

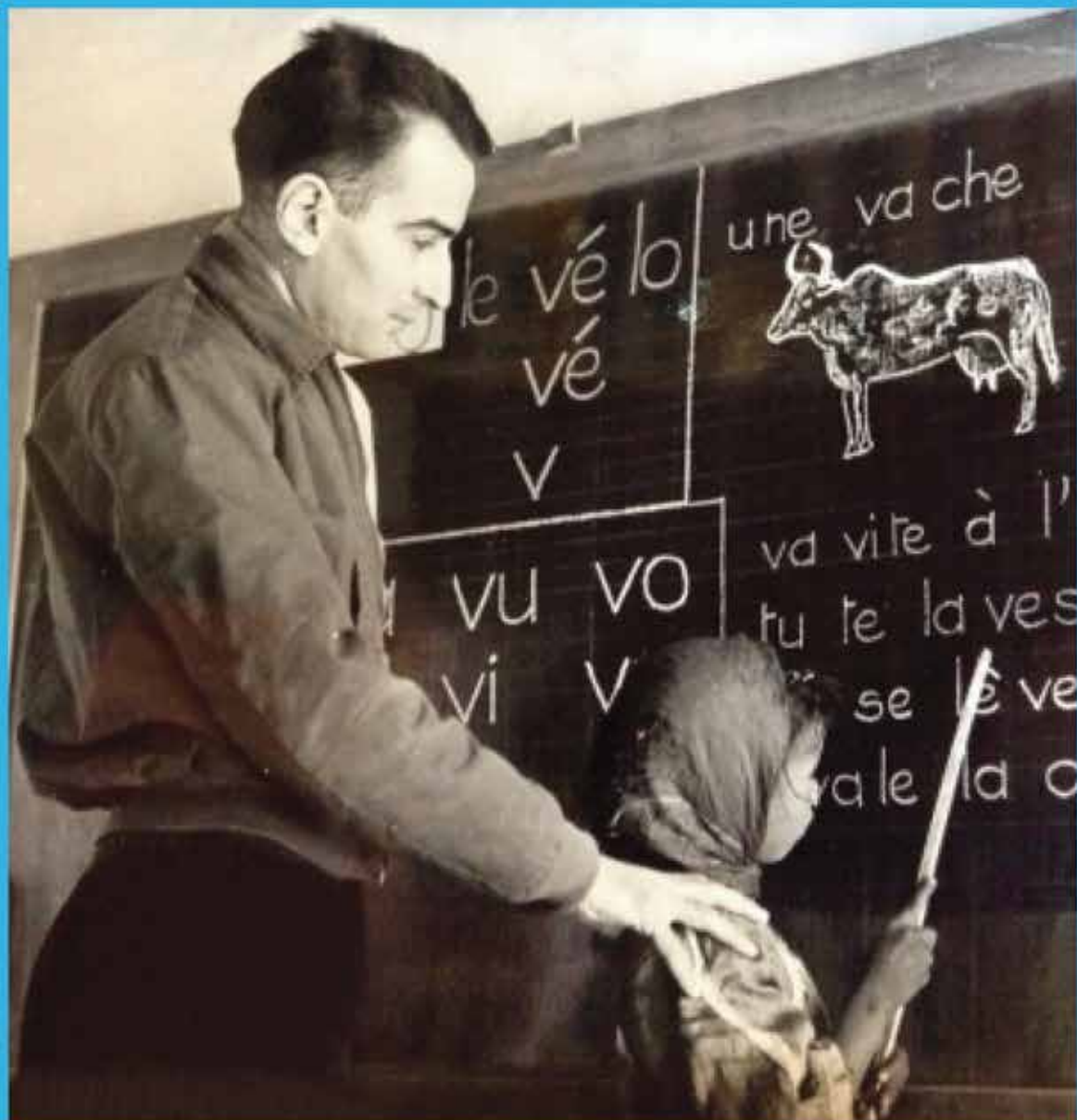
# Education, War & Peace

## ABSTRACTS

ISCHE 36

Institute of Education, University of London

23-26 July 2014



International Standing Conference for the History of Education



# ABSTRACTS

Education, War and Peace

*ISCHE 36*

Institute of Education

University of London

23-26 July 2014



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These abstracts are set in Baskerville Old Face, designed in 1757 by John Baskerville in Birmingham, UK. A writing master, businessman, printer and type designer, he conducted experiments to improve legibility which also included paper making and ink manufacturing. In 1758, he was appointed printer to Cambridge University Press, and despite his personal Atheism, printed a folio Bible in 1763.

His typefaces were greatly admired for their simplicity and refinement by Pierre Simon Fournier, and Giambattista Bodoni. Benjamin Franklin, printer and fellow member of the Royal Society of Arts, took the designs to the US, where they were adopted for most federal Government publishing. Baskerville type was revived in 1917 by Harvard University Press and may nowadays be found in Microsoft Word.

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# Welcome

To all delegates at ISCHE 36 – a very warm welcome to London! We are looking forward very much indeed to hosting this great event, exploring the immense theme of education, war and peace.

My thanks go first of all to the ISCHE executive committee for supporting this event, to the UK History of Education Society as the national hosts, and to the Institute of Education at the University of London for the use of its extensive facilities for the conference.

Also to our generous sponsors – the UK History of Education Society, the Pears Foundation, the Friends of the Newsam Library, and the publishers Routledge.

This is the first time that the ISCHE conference has been held in London, and it will be the largest ISCHE conference ever held. In fact, it will be the largest history of education conference ever held in this country. It is a marvellous opportunity to bring together historians of education with so many common interests from around the world. And it reflects the great strength and vitality of our international field of study.

I must thank the many people who have given their time so generously to make all this possible. The local organizing committee here in London has worked hard to plan the event in detail. The national advisory board has met regularly to support us along the way. The referees of paper abstracts ensured the high quality of the programme as a whole.

May I also welcome the friends and colleagues who have travelled from nearly fifty different countries to be with us at this conference. We have especially large contingents here from Brazil, Spain, the United Kingdom and the United States, and are pleased to welcome high levels of representation from as far afield as Australia, Canada, Japan and Nigeria.

I am delighted also to welcome to this event nearly 150 research students, the bright future of our field, many of whom will be presenting papers at the conference and who will also have the chance to take part in special research training sessions on the use of archives and writing for journal publication.

Among the highlights of the conference will be the keynote sessions which will be presented on a range of key topics by some of the most distinguished speakers and researchers in the world under the broad theme of education, war and peace, as well as 150 sessions with the latest research provided by panels and individual papers. We have also arranged special viewings for delegates at this conference of the new First World War galleries at the Imperial War Museum. There will be a special exhibition, 'Illuminations', associated with the conference. Our new research centre at the Institute of Education, the International Centre for Historical Research in Education – ICHRE – will be formally launched at this event. Our special conference dinner will be held at the historic Russell Hotel. We will be hosting book launches, walking tours, networking events and library visits. And there will also be ample opportunities to enjoy the social and cultural pleasures that London can provide.

At the same time, we are conscious of the serious issues that underlie our conference theme. We meet almost exactly one hundred years after the beginning of the First World War in Europe, a centenary that we will be marking in various ways throughout the event.

Our theme encompasses the many ways in which education has been involved in conflicts through the ages, in holocaust and war within and across nations. It will also provide much evidence of the importance of education in regenerating societies and building peace.

ISCHE 36 will give us all the opportunity to share and reflect on what we hope will be a momentous occasion for our international field of study, and a memorable experience for everyone involved.

Gary McCulloch

Brian Simon Professor of History of Education  
Institute of Education, University of London  
Conference president, ISCHE 36, London 2014

# Bienvenue

A tous les délégués d'ISCHE 36, une chaleureuse Bienvenue à Londres! Nous nous réjouissons à l'idée d'organiser ce grand événement qui explore le grand thème Education, Guerre et Paix.

