concerned. For centuries Europeans had settled in other parts of the world. Now people from other parts of the world began to settle in Europe. There was massive repatriation of Europeans who were no longer wanted in their former colonies or who themselves no longer wanted to be there. They were joined by people who had 'collaborated' with them and by many who were simply looking for a better life in wealthy Europe, in the lands of their former colonisers or otherwise. Far more people now settled in Europe than left. ▶▶▶

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Exact, 'hard' figures are lacking, but the following ones at least provide orders of magnitude. The European Union had about half a billion inhabitants in 2010. 47 million of them were foreign born, 16 million in an EU country and 31 million somewhere else. Amongst non-European migrants those from former colonies tended to be over-represented. Portugal had become home to many people from Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde and Guinea Bissau. In the United Kingdom Indians formed the largest group of immigrants, followed by Pakistanis. Of France's total population, 11.8 million were foreign born immigrants and direct descendants of immigrants. Four million of them came from the Maghreb. Foreign-born people amounted to 9.4% of the population of the EU. Here again we see substantial differences: for Austria the percentage was 15, for Portugal 7.5. In the big EU nations 6.3% of the population came from outside the EU. Here too we see substantial differences. For Sweden the percentage was 9.2, for Italy 5.3.

Because of the emphasis on Europe's shared histories, I allow myself a brief reference to inner-European migration. Recent research has shown that this, in contrast to what has long been assumed, was already substantial before industrialisation. Before the hey-days of the national territorial state in the period from the French Revolution till the 1980s, borders tended to be fairly porous. The political restructuring of Europe and the hardening of its borders during that period often involved ethnic cleansing, especially during and in the wake of wars. Over time, many millions of Europeans were forced to re-settle in another country. The worst, but not the last deportations and expulsions took place during the Second World War, many of them instigated by occupying Nazi forces. With the turning of the tide during that war, Germans then themselves fell victim to the largest single instance of ethnic cleansing in recorded history. Between 13.5 and 16.5 million of them were expelled, or fled from Central and Eastern Europe.

Table 5: Total migration rates in Europe, 1500-1900, including Russia

| | Total population (millions) | Total migration (millions) | Migration rate (%) |
|-----------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------|
| 1501-1550 | 76 | 8.7 | 11.4 |
| 1551-1600 | 89 | 11.1 | 12.5 |
| 1601-1650 | 95 | 13.5 | 14.2 |
| 1651-1700 | 101 | 15.8 | 15.7 |
| 1701-1750 | 116 | 30.6 | 17.7 |
| 1751-1800 | 151 | 23.5 | 15.6 |
| 1801-1850 | 212 | 44.5 | 21.0 |
| 1851-1900 | 334 | 118.8 | 35.3 |

Source: Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, 'The mobility transition revisited, 1500-1900: what the case of Europe can offer to global history', *Journal of Global History* 4, 3 (2009) 347-378.

A BRIEF COMMENT: FLORA, FAUNA AND DISEASES

Encounters of course can also take place via economic exchange or via the exchange of flora, fauna, or diseases. The European Middle Ages in this respect were fairly uneventful apart of course from the coming of the Black Death from Asia that took the lives of at least one third of European population. With Columbus the so-called Columbian Exchange began that is undoubtedly one of the main 'events' in global history. The New World gave the Old amongst others: the (sweet) potato, maize, tomatoes, paprika, tobacco and very probably syphilis. Diseases that the Old World brought to the New World like smallpox, measles or influenza killed at the very least half of population there. Europe exported its flora and fauna over the entire globe.