Mes remerciements s'adressent tout d'abord aux membres du comité exécutif d'ISCHE pour leur soutien de cet événement, à la société d'Histoire de l'Education du Royaume-Uni comme organisation d'accueil au niveau national, et à l'Institut de l'Education, Université de Londres pour l'utilisation de ses locaux pour la conférence.

Nous remercions également nos généreux sponsors, la société d'Histoire de l'Education du Royaume-Uni, La Fondation Pears, les amis de la Bibliothèque et Archives Newsam et les Editions Routledge.

C'est la première fois que la conférence ISCHE est organisée à Londres et ce sera la conférence ISCHE la plus importante en termes de nombre de délégués jamais organisée. En fait, elle sera la plus grande conférence d'Histoire de l'Education jamais organisée au Royaume-Uni. C'est une fantastique opportunité pour rassembler des historiens de l'éducation venant du monde entier avec tant d'intérêts communs. Et ceci reflète la grande force et vitalité de notre champ d'étude au niveau international.

Je dois remercier les personnes qui ont donné si généreusement de leur temps pour rendre ceci possible. Le comité local d'organisation ici à Londres a travaillé durement à la planification détaillée de l'événement.

Le comité consultatif national s'est réuni régulièrement pour nous aider tout au long du projet. Les évaluateurs des propositions de communications ont assuré la grande qualité du programme dans son ensemble. Je remercie aussi les ami(e)s et collègues qui ont voyagé en provenance de plus de cinquante pays pour être avec nous à la conférence.

Nous avons parmi nous des grandes délégations venant du Brésil, d'Espagne, du Royaume-Uni et des Etats-Unis et nous sommes également très heureux d'accueillir de nombreux collègues venant de lointaines destinations telles que l'Australie, le Canada, le Japon et le Nigeria.

Je suis également ravi de souhaiter la bienvenue à 150 étudiants chercheurs, le futur de notre champ, dont beaucoup présenteront des communications à la conférence et qui auront aussi la chance de prendre part à des sessions spéciales de formation à la recherche sur l'utilisation des archives et la publication dans des journaux.

Les temps forts de la conférence incluent les sessions plénières présentées par des intervenants reconnus mondialement qui traiteront de sujets clefs associés au thème Education, Guerre et Paix ainsi que plus de 150 sessions composées de présentations individuelles ou au sein de panels.

Nous avons également organisé des expositions sur la première guerre mondiale réservées aux délégués de la conférence à la nouvelle galerie du Musée Imperial de la Guerre. Il y aura une exposition spéciale intitulée « Illumination » associée à notre conférence. Notre nouveau centre de recherche à l'Institut d'Education, Le Centre International de Recherche Historique en Education - (ICHRE) - sera formellement inauguré lors de cet événement. Le dîner de la conférence aura lieu à l'historique Hôtel Russell. Nous accueillerons des lancements de livres et proposerons des promenades historiques, des événements pour faciliter des réseaux et des visites de la bibliothèque. Et il y aura également beaucoup d'opportunités de profiter des plaisirs culturels et sociaux de Londres.

En même temps, nous sommes conscients des problèmes sérieux associés au thème de notre conférence. Nous nous rejoignons exactement 100 ans après le début de la première guerre mondiale en Europe, un centenaire qui sera marqué de différente manière durant notre conférence.

Notre thème englobe les chemins variés par lesquels l'éducation a été associée aux conflits à travers les âges, à l'holocauste et à la guerre au sein des nations et entre elles. Ce thème offrira des preuves de l'importance de l'éducation dans la régénération des sociétés et la construction de la paix.

ISCHE 36 nous donnera des opportunités de partager et réfléchir à ce que nous espérons sera une grande occasion pour notre champ international et une expérience mémorable pour tout ceux et celles concernés.

# Grußwort des Veranstalters

Allen Delegierten der ISCHE 36 ein herzliches Willkommen in London! Gerne sind wir Gastgeber für diese Konferenz der großen Themen Bildung, Krieg und Frieden.

Bedanken möchte ich mich für die Unterstützung des *ISCHE Executive Committees* und der britischen *History of Education Society*, die gleichermaßen Gastgeber dieser Konferenz sind. Dank auch für die Unterstützung des *Institute of Education* der Universität London, in dessen Hallen wir uns treffen. Vielen Dank auch unseren Sponsoren: die britische *History of Education Society*, die *Pears Foundation*, die *Friends of the Newsam Library and Archive* und dem *Routledge* Verlag.

Diese bisher größte ISCHE Konferenz ist zugleich die erste in London. Tatsächlich ist sie auch die größte Konferenz zur Bildungsgeschichte, die je im Vereinigten Königreich veranstaltet wurde. Sie wird Bildungshistoriker aus der ganzen Welt zusammenbringen und ein Zeugnis der Stärken und der Lebendigkeit unserer internationalen Forschung sein.

Viele Menschen haben an dieser Konferenz mitgewirkt: mein Dank gilt den örtlichen Veranstaltern, dem *Local Organising Committee*, die hart an der Detailplanung der Konferenz gearbeitet haben. Das *National Advisory Board* hat uns auf diesem Weg begleitet. Die Gutacher, die sich durch hunderte von Zusendungen gelesen haben, sorgen mit ihrer umsichtigen Arbeit für die hohe Qualität des Programms dieser Konferenz.

Willkommen heißen möchte ich Freunde und Kollegen, die aus fast 50 Ländern hierher angereist sind, um mit uns zu konferieren. Besonders viele Teilnehmer kommen diesmal aus Brasilien, Spanien, den Vereinigten Staaten und dem Vereinigten Königreich – wir sind aber auch stolz auf das große Interesse aus Australien, Kanada, Japan und Nigeria.

Begrüßen möchte ich auch fast 150 Doktoranden und Studierende – sozusagen der vielversprechende Nachwuchs unserer Disziplin. Viele von ihnen werden hier ihre Forschung präsentieren und an speziellen Workshops zu Archivbenutzung und Veröffentlichungen teilnehmen.

Spannende Tage liegen vor uns. Bedeutende und führende Wissenschaftler werden in ihren Keynotes die Konferenzthemen Bildung, Krieg und Frieden erörtern. In 150 Sitzungen wird der aktuelle Stand der bildungsgeschichtlichen Forschung präsentiert und diskutiert. Außerdem haben wir für die Konferenzteilnehmer exklusive Führungen in den Galerien zum ersten Weltkrieg im Imperial War Museum organisiert. Dieses Museum stellt zu unserer Konferenz eine Sonderausstellung namens ‚Illuminations‘ zusammen. Das neue Forschungszentrum *International Centre for Historical Research* hier im Haus wird während der ISCHE offiziell eröffnet. Unser Konferenzdinner findet im historischen Russell Hotel statt. Zusätzlich wird es Buchvorstellungen, Rundgänge, Networking Events und Bibliotheksführungen geben. Und als wäre das noch nicht genug, hat die aufregende Metropole London noch vieles mehr zu bieten.

Das Konferenzthema haben wir bewusst gewählt, denn diese ISCHE findet genau hundert Jahre nach dem Ausbruch des ersten Weltkrieges in Europa statt. Dieser Krieg wird vielerorts Thema dieser Konferenz sein. Ebenso wollen wir thematisieren, wie wichtig Bildung für die gesellschaftliche Erneuerung und die Schaffung nachhaltigen Friedens ist. Die ISCHE Konferenz sollte uns allen Gelegenheit geben, diese Themen zu reflektieren und uns darüber auszutauschen. Wir hoffen, dass die ISCHE 36 eine bedeutsame Veranstaltung für unser internationales Forschungsgebiet und ein unvergessliches Erlebnis für alle Beteiligten wird.



# Bienvenidos

A todos los participantes en ISCHE 36, ¡una calurosa bienvenida a Londres! Esperamos con ilusión el momento de dar acogida a este gran evento que explora el amplio tema de la educación, la guerra y la paz.