The exchange of flora and fauna as a rule began fairly unplanned but it increasingly became part of a systematised 're-allocation' that slowly changed the surface of the entire earth and as far as possible has now globalised all flora, fauna and diseases. The impact of all these exchanges was not only enormous in the context of demography and economic affairs: Much of what has become integral part of 'European life', like coffee, tea, cocoa (in Europe all often taken with sugar), tobacco, the potatoes, tomatoes, maize or paprika, that reached Hungary from the New World via Turkey, originally is not European. Many things associated with non-European countries e.g. pampas with their gauchos and cattle in case of Argentina or wine in that of Chile actually are European. ▶▶▶

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TRADE

Overall Europe did not have much to offer to other parts of the world during the Middle Ages whereas it continued to be fascinated by Asia and its 'oriental luxuries'. Those usually reached Europe via the network of trade routes that has become known as the Silk Road. Sometime during the 13th century, however, the connections between the Far East and Europe, in which Africa also participated, were severed as a consequence of the havoc created by the Black Death and the rise of the Ming in China and the Ottomans in Turkey, the Middle East and the Balkan. With the European discovery of the Americas and the Cape Route, the importance of overland connections with the Far East slowly diminished.

But the fascination with the Orient did not abate. Asia meant spices, precious textiles and porcelain, later on also tea. Those products were paid for with bullion that had come to Europe from the Americas. A large part of that bullion went from Western Europe to the Baltic or the Levant and, directly or over those regions, to East Asia. Eastern exporters were hardly interested in anything else from the West but bullion. In terms of income, trade with the Americas and Africa overall was much more important for Europe than trade with Asia. Famous or notorious in this respect is the triangular trade that brought European and Asian products to Africa, took slaves from there to the America's and then American products to Europe. The real historical importance of trade with Asia lay in the fact that it challenged European producers to find substitutes for several products they imported from there like silken and cotton textiles or porcelain. This import-substitution played a major role in Europe's industrialisation. Again, like in the case of overseas empire building, one has to emphasise that only parts of Europe were directly involved.

What is striking in the development of that exchange is that Europeans hardly ever confined themselves to buying and selling products but almost always tried to also control their production. They preferably created large production unities of their own where they used coerced labour and often set up production in regions they found suitable. Sugar production in the America's would be a clear example, just like tobacco production. They began to grow coffee, originally from Yemen and Ethiopia, in Java and Ceylon, San Domingo and Brazil. They introduced the cacao tree that originally grew in Central and South America to the West Indies, the Philippines and West Africa. In the 19th century, the British started growing tea in India and Ceylon, to no longer depend on Chinese supplies, and catered for China's craving for opium by having it produced in India. The Americas and (rather small parts of) Africa and Asia already during the early modern period were incorporated in an economic system, in which they became peripheries, specialising in the production of raw materials and primary products whereas so-called core states in Western Europe took care of their distribution and further processing. We have to realise, however, that before the transport revolution and the major economic transformations of the 19th century, foreign trade and a fortiori *intercontinental* trade always was relative small. It simply was too expensive to transport goods over long distances. It is estimated that around 1800, in Europe only 4% of all goods produced crossed *any* border.

In the 19th century, global economic integration took on entirely new dimensions. In Europe itself state building, the liberalisation of trade, rising incomes and the coming of railways and steamships gave a boost to international trade. The same processes were at work on a global scale, further boosted by European overseas investment and migration. The economies bordering the Atlantic became tightly integrated. Now the big Asian economies also became (more tightly) incorporated into global trade networks run by Westerners. The conquest and subordination of India proceeded steadily. The Ottoman Empire, China and Japan were opened via 'unequal treaties'. The Suez Canal and the Panama Canal further helped shrinking the world. As soon as life had become less unhealthy for them in Africa, Europeans started carving it up. ▶▶▶

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Globalisation in the 19th century meant an extension and deeper integration of markets, a further converging of prices and the emergence of a world wide division of labour in which the Western world acted as workshop and service centre for the world whereas most of the rest of the world primarily focused on producing and exporting foodstuffs, raw materials and semi-manufactured goods. Trade grew more than production. Still the bulk of the trade of wealthy countries continued to be with each other and in any case with countries nearby. For the poorer countries, nevertheless, the amounts and nature of goods they exchanged with the richer ones did really matter. The emerging division of labour in many cases was accompanied by a *divergence* in terms of wealth and development. Increasing trade contacts did not create worldwide convergence. It did for the United States that from their foundation onwards were quite wealthy and caught up with Western European developments quickly. It also did for some other Western offshoots like Canada, Australia and New Zealand, and for Japan, but for most countries it in the end did not. Much of the manufacturing that existed in those parts of the world that were to become the 'Third World' was wiped out, so they had to specialise in primary products which tended to yield less added value and made them relatively speaking increasingly poor. In Europe too, inequality *increased* between a core in the West and more peripheral regions, in particular in its South and East. There too, economic integration did not simply close economic gaps. It strikingly enough also did not make people more similar, more 'international' or peace loving. Never before in the history of Europe had international economic exchange been more intense than in the decades preceding the First World War, a period that witnessed increasing nationalism and culminated in an enormous massacre of Europeans by Europeans.

That war marked the beginning of the end of European economic primacy as symbolised in the shift of the centre of global finance from London to New York. The Great Depression meant less globalisation in terms of intercontinental exchange of goods, people and money and more economic nationalism and protectionism. After 1945, notwithstanding the relative isolation of the communist countries, global trade exploded. Worldwide imports and exports combined in 1951 had a value of 172 billion US dollars. In 2011, that was 36.693 billion US dollars. The period from 1945 to 1973 for Western Europe became known as the Golden Thirties. After that period, however, global economic relations began to change fundamentally. The existing sharp division of labour disappeared and several non-Western countries, first and foremost the so-called Asian Tigers and then the BRIC countries started their spectacular rise. Western hegemony came to its end and 'Old' Europe was reduced to a minor player, even more so because of its total lack of any effective military leverage. Globalisation in terms of intercontinental trade and intercontinental economic dependencies and influences became an undeniable, major fact of life. But even now distance is not dead: Some two-thirds of the foreign trade of EU countries still is with other EU countries. Interestingly enough it at times looks as if Europe's strongest economies now are in Scandinavia, a region that began the second millennium as Europe's poor house whereas many Mediterranean regions that for so long where Europe's core now have 'peripheralised' even more. Not only did Europe's position in the global economy go through some major changes over the last thousand years, there also were significant shifts in the European economy itself.

| Europe's (without Russia) part of global gross domestic product (GDP). | |
|---|------------|
| Year | Percentage |
| 1000 | 11 |
| 1500 | 20 |
| 1820 | 26 |
| 1913 | 38 |
| 2003 | 21 |

Based on: Maddison, *Contours of the world economy*, 381. The figures are rounded



IDEAS

Let us conclude this very brief survey of the history of 'Europe and the world' over the last thousand years that I have confined myself to in this entire text, with some even briefer comments on the exchange of ideas. Nothing in principle travels lighter than they do and nothing in practice often meets with more resistance. It is no use to even try and discuss all ideas that one might discuss. I will only comment on what I consider to be the most relevant or interesting ones.

Every serious, non-partisan historian will have to admit that over the last millennium as a whole no idea has been more influential *in* and typical *for* Europe than Christianity. European civilisation has been *a* or rather *the* Christian civilisation. Christianity did not originate in Europe and it spread from and via Europe all over the world. It now is more important outside Europe than inside Europe, as is nicely symbolised by the new, non-European Pope. Studying Europe's encounters with the world in the context of ideas must include studying the origins, consolidation and global spread of Christianity. Here too one has to be wary of complacency. The historical balance sheet of Christianity is very mixed. It more often than not spread in a context of empire and inequality. Examples of intolerance, oppression and cruelty abound. But no one can study Europe's place in the world without paying serious attention to it.