Vaya mi agradecimiento en primer lugar al comité ejecutivo de ISCHE por apoyar este evento, a la History of Education Society del Reino Unido como anfitrión nacional y al Institute of Education por ceder para el congreso el uso de sus extensas instalaciones.

También a los generosos patrocinadores: la History of Education Society del Reino Unido, la Pears Foundation, el Friends of the Newsam Library and Archive y la editorial Routledge.

Esta es la primera vez que el congreso ISCHE se celebra en Londres, y será el mayor congreso ISCHE realizado hasta el momento. De hecho, será el mayor congreso de historia de la educación jamás celebrado en este país. Es una oportunidad maravillosa para reunir historiadores de la educación de todo el mundo con tantos intereses comunes. Y esto muestra la gran fuerza y vitalidad internacional de nuestro campo de estudio.

Debo dar las gracias a todos aquellos que han ofrecido tan generosamente su tiempo para hacer todo esto posible. El comité organizador aquí en Londres ha trabajado duro para planificar en detalle este evento; el consejo asesor nacional se ha reunido regularmente para apoyarnos a lo largo del camino; y los revisores de los resúmenes de comunicación han asegurado la alta calidad del programa en su conjunto.

Permítanme también dar la bienvenida a los amigos y colegas que se han desplazado desde cerca de cincuenta países diferentes para estar con nosotros en este congreso. Contamos con nutridos contingentes nacionales, en especial de Brasil, España, el Reino Unido y los Estados Unidos, y es un placer dar la bienvenida a una notable representación de lugares tan lejanos como Australia, Canadá, Japón y Nigeria.

Estoy encantado también de dar la bienvenida a este evento a casi 150 estudiantes de investigación, que constituyen el prometedor futuro de nuestro campo, muchos de los cuales presentarán comunicaciones en el congreso y tendrán también la oportunidad de participar en sesiones especiales de formación para la investigación sobre el uso de archivos y de escritura para la publicación en revistas.

Entre los momentos más destacados del congreso figurarán las conferencias plenarias sobre cuestiones centrales que impartirán algunos de los más distinguidos conferenciantes e investigadores del mundo en el amplio ámbito de la educación, la guerra y la paz; así como 150 sesiones en las que se expondrá la investigación puntera a través de simposios y comunicaciones individuales. Hemos organizado también visitas especiales para los participantes en este congreso a las nuevas galerías de la Primera Guerra Mundial del Imperial War Museum. Habrá además una exposición especial, 'Illuminations', asociada al congreso. Nuestro nuevo centro de investigación en el Institute of Education, el International Centre for Historical Research in Education - ICHRE - se presentará oficialmente en este evento. La cena especial de nuestro congreso se celebrará en el histórico Hotel Russell. Tendremos presentaciones de libros, excursiones a pie, actos en los que establecer contactos y visitas a la biblioteca. Todo ello sin olvidar las amplias oportunidades de disfrute de los placeres sociales y culturales que Londres ofrece.

Al mismo tiempo, somos conscientes de las graves implicaciones del tema de nuestro congreso. Nos encontramos exactamente a cien años del inicio de la Primera Guerra Mundial, un centenario que estará presente de varias maneras a lo largo del evento.

Nuestro tema abarca las muchas maneras en que la educación se ha involucrado en conflictos a lo largo de los tiempos, en el holocausto y la guerra dentro y entre naciones, y nos ofrecerá numerosas evidencias acerca de la importancia de la educación en la regeneración de las sociedades y en la construcción de la paz.

ISCHE 36 nos ofrecerá a todos nosotros la oportunidad de compartir y reflexionar sobre lo que esperamos que sea un acontecimiento trascendental para nuestro campo de estudio internacional y una experiencia memorable para todos los implicados.

# Acknowledgements

ISCHE 36 would like to thank the many individuals who have worked hard in collaboration for several years to make this conference a reality.

## **Local Organising Committee**

Conference President: Gary McCulloch

Sarah Aitchison, Georgina Brewis, Antonio Francisco Canales Serrano, Vincent Carpentier, Peter Cunningham, Mark Freeman, Niko Gaertner, Lottie Hoare, Riaz Manji, Michael Walker, Rebecca Webster.

## **National Advisory Board**

Chair: Gary McCulloch

Sarah Aitchison, Barry Blades, Kevin Brehony, David Crook, Vincent Carpentier, Peter Cunningham, Mark Freeman, Joyce Goodman, Ian Grosvenor, Lottie Hoare, Riaz Manji, Jane Martin, Mary Clare Martin, Kevin Myers, Richard Race, Deirdre Raftery, Janet Soler, Michael Walker, Rebecca Webster

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## **Editorial Team**

Maxine Burton, Antonio Francisco Canales Serrano, Vincent Carpentier, Emily Charkin, Peter Cunningham, Alexis de la Ferriere, Niko Gärtner, Lottie Hoare, Alice Kirke, Susan Whitworth, Tom Woodin

## **Abstract Review Team**

We also wish to acknowledge the dedicated team of referees who reviewed over 600 abstracts against a very tight schedule during December 2013:

Richard Aldrich, Marisa Bittar, Georgina Brewis, Cathy Burke, Antonio Francisco Canales Serrano, Vincent Carpentier, Emily Charkin, Peter Cunningham, Jonathan Doney, Heather Ellis, Amarilio Ferreira Junior, Mark Freeman, Rob Freathy, Niko Gaertner, Ian Grosvenor, Lottie Hoare, Andrea Jacobs, Mary Clare Martin, Gary McCulloch, Stephen Parker, Tejendra Pherali, Deirdre Raftery, Richard Race, Nancy Rosoff, Sian Roberts, Wendy Robinson, Janet Soler, Stephanie Spencer, Ruth Watts, Tom Woodin, Susannah Wright.

## **Conference Organisation**

Conference administrator: Nick Field

Logo Design: Anna Aapola

Conference exhibition: Sarah Aitchison, Nazlin Bhimani, Georgina Brewis, Alice Rose Fikaris-Bruce, Alix Hall, Jessica Womack

Catering: Aramark catering services

Musicians: Yuki Morijiri, Fu-Man Chuang, Han Jen Kan, Ying Ying Huang, Maki Takahashi Manji, Hyun Hee Lee, Jaime Ballad, Peter Millen, Riaz Takahashi Manji

The IoE student ambassadors

The staff of the Imperial War Museum

## **Sponsors**

The History of Education Society (UK), The Pears Foundation, The Friends of the Newsam Library, Routledge publishers.

## **Abstracts book**

Rapsiderweb

# Conference Theme

The 36th ISCHE conference, at the centenary of the outbreak of World War I aims at addressing relationships between education and war, and also the role of education in fostering peace. War includes armed conflict between nations, but also other forms of belligerence between rival forces within and across states such as civil wars, culture wars, cold wars, and types of warfare for example ideological warfare, economic warfare and physical combat in all its forms. Peace includes a formalized state of harmony, and also embraces reconciliation and collaboration towards shared goals. Education in many forms, institutional and informal, contributes to war and to peace through formal systems at all levels from school to university, military training, through civics and citizenship, museums, peace movements, art, the media and official propaganda.

Insufficiently researched in education history, though a topic of increasing attention in the later 20th and 21st centuries, forms and definitions of education, war and peace have been increasingly subject to cultural, technological and political change. Under four broad sub-themes the conference will draw together historical scholarship from all parts of the world to represent a global range of geo-political contexts and chronological periods. At the same time we anticipate a creative encounter of the increasing range of methodologies that inform historical research, with attention to historical insights offered by anthropology, sociology, literary theory, and to linguistic, visual and other 'turns'.

An international gathering of education historians on such a large scale is ideally placed to realise a productive encounter of substantive issues and methodological perspectives. Transnational and intercultural flows, influences and confluences, comparisons and contrasts, will be at the heart of our proceedings. We wish to encourage especially the submission of proposals for panels and symposia, pre-planned with identified convener, contributors and, where appropriate, respondent.