A second concept, much more popular amongst intelligentsia when it comes to characterising Europe in terms of ideas, is rationalism. Many modern Europeans like to consider themselves children of the Enlightenment, which to a large extent has to be regarded as a severe critique of the dominance of Christian thinking and the power of the Church. The systematic methodical and critical rationalising of all spheres of societal life, the *Entzauberung der Welt*, as Max Weber described it, indeed is typical of Europe and in its all-encompassing thoroughness even uniquely European. Again the balance sheet is very ambivalent as the concept of the dialectic of Enlightenment, coined by Adorno and Horkheimer, nicely indicates. Knowledge is not just knowing *that* but also knowing *how*, that means power and as such it has very often been misused. This also applies to Europe's knowledge of the outside world. It also, however, often forced Europeans to change their minds. They of course were fairly self-centred or self-congratulating, but did not preclude real and scholarly interest in 'the other'. This relative openness also shows when it comes to accepting as yet unknown products or techniques, as long as they worked. However we may want to evaluate that fact, we cannot deny that the world has become an integrated place because of the European drive for power and knowledge. This led to numerous encounters in which we can study processes of acceptance, rejection, or 'hybridization' from the perspectives of all parties involved.

For Weber 'Western' rationalisation came to its fullest development in modern science and technology, in the modern legal-rational and bureaucratic state and in modern capitalism, which all three according to him were products of European history. I think his research program is still very 'fertile' and relevant. In the context of a project focusing on European encounters with 'the rest of the world' that would mean we should focus on the role of global interaction and exchange in that process of rationalisation. Considering the fact that Europe's impact on the rest of the world has been central to numerous rise-of-the-West stories we should pay special attention to the many contributions of non-European societies to Europe's rationalisation. Modern science as we know it emerged in Europe, but many elements, concepts, technics and artefacts that played a role in it came to Europe from somewhere else. There certainly were contributions from the Muslim world, China, and India. A modern state means a professionalised bureaucracy. Exams for government officials could be regarded as an element of such professionalisation. China knew them long before Europe and Europeans knew and wanted to copy their system. China also already in the 11th century experimented with official, government-backed paper money. The Ottoman Empire with its units of Janissary already had a professionalised military. The essence of Weber's modern state was law. Here the outside influence on Europe is much less clear. Europe's society to some extent from Roman rule onwards has been a society of law and lawyers. Again we must not be complacent: law in Europe over the entire second millennium certainly was more often used to shore up privilege than to defend equality but even so: law tended to rule and not arbitrariness. A global history of law and of Europe's role in it, focusing on comparisons and connections is long overdue.

When it comes to the economy, rationalisation for Weber meant capitalism and capitalism often is identified with *laissez-faire*. According to several scholars that concept was known in China from where it would have been adopted in Europe in the 18th century. Another central concept in it is division of labour. The Chinese knew it in their production of porcelain in Jindezhen, where it was described by Father Francois-Xavier d'Entrecolles (1664-1741) in a way that may have directly inspired Adam Smith. His 'industrial spying' in any case contributed to the emergence of porcelain production in Europe. The number of topics one might study to illustrate the exchange of ideas between Europe and the rest of the world is too long to even be enumerated. The reason is simply and a perfect closing statement for this brief survey as a whole: Europe has never been a closed entity and its history simply cannot be understood as such. ■■■

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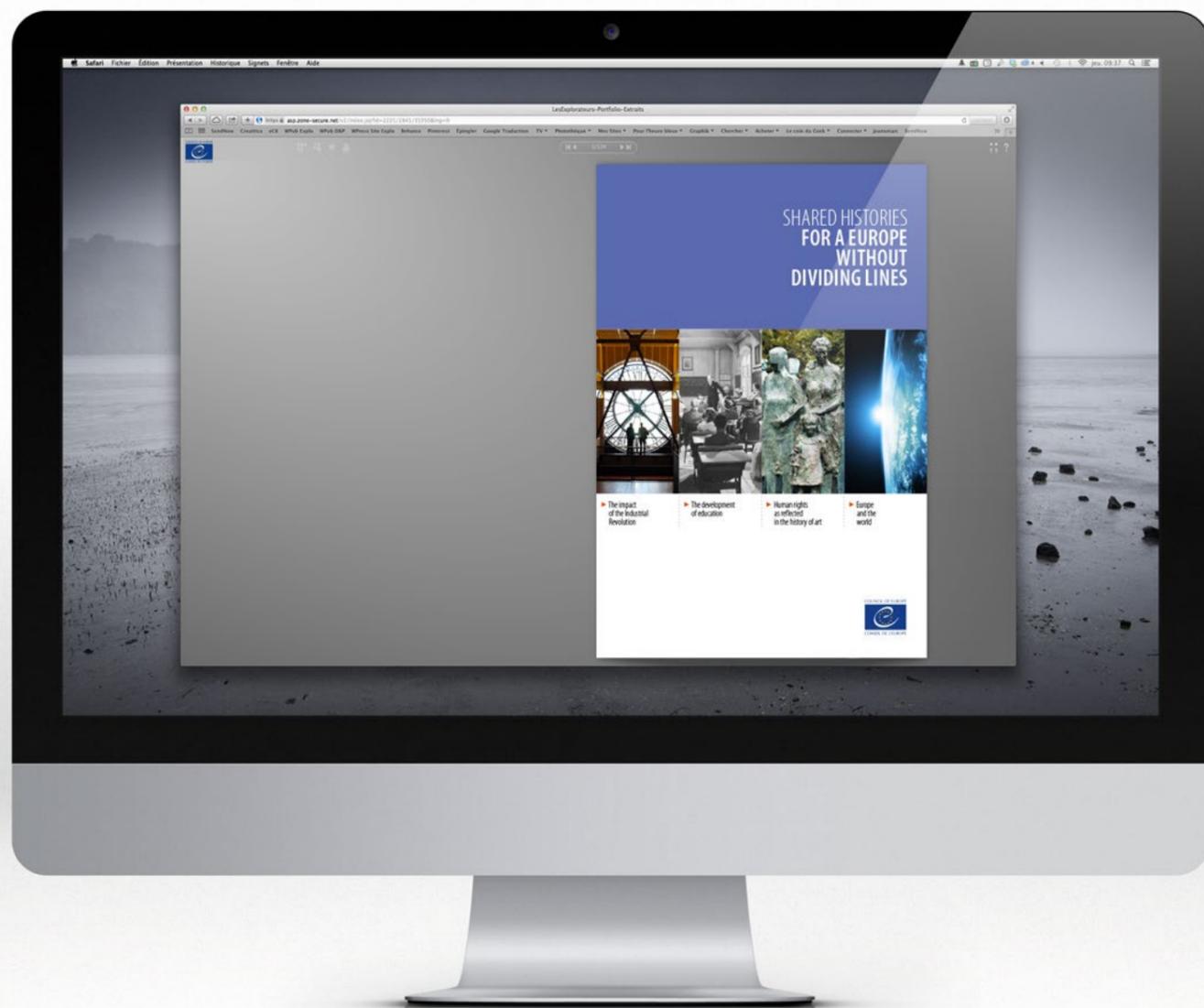