The conference sub-themes are:

1. Education for war: the role of education in preparing for and promoting war, including through particular forms of curriculum and organised propaganda.
2. Education for peace: the role of education in preparing for and promoting peace or non-violent action, including through particular forms of curriculum and organised peace movements.
3. The impact of war on education: the experience of war and its direct impact on children, schools, teachers and education systems, and the longer term consequences and legacies of war for education.
4. Representations of war and peace: war and peace in media, textbooks, culture, and organised memory such as museums and official memorials.

# Keynotes: biographies and abstracts

## **Eckhardt Fuchs, Simone Schweber, Alice Pettigrew and Stuart Foster - Keynote session 1**

Professor Eckhardt Fuchs is Deputy Director of the Georg Eckert Institute and Chair for History of Education/Comparative Education at the Technical University Braunschweig. He is also the current President of ISCHE. Professor Simone Schweber is Goodman Professor of Education and Jewish Studies in the School of Education at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Dr Alice Pettigrew is Head of Research at the Institute of Education's (IOE) Centre for Holocaust Education. Professor Stuart Foster is Executive Director of both the IOE's Centre for Holocaust Education and the World War I Centenary Battlefield Tours Project.

### **Teaching and Learning about the Holocaust: Explorations in Policy, Pedagogy and Praxis**

This symposium will feature some of the most recent, important and comprehensive research into teaching and learning about the Holocaust in national and international settings. Convened by Professor Stuart Foster from the IOE's Centre for Holocaust Education, the symposium will include three guest panellists from the UK, Germany and the United States. As an overarching theme the presentations will explore the history and historiography of Holocaust education in different contexts and illustrate the ways in which the field has developed in recent decades.

Professor Eckhardt Fuchs's opening presentation will report preliminary findings from an ambitious global project that seeks to map portrayals of the Holocaust in school textbooks and curricula in 195 countries. The project, jointly conducted by the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research and UNESCO, will provide a foundation for educational policy makers on which vital curricula decisions in the future may be based. As one of the world's leading researchers in Holocaust education, Professor Simone Schweber will focus the second presentation on the complex issues associated with teaching and learning about the Holocaust in school settings. Drawing on her landmark book – *Making Sense of the Holocaust: Lessons from Classroom Practice* (2004) – and other more recent scholarship, Professor Schweber will critically reflect on how the Holocaust is portrayed and enacted within particular classroom contexts. The final presentation by Dr. Alice Pettigrew, from the IOE's Centre for Holocaust Education, will focus on the findings of the IOE's national study of secondary school students' understanding of the Holocaust. Based on the responses of several thousand teenagers in schools across England, this study will provide a detailed portrait of what students know and understand about the Holocaust.

Together these three wide ranging presentations will offer fresh and compelling insights into how the Holocaust is taught and understood in various locations across the world. The symposium also will offer rich opportunities to discuss how the teaching of the Holocaust relates to a range of other international initiatives focused on educating young people about subsequent genocides and human rights violations. Overall, the presentations will raise important questions about the significance and relevance of Holocaust education in contemporary society and reveal some of the challenges and complexities of teaching about one of the most traumatic and disturbing episodes in human history.

## Jay Winter - Keynote session 2

Jay Winter, Charles J. Stille Professor of History at Yale University, is a specialist on the history and consequences of the Great War. He is a founder of the *Historial de la grande guerre*, Péronne, Somme, and won an Emmy award in 1996 as co-producer of the BBC/PBS television series 'The Great War and the shaping of the twentieth century'. He is the author of *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History, 1914-1918* (1995), and *Dreams of Peace and Freedom* (2006). He is editor-in-chief of the Cambridge History of the First World War.

### **Beyond Glory? Writing War in the Twentieth Century and After**

Writing about war encompasses all literary traditions, in the same way as configuring war traverses the centuries since Lascaux, and just as filming war has been imbedded in the medium ever since the first moving pictures were made. All are imaginative leaps aimed at transmitting something both ubiquitous and hard to grasp. My central premise is that language frames memory, and that different languages – not only what we speak but what we interpret visually – present different facets of war in different ways. The words we use in writing war are not neutral: they frame memory in both the sense of making it possible to recall and share recollections and in the sense of limiting and distorting what we say.

## JoAnn McGregor - Keynote session 3

JoAnn McGregor is Professor of Human Geography in the School of Global Studies, University of Sussex. She has published widely on conflict and violence in Southern Africa. Her books include *Violence and Memory: One Hundred Years in the Dark Forests of Matabeleland, Zimbabwe* (with Jocelyn Alexander and Terence Ranger, Heinemann, 2000), *Crossing the Zambezi: The Politics of Landscape on a Central African Frontier* (James Currey 2009) and the co-edited collection *Zimbabwe's New Diaspora: Displacement and the Cultural Politics of Survival* (Berghahn 2010). She co-directs the new Sussex Africa Research Centre and is Deputy Chair of the Board of the Journal of Southern African Studies.

### **Transnational Solidarity, Exile and Education in Southern African Liberation Struggles**

This paper is about solidarity activism in Southern African liberation struggles, and contributes to new debates aiming to unsettle dominant, romanticized nationalist histories through transnational perspectives. It focuses on Zimbabwe, and the international campaigning that followed the Unilateral Declaration of Independence by Rhodesia's rebel white settler regime, through the long guerrilla war that led to Zimbabwe's independence and majority rule in 1980.

The paper uses archival and interview sources to explore the educational framings and networks of solidarity activists, exiles and liberation movement representatives based in Britain. These were shaped by the architectures of the UN, Commonwealth and the Cold War, and by efforts to counter the transnational alliances and propaganda of Southern African white supremacist regimes who cast guerrilla fighters as communist terrorists. The paper highlights the conflicts as well as convergences between liberal humanitarian, leftist and Africanist internationalisms and the tensions between solidarity groups and fractious nationalist movements. It stresses the affective appeal of moral humanitarian and human rights-based aspects of solidarity campaigns and the power of personal contacts. The competing internationalisms of this period have interesting legacies in the postcolonial context, including in the most recent phases of Zimbabwean exodus, exile and transnational activism in Britain.

# Zvi Bekerman, Michalinos Zembylas - Keynote session 4

Zvi Bekerman teaches anthropology of education at the School of Education and The Melton Center, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem and is a former Research Fellow at the Truman Institute for the Advancement of Peace at the same university. His research interests are in the study of cultural, ethnic and national identity, including identity processes and negotiation during intercultural encounters as these are reflected in inter/multicultural, peace and citizenship education and in formal/informal learning contexts. He has published numerous papers and books in these fields of study and is the Editor of the refereed journal *Diaspora, Indigenous and Minority Education* (Taylor and Francis). His most recent books are *Teaching Contested Narratives: Identity, Memory and Reconciliation in Peace Education and Beyond* (with Michalinos Zembylas; Cambridge University Press, 2012), and *International Handbook of Migration, Minorities and Education: Understanding Cultural and Social Differences in Processes of Learning* (with Geisen Thomas; Springer, 2012).

Michalinos Zembylas is Associate Professor of Education at the Open University of Cyprus. His research interests are in the areas of educational philosophy and curriculum theory, and his work focuses on exploring the role of emotion and affect in curriculum and pedagogy. He is particularly interested in how affective politics intersect with issues of social justice pedagogies, intercultural and peace education, and citizenship education. Zembylas is the author of numerous articles and books. His most recent book is *Teaching Contested Narratives: Identity, Memory and Reconciliation in Peace Education and Beyond* (with Michalinos Zembylas; Cambridge University Press, 2012), which received an Honorable Mention for the 2013 Jackie Kirk Outstanding Book Award.

## **Identity Negotiations in Conflict Ridden Societies: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives**

In our presentation, we reveal the complicated and dynamic negotiation of individual and group identities for post-conflict communities engaged in peace and reconciliation education. We show how peace education practices linked to cultural and historical studies reproduce naturalized ahistorical and essentialized understandings of identity.