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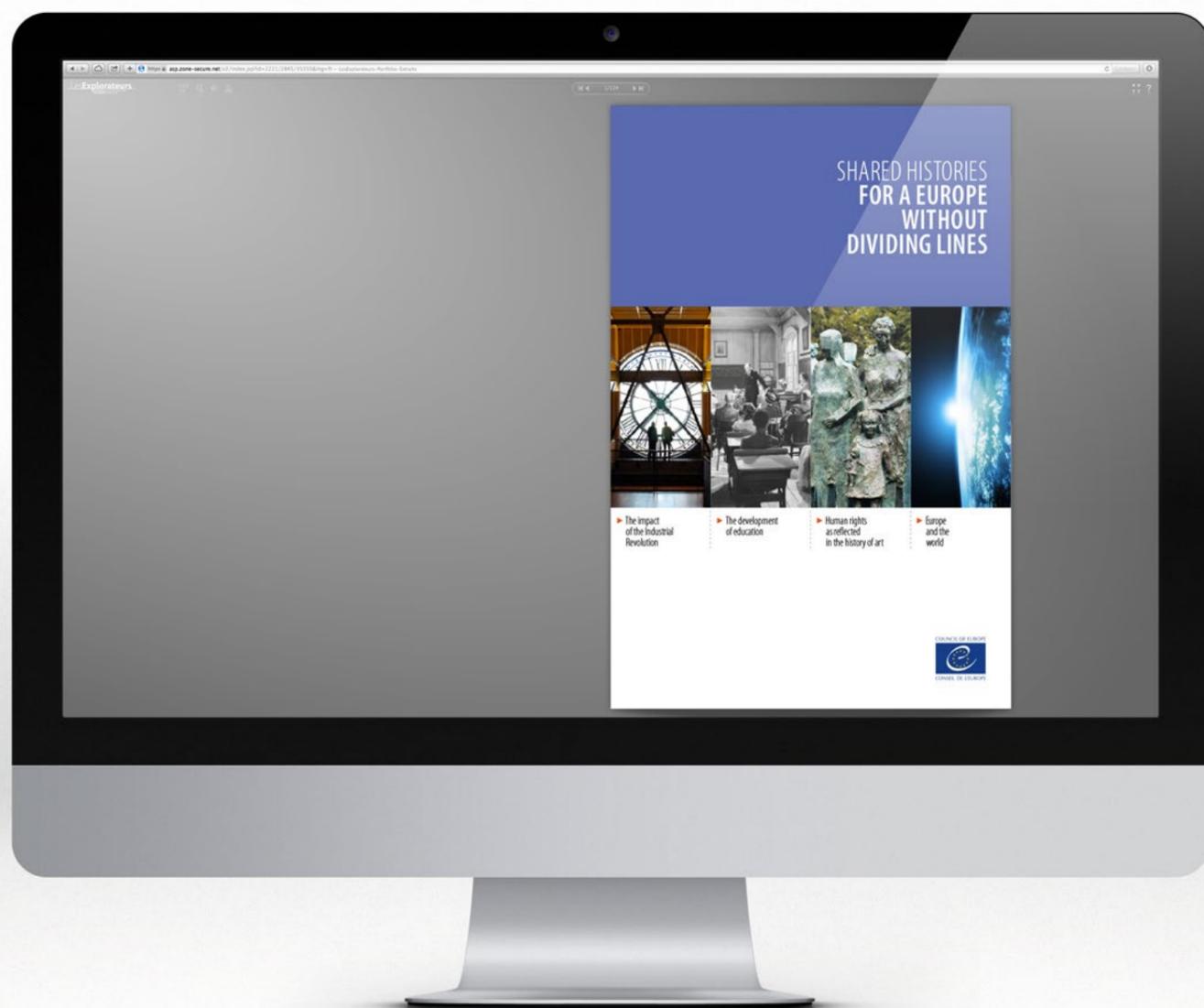
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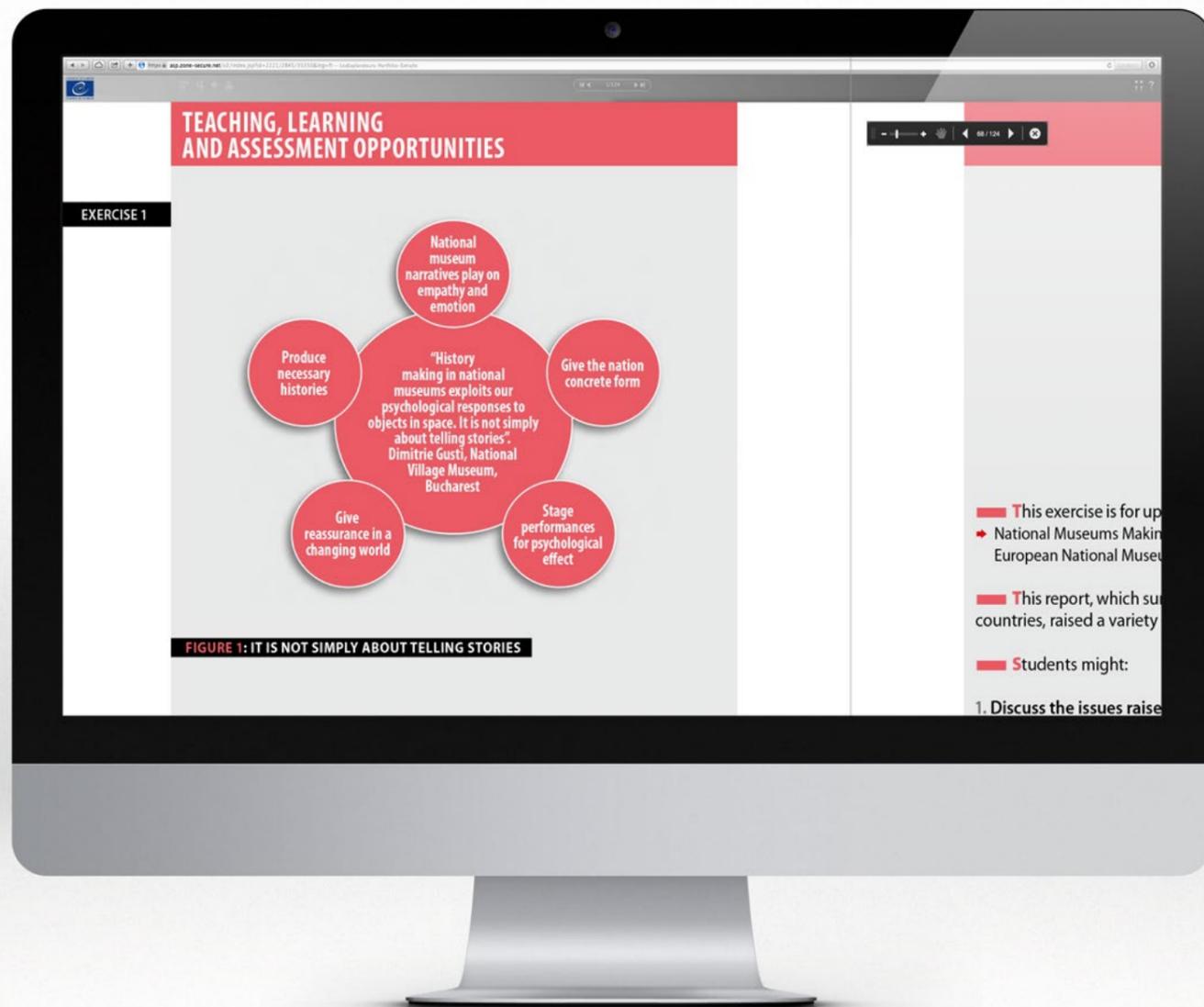