Based on our long-term ethnographic research in Israel and Cyprus during the last decade, we will illustrate how cultural, ethnic and national identities are constructed in conjunction with the political organization of the nation-state. We will focus particularly on how emotive and affective aspects of curriculum and pedagogy are strongly entangled with a naturalized concept of identity, and will argue that peace educators should 'historicize' and 'contextualize' their theoretical and practical assumptions about peace and conflict, if they want to design critical paths toward peace and reconciliation.

## Early Career Bursaries

Five Early Career bursaries have been funded by ISCHE 36, to help support early career researcher attendance and contribute to academic and social activities at the ISCHE conference, in particular on behalf of delegates from their home nation or geographical region. Biographies are included below. The abstracts can be found in alphabetical order by surname along with the other parallel sessions.

**Alexander Albicher** earned his MA in medieval history from the University of Amsterdam. During this study, he developed an interest in historiography and public history, resulting in a graduate thesis on the image of the middle ages in Flemish history textbooks. He further pursued his interest in the history of history education in his PhD *Longing for the Present*, examining the shifting role of the present in Dutch history education during the period 1945-1985. More specifically, his dissertation dealt with debates on the public and pedagogical purpose of history education and the translation of these debates into curricula and textbooks. During his PhD research, Alexander worked as a teacher trainer at the teacher training institutes of Fontys University of Applied Sciences in Tilburg, The Netherlands, and the University of Leuven, Belgium.

**Tomás Irish** is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at Trinity College Dublin and Associate Director of TCD's Centre for War Studies. He completed his PhD at Trinity College Dublin in 2012 and his research focuses on universities, scholarly communities, and the uses of academic knowledge in a transnational context in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with a specific focus on the First World War. The resulting monograph will be published as *The University at War: Britain, France and the United States, 1914-1925*, by Palgrave Macmillan. His new research project is an institutional history of Trinity College Dublin in the period 1912-23. This research will place Trinity in its broader imperial and international contexts in explaining how the College's community understood, contributed to and were shaped by Ireland's decade of war and revolution and will be published by the Royal Irish Academy Press in 2015.

**Hsiao-Yuh Ku** received her Ph.D. in the field of history of education from the Institute of Education, University of London in November 2012. Her doctoral research was on Fred Clarke's democratic ideas and his contributions to educational reconstruction in England during the Second World War. She is currently based in her home country, Taiwan, teaching at the University of Taipei and working as a research assistant at the National Taiwan Normal University. At the same time, she also continues to develop her research project about democracy and education in England in the 1930s and 1940s. 'Fighting for Social Democracy: R. H. Tawney and Educational Reconstruction in World War II', which she will present at the 2014 ISCHE conference, is part of this project.

**Parimala V. Rao**, teaches History of Education in Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. Her book titled *Foundations of Tilak's Nationalism: Discrimination, Education, and Hindutva*, published in 2010 (paperback 2011) deals with the right wing militant Hindu nationalists attempt to control school education during the colonial period. Her latest edited book *New Perspectives in the History of Indian Education* (2014) critiques the existing historiography of Indian education and provides an alternative historical perspective. Since 2010, she has been organizing panels on the history of education in the annual conferences of the Comparative Education Society of India.



**Vassiliki Vassiloudi** gained her M.A. in Children's Literature from the University of Reading, U.K. (distinction, 1998) and her Ph.D. in the same area from Democritus University of Thrace, Greece (2004) for which she got a scholarship from the Onassis Foundation and the State Scholarship Foundation (I.K.Y.) respectively. She is currently conducting research on the shifting notions of childhood during the Greek Civil War and has participated in a number of international and local congresses. Her academic interests lie in the fields of children's literature and history of childhood and children. Her most recent scholarship includes the articles "Childhood in the Maelstrom of Political Unrest: The Childtowns (Παιδοπόλεις/ Paidoupoleis) and the Experience of Displacement during the Greek Civil War (1946-1949) in Thrace," *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 5.1 (2012):118-149 and "Re-imagining homeland in the aftermath of the Greek Civil War (1946-1949): Children's Magazines," *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, May 2014 issue (forthcoming). She has recently published a book entitled *The Child's Paper (1868-1893): A Case Study of a Greek Protestant Children's Magazine*, Athens: Institute of Neo-Hellenic Research/National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2012.

## Brian Simon Bursaries

These two bursaries to cover conference and accommodation costs were awarded by the History of Education Society (UK) in honour of Brian Simon (1915-2002). A distinguished historian of education, Simon was also the first president of ISCHE when it was founded in 1979. Biographies are included below. The abstracts can be found in alphabetical order by surname along with the other parallel sessions.

**Jonathan Doney** is a Research Fellow and Associate Lecturer at the University of Exeter. He holds a BA in Theological Studies (Bristol) and a Masters in Educational Research (Exeter). His current doctoral work, funded by the ESRC, centres on the role of the Ecumenical movement in the development of English Religious Education, especially the adoption of World Religions Teaching in English RE during the 1960s and 1970s. His wider research interests are in methodological innovation, critical studies, the role played by education in developing identity and gender. Alongside his historical work, he is involved in theoretical and empirical work focusing on the teaching of Religious Education in schools today. He is co-editor of *History of Education Researcher*.

**Dorothy Mas** is a PhD candidate in History at Royal Holloway University of London. Her dissertation project, tentatively entitled, 'Men make history but we make the men': Experience and Memory of the NPEA Schools, 1933-45' is supervised by Prof. David Cesarani. She received her M.A. degree from York University, Toronto Canada and has presented her work at a variety of venues, including, most recently at the Zentrum für Antisemitismusforschung where she was also visiting scholar in 2013. Her research interests include aspects of elite education in the 19-20th century and the socio-cultural history of the Third Reich. Research for her project has been provided for by, among others, the Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst (DAAD), the Canadian Social and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC), the Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz as well as the Royal Holloway and Bedford Excellence Scholarship.

# Guide to Using Abstract Book

Abstracts are listed in alphabetical order by the surname of the first listed author. The panel details and session numbers are not listed in this publication but appear instead in the conference programme. When a session is part of a Standing Working Group we have included this detail so that it can be understood why the subject matter differs from that of the conference theme Education, War and Peace.

In the founding spirit and established tradition of ISCHE, the London organizers have committed themselves to enabling effective and fruitful international exchange of research and critical thinking in education history. For this reason we asked all proposers to provide an English abstract in addition to another conference language if desired. We acknowledge the cooperation and efforts made by the hundreds of participants for whom English is not their mother tongue. For the same reason we have also asked committee members and historian colleagues in the UK to assist with editing the abstracts for academic accuracy and fluency.

Please note that this editing does not claim perfection and has necessarily not attained the standard required for journal publication, but we trust that this process has ensured a usable and informative reference work for participants in ISCHE 36. For consistency of presentation and economy of space the abstracts printed here do not include bibliographies, references and keywords. We hope that the texts will be sufficient to indicate the content of sessions.

# Abstracts of papers

(In alphabetical order of authors)

## **Aguiar, Thiago**

Universidade Metodista de Piracicaba

Brazil

### **Petr Chelčický and Jan Amos Comenius: the making of peace and education in Czech lands**

Much is known about Jan Amos Comenius' educational principles and his seventeenth century belief that there is a single method of teaching that works and could (should?) be used everywhere to teach everything to everyone. In terms of History of Education, much less is known about his predecessors in Czech culture, especially those from his religious group, the *Unitas Fratrum*. Sometimes, those educators are regarded as of interest only to History of Religion because they are mainly religious people and teaching is not necessarily their most relevant activity. That is true and so it is for Comenius himself. However, this sort of segregation of areas (as if a teacher could be separated from his own life) creates a lack of studies on people who have thought about education in a broad meaning of cultural formation and, sometimes, even in the restrictive meaning of schooling. Searching for those I call "minor" educators (as opposed to the historically-made "great" educators) I found some names in Czech history related to *Unitas Fratrum*, like Jan Hus, Luke of Prague, Jan Blahoslav and so on. One was selected for this paper because of his defence of peace: Petr Chelčický (c.1390-c.1460), the "spiritual father" of Comenius' religious group. Both Comenius and Chelčický lived during wars and wrote after and because of these conflicts. Chelčický faced the Hussite wars in the first half of the fifteenth century. Comenius suffered in the Thirty Years War at the beginning of the seventeenth. And they both wrote about peace as the necessary foundation of life in a world that was falling apart. But they took different directions. The first, in his work *Siet Viery Práve* [The Net of True Faith], suggested "leaving the world" and creating a new and isolated society. The second, in his *Labyrinth of the World*, began by following this ideal society principle, but improved it to a reform of the current society in his *Consultatio Catholica*. This paper discusses both authors' proposals for peace from text analysis of Chelčický's *Net of Faith* and Comenius' *Labyrinth* and *Consultatio* (mainly the *Pampaedia* part). The findings show that Chelčický's "lost world" is similar to Comenius' labyrinth, but the latter has gone one step further by proposing a reformation of the world through education. I found that peace was a key matter in both projects and inseparable from that societal and educational reform and context was a key matter of influence on their ideals. Many authors support my research. To mention a few, Carlo Ginzburg, though not a historian of education, has been offering me a fine background on my methodological approach to documentation reading and analysing. In Czech social and religious history, Roger Portal and Craig Atwood are good sources as well as Mialaret and Vial's *World History of Education* – which are also an inspiration in methodological matters. On Chelčický and Comenius, Amadeo Molnár, Matthew Spinka are some religious experts whether the collection of Chocholová, Pánková and Steiner on Comenius is a good source of wide discussions.

**Akanbi, Grace Oluremilekun**

Emmanuel Alayande College of Education

Nigeria

**Jekayinfa, Alice Arinlade**

University of Ilorin

Nigeria

**Lawal, Bashiru Olubode**

University of Ibadan

Nigeria

### **From Civil War to Boko Haram: Ebbing away access to and standards of education in Nigeria, 1967-2013**

The Richard's Constitution of 1946 and the subsequent Macpherson Constitution of 1951 divided Nigeria into three regions and empowered each region to have its own educational autonomy. The Western region made the first attempt in 1955 by proclaiming a free, Universal and Compulsory Primary Education (UPE) scheme for the entire region. The Eastern Region followed this in February 1957 and by the North in 1962. According to Ukeje and Aisiku (1982), the pace of educational expansion set in motion by UPE schemes of various regions lost its momentum during the civil war between 1967 and 1970. Mostly affected was the Eastern region which started the secession move. By the time the civil war ended, some schools had been destroyed and their education programmes had been disrupted. Most students had been displaced, some had lost their parents, and going back to school became a major problem, especially for the boys who had acquired various survival skills and jobs during the war. This has accounted for the low enrolment of boys in schools in the states that constitute the former Eastern Region ever since. However, the post-war reconstruction; the launching of the Federal UPE scheme in 1976, the introduction of the National Policy on Education in 1977 and the Universal Basic Education in 1999 ameliorated this to some extent. Unfortunately, the emergence of the Boko Haram Sect – dominant in Northern Nigeria which has most of the educationally disadvantaged states – since 2002 has taken its toll on access to and standard of education with their basic principle of ‘no western education’. The sect has directed its attacks on schools; killing students and burning down schools as they did in Gujba College, where about forty students were killed. This research is historical and will employ historical methods to collect relevant information. Both primary and secondary sources will be used from the National Archives, relevant journals, books and the internet. Bearing in mind the conceptual framework of Education for all by 2015, and faced with the fact that Boko Haram activities are rubbing the efforts of United Nations International Children Emergency Fund (UNICEF) that has been advocating improved access to education, this research becomes important. This paper will therefore examine the fundamental damage to education by the civil war between 1967 and 1970, the remedial activities of the government up until the emergence of Boko Haram in 2002 and the impact of the sect on educational access and standards. It is hoped that the findings of this research will spur the United Nations (UN) and other relevant International Organizations to look into the problem with a view to finding a lasting solution.

**Alarcón, Cristina**

Humboldt-University, Berlin

Germany

### **In the Shadow of the Saltpeter War – “German” Educational Reform and the Need for Citizenship Education in Chile (1879-1920)**

“I think that in these times, two great things must concern us: the war, or rather peace abroad and education within”, thus the Chilean member of parliament Guillermo Palma Tupper expressed within the liberal government elite, in 1883, the pressure for reform caused by the Pacific War (1879-1883). During this war Chile had resisted Peru and Bolivia, and had become the new hegemonic power in the South Pacific. The annexation of the nitrate and copper-rich provinces of Tarapacá and Antofagasta, not only gave the country the world monopoly of saltpeter, but also unprecedented revenues which were used to finance a comprehensive reform program. The implementation of educational and military reform was seen as a crucial way of promoting an inclusive nation of citizens and to achieve geopolitical weight. This objective was particularly sensitive, since the Chilean territory expanded in 1883 both to the north and to the south. Chilean reformers followed the guidelines of “science, efficiency, prestige”, and constructed the German Empire as a new model state. They hired German teachers and instructors to teach at various educational institutions. The so-called “German reform” (*reforma alemana*) of the education system included a massive school rebuilding and restructuring programme, with unparalleled expenditure in material, human and technological resources, the reorganization of teacher seminars, legislation on compulsory education and the establishment of the Pedagogical Institute for the academic education of high school teachers. A core element of the reform was the introduction of the “concentric curriculum” (*currículum concéntrico*) based on German models, in order to promote political socialization. These reform efforts and the construction of the German Reich as a model society are associated with social-emotional factors, in particular with strategies of anticipation, i.e. the planning anticipation of future events, in this case the feared invasion by neighboring countries. This work seeks to illustrate the connection between war and reform effort, or more precisely, between military rivalry and educational reform. It analyses the discourses of Chilean reformers as well as the methods and contents of the concentric curriculum, including gymnastics, military exercises, geography, history, Spanish, and music which aimed to form a civic education. The methodological framework of the study refers to historical transfer and reception research.

**Alarcón Meneses, Luis**

Universidad del Atlántico, Barranquilla-Colombia

Colombia

### **Preparar al ciudadano para la guerra. Los manuales de instrucción de guerrilla en Colombia durante el siglo XIX**

Esta ponencia da cuenta de los manuales de instrucción de guerrilla utilizados en Colombia durante el primer siglo de vida republicana, los cuales tenían como propósito instruir al ciudadano vinculado en las milicias y regimientos para su participaban en las guerras civiles que tuvieron lugar en el país a lo largo del siglo XIX. Para ello se analizan algunas de estas publicaciones en cuanto a sus autores, estructura, lenguaje y alcances que estas tuvieron dentro de

una cultura política que a la vez que buscaba formar ciudadanos para la novel república pretendía instruirlos como soldados dispuestos a luchar por los ideales de la Patria.

### **Preparing citizens for war: the guerilla instruction manuals in Colombia during the nineteenth century**

This paper explores the guerrilla manuals used in Colombia during the first century of republican life. These manuals were intended to educate the citizen linked to militias and regiments which participated in the civil wars that took place in the nineteenth century. The manuals are analysed in relation to authors, structure, language and scope – as part of a political culture which sought to educate citizens for the new republic and instruct them as soldiers ready to fight for the idea of the Nation.

**Albicher, Alexander**

Belgium

### **Peace education in transition. About the reception and the shifting nature of peace education in Dutch history education (1914-1985)**

Although peace education relates to many aspects in the field of education, history education is often assigned a key role in shaping the attitudes of young people towards matters of war and peace. Since history education deals with these matters by nature, it may come as no surprise that now and in the past the school subject has been called upon to make a positive and active contribution to the promotion of peace and democracy in the classroom. Notwithstanding these incentives, history education in the Netherlands and other European nations is often being accused of overemphasizing war and conflict and investing children with nationalistic or ethnocentric notions. It was not until the 1960s and 1970s, so the argument goes, that peace education promoted by organizations such as UNESCO gained a more prominent place in history textbooks and curricula.