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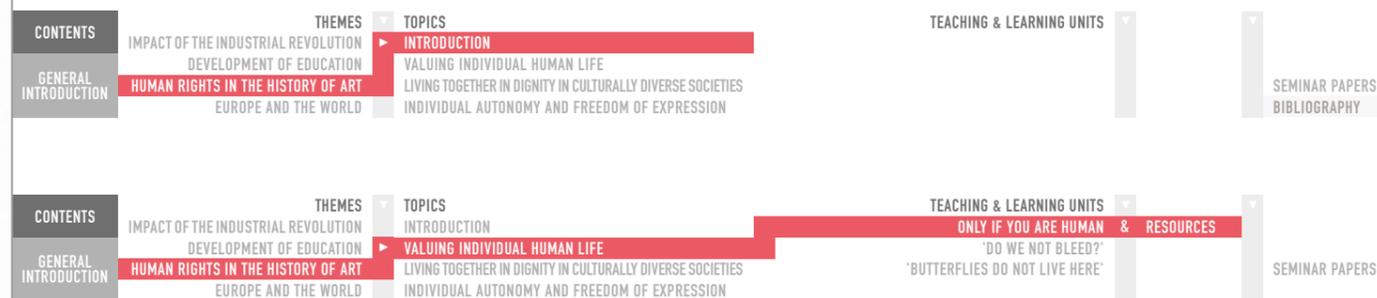
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