A more detailed examination of curricula, textbooks and the debate on history education in the Netherlands between World War One and the mid-1980s reveals a more complex attitude towards issues of war and peace in history education. Right from the beginning of the 20th century, peace education was an important topic of debate and an established element in history textbooks. The aim and interpretation of peace education however, was subject to change. In particular, the 1960s and 1970s marked an important turning point. During this period, history education was increasingly put under pressure to make a more active contribution to citizenship education. As a consequence, the focus of peace education in history education shifted from promoting international cooperation to the dissemination of general humanitarian ideas, simultaneously encouraging pupils to take an active stance towards historical violations of humanitarian principles.

Although history educators generally recognized the possibility and potential benefits of promoting civic ideals through history education, it was also considered problematic. This problem was linked to the conviction that history education should not entirely be guided by contemporary concerns and current affairs, but that it should also pay attention to the strange and distant past. Understanding the past, history educators pointed out, also involved shedding contemporary perspectives and judging the past on its own terms. This fundamental tension was a continuous cause of concern for history educators and played a major role in shaping their

attitudes towards the possibilities and limitations of citizenship education. Therefore, this paper will also take into account this tension and the way it affected the reception and implementation of peace education in Dutch history education during the period under discussion.

### **Albisetti, Jim**

University of Kentucky  
United States

*SWG Gender: Gender, Power Relations and Education in a Transnational World*

### **The Transnational Roots of the Froebel Educational Institute, London**

Ever since the era of Baroness Bertha von Marenholtz-Bülow's lectures on Froebel in Western Europe during the 1850s, the kindergarten movement has clearly been transnational in scope. Even if a man framed the initial concept of the kindergarten, the movement espoused a clear ideology of gender difference based on "spiritual motherhood" or "maternal feminism." Efforts to spur adoption and diffusion of such pre-school education confronted male power in existing school systems of the day. All these things are well known.

At first glance, the development of the Froebel Educational Institute, which opened in 1895, is also familiar, especially through Joachim Liebschner's *Foundations of Progressive Education: the History of the National Froebel Society* (1991) and an in-house history by Peter Weston, *The Froebel Education Institute: The Origins and History of the College* (2002). Yet the latter is both very sketchy on the early years and riddled with errors. For example, Weston gets wrong Julie Schwabe's first, maiden, and last name; the year of her birth; and the time and circumstances of her introduction to Froebel's ideas and methods. His book also fails to examine how Schwabe's experience with the *Istituto Froebeliano* in Naples influenced either her availability for work in London or the structure of the new Institute.

Building on previous publications on Schwabe's Italian work and her ties to the Empress Frederick of Germany, my paper will re-examine the origins and early years of the FEI on the basis of previously unused sources. These include Schwabe's correspondence with the Italian politician and historian Pasquale Villari, who first brought her into contact with Marenholtz-Bülow in late 1871; the extremely rare memoirs of the German-Italian Helene Klostermann, who served as Schwabe's secretary and companion from 1887 until 1896; and keyword searches through the fairly new database, *Nineteenth-Century British Library Newspapers*. Combined, these will reveal more intricate ties between the Italian and the British endeavours, as well as some significant changes in the chronology of events preceding establishment of the FEI. Other scholars have used sources available at the Froebel Archive for Early Childhood Studies (University of Roehampton), particularly with regard to early fundraising; but a re-examination of them with regard to gender and power relations will reveal the many ways in which an immigrant women in her seventies could enlist the rich and powerful in the cause of early childhood education.

**Allison, John**

Nipissing University  
Canada

### **Technical School in Toronto: Growing up in the Trades in World War II**

The Second World War had the effect of mobilizing many Western societies to a war footing. Canada was no exception to this. Indeed, the focus on the war extended to Canadian schools. This paper will examine this period with a special focus on technical education and its place in secondary schools in the Toronto School Board. To what extent did technical education in Toronto rely on industrial and military support during World War Two? Moreover, were curriculum goals and outcomes during the war changed as a result of the wartime footing of one of Canada's largest cities in this time period? Lastly, what were the impacts on students in technical education at this time? To what degree were they pulled in the direction of the "military trades," joining the military or becoming involved in war production when they finished or left school?

**Almqvist Nielsen, Lena**

University of Umeå  
Sweden

*SWG Gender: Gender, Power Relations and Education in a Transnational World*

### **POSTER: Gender in Nordic prehistory, as presented in history school books during the 20th Century**

*By elucidating gender roles in the presentation of prehistory during a period of 110 years, the aim of this study is to contribute to the understanding of historical change in Swedish schoolbooks.*

The aim of this study is to elucidate how the presentations of gender roles in prehistory correspond to contemporary archaeological research. During the investigated period of 110 years, there has been a visible change in these presentations. In the beginning of the century women are almost invisible in the schoolbooks, while men are presented very vividly. Women are just depicted as women, whereas men are also seen as boys, young adults and elderly. Men are adventurous and they are seen as providers, warriors and defenders and prehistory is clearly at this point, the history of men. The interpretations of prehistory usually come from how we look at gender roles and division of labour in our own society and slowly, during the century, women and children find their place in the history school books and take a more active part, as the contemporary world develops in the same direction (Arwill Nordbladh, 2001).

In international archaeological research, gender studies were introduced during the 1970s and women were to become more visible in the archaeological material (Sofer, 2007). One example of how interpretations changed is the Bäckaskog grave in Sweden, found in 1939. For many years the skeleton was interpreted as male, much due to the arrowhead and bone chisel found in the grave and he was named the "Fisherman from Barum". In 1970, a new study discovered that the bones belonged to a woman, who had given birth to several children (Gejvall, 1970). These interpretations correspond to the presentations of the grave in history schoolbooks.

The history culture in schoolbooks is a product of society and contemporary research. How has the construction of gender roles changed, and how are these changes visible in the presentation of Nordic prehistory in Swedish schoolbooks? My aim with the poster is to



demonstrate how gender roles are presented in history schoolbooks and how they are closely connected to international archaeological research, which is of course linked to trends in contemporary society. Gender studies have changed our view on prehistoric society and the former interpretations many times need to be re-interpreted.

**Alvarez Gonzalez, Yasmina**

Universidad de La Laguna  
Spain

### **The Destruction of a Tradition: Spanish Pedagogy from the Second Republic to Francoism**

This paper focuses on the study of the Institute San José de Calasanz, created by Francoism after the Spanish Civil War within the Higher Council of Scientific Research to direct the new pedagogy of the Victory. Firstly, will be briefly explained the situation of Spanish pedagogy before the Civil War, its main schools, groups and institutions. The role of institutions as the National Pedagogical Museum, the Board for Advanced Studies and the journal *Revista de Educación* will be examined. Secondly, will be studied the radical break produced after the Spanish Civil War with the suppression of all these institutions and the exile of the main pedagogues. Finally, it will be shown how Francoism tried to fill the vacuum by the creation of a new institution (the Institute San José de Calasanz) and the values and objectives it embodied.

**Amaral, Anabela and Felgueiras, Margarida**

Oporto University  
Portugal

### **Teaching Peace with War: the school battalions**

The educational system was seen by states as a mean of disseminating ideas and education to the population, both from the point of view of learning literacy skills, and civic and hygienic behaviors. In France, physical education was initially thought of as military training, giving rise to the creation of “school battalions”, supported by doctors and politicians. They were later criticized for the risk they posed and also for the bellicose spirit that they encouraged. In Portugal the “school battalions” were introduced in public schools in Lisbon and later in Porto, at the initiative of some teachers, and with the assistance of local authorities.

This project is based on medical discourses, which were legitimized by the need to defend individual and collective health and by the need to disseminate patriotic ideals for defence of the homeland. They intended to affirm robustness and child discipline. It was a point of pride for the community in general and for the school community in particular. Their formation and maintenance was the responsibility of the educational authorities and primary teachers. The choir and the school battalion were always central features of the school holidays. The establishment of the Republic in Portugal in 1910 reinforced this view, with the need to implement the cult of the new flag and the new national anthem. In schools the flag was displayed and the anthem sung, forming the battalion and the honor guard, at these moments. This routine was subsequently abandoned in favor of more pacifist civic parties, such as the feast of the tree. The 1911 education reform stressed the importance of the school in the consecration of the patriotic symbols serviced by a fervent love of the homeland.

Holidays provided a pretext for the exercise and demonstrate the school's adherence to Republicanism. The children's choir and school battalion were part of the political literacy of citizens following the accession of the idea of homeland. This study aims to analyse the way the school was placed in the service of nationalism and militarism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in Portugal, with the notion that a good defence is the best way of deterring war.

We analyse the role of memory (Certeau, 1994, Augé, 1998, Dosse, 1998); the belief in education (Felgueiras, 2007, Nóvoa, 2005); the movement of pedagogical proposals (Vidal, 2005, Gruzinski, 2001, Carvalho & Pintassilgo, 2011); and the role of history in civics (McCulloch, 2004, 2011). We define two main goals: to know the development of the school battalions in Porto (Portugal), linking these data with the diffusion of this proposal from France to Portugal and criticism it encountered. Sources used include newspapers, the declarations of teachers, programs and school archives.

**Amsing, Hilda** and **Dekker, Jeroen**

University of Groningen  
Netherlands

### **Changing Youngsters' Mentalities: Dutch Peace Education During the Cold War**

In 1960, Anton Gerrit Dake (1887-1979), a successful entrepreneur and a Christian philanthropist, founded the Foundation for Peace Building (Stichting Vredesopbouw) in Utrecht, the later Institute for Political Education and Communication (IPEC). His intention was to change the Cold War mentality in the Netherlands so that citizens could embrace the idea of peace.

In the period 1976-1983 this Foundation, together with the Polemological Institute of the University of Groningen, established the Working Group Peace Education (Werkgroep Vredesonderwijs, WVO). The Polemological Institute was founded in 1962 by Bernard Röling (1906-1985), a professor of Law, former judge at the Tokyo War Trial in 1946, and a former member of the Dutch delegation to the United Nations. The WVO developed curriculum material for secondary schools to influence youngsters' mentalities regarding topics of war and peace. Based on an analysis of curriculum material and on research in to the archives of the WVO, we will reveal the contents and strategies of the curriculum material. Main questions asked are: 1. Which vision on citizenship education underlies this curriculum material? 2. How is the development of this curriculum material to be considered in the context of the polarized Dutch political culture in those days and the anxiety for a nuclear war?

**Angulo, Alex**

Winthrop University  
United States

### **Education, Globalization, and Economic Thought in the Mid-Twentieth Century**

The term "globalization" long ago entered the historical, political, and education lexicon and has ever since been loosely paired or associated with such terms as "liberalism," "neoliberalism," "New Democrats," "New Labour," "conservatism," and "neo-conservatism," among others. The

diversity of associations these terms engender within the US and UK, as well as the variance in meaning of identical terms across the Atlantic, have posed serious challenges for comparative historians. Out of necessity (or, as some scholars suggest, lazy imprecision), researchers have used such terms as shorthand to account for a dramatic shift in economic thinking and practices in the last quarter of the twentieth century. As the story is commonly told, globalization emerged out of the petro-economic crises of the 1970s, stretched its wings during the Thatcher-Regan era, and launched into full flight with the explosion of communication technologies of the 1990s. Along the way, global education policy developed and implemented by such international financial institutions as the World Bank took an instrumentalist turn and became entangled in the “structural adjustment” of indebted, developing countries.

This paper seeks to structurally adjust the accepted narrative by positing the Cold War, rather than the seventies crises, origins of globalization and the integral role education played as an economic construct embedded within this process. Building on the work of past labour, economic, and business historians, this study seeks to complicate our understanding of “globalization,” “neoliberalization,” and other longstanding concepts that have achieved salience in the history of education literature. Using a comparative historical methodology, the presentation will focus on a Cold War era transatlantic exchange of ideas within a small but influential network of scholars loosely associated with the Mont Pelerin Society (Switzerland). These scholars articulated a vision for economic, educational, and global change that inspired national policy decisions in the US, UK, and elsewhere during the last third of the century. Specific attention will be given to research and policy initiatives that demonstrate a divergence between what these academics wrote for their peers versus what they advocated before the general public. Sources for this paper will include existing secondary source literature as well as primary source documents, reports, and academic papers published in the *University of Chicago Law Review* and *Journal of Political Economy*. The paper’s conclusions and results will include (a) a recasting of the periodization of the globalization process within the Cold War context and (b) a reworking of our understanding of the advancement and diffusion of globally significant ideas about economics and education as informed by recent scholarship.

### **Apanel, Danuta**

Pomeranian University in Słupsk  
Poland

### **L'enfance dans des établissements de garde substitutive en Poméranie Centrale polonaise entre 1945-1949**

Au cours de la Seconde Guerre mondiale plus que 2,225,000 d'enfants et de jeunes ont perdu la vie sur le territoire Polonais. Établi en février 1945 le Bureau de l'Information et de la Recherche de la Croix-Rouge Polonaise, avait dans ses fichiers dès ses premiers 11 mois d'activité 270 mille demandes de recherche de disparus, dont des enfants. Un problème important était la dispersion de familles, à la suite des activités intentionnelles de l'occupant, mais également au rapatriements de masse, à des migrations et hostilités. Un enfant vivant plusieurs années avec le sentiment d'une menace perpétuelle, sans la possibilité d'un développement normal, était le sujet le plus urgent et extrêmement difficile des mesures de protection. L'état de santé des enfants était catastrophique en raison de conditions matérielles extrêmement difficiles et de manque de soins médicaux.

Un enfant accueilli alors dans une institution de garde substitutive était le plus souvent (...) un survivant de la guerre, un clochard sans-abri, qui a parcouru la Pologne en long et en travers, à la recherche d'une famille ou d'aventure. Il est un élément volatile, turbulent et insolent. Souvent, ils sont devenus participants de la guérilla, de l'insurrection, des prisonniers des camps de concentration, des témoins des scènes les plus sombres de la guerre. Ils n'étaient pas traités comme des enfants car ils ont laissé leur enfance sous les ruines de leurs maisons natales. À la suite de la guerre, la question de l'orphelinage et de la compensation de ses effets est devenue l'une des plus grandes questions sociales.

Une contribution importante à la résolution des problèmes avec les enfants solitaires fut apportée par les organisations sociales : l'Association Ouvrière des Amis d'Enfants, l'Association Paysanne des Amis d'Enfants, le Comité Central du Bien-Être Social, la Croix-Rouge Polonaise, le Caritas. Des nombreuses organisations ont dirigé leur propres institutions- des orphelinats, des établissements d'enseignement, des foyers, des crèches, des écoles maternelles, des préventoriuns, ainsi qu'elles entreprenaient diverses actions, par exemple liées à l'organisation des vacances d'été. La vie des Polonais dans la Poméranie Centrale a commencé à s'organiser beaucoup plus tard que sur d'autres territoires, qui après la seconde Guerre mondiale ont été retourné à la Pologne.

Les travaux partiellement organisés par les Comités du Bien-Être Social ont consisté à rechercher les enfants polonais disparus dans des transports de rapatriés, déportés en Allemagne ou venants de l'Est et à organiser leur installation dans les différentes institutions de protection-éducation sur le territoire. La première phase du développement de la protection pour une mère et un enfant sur le territoire de la Poméranie Centrale a eu lieu en 1945 et au premier semestre de l'année 1946, et a eu «(...) un caractère d'improvisation, comme toute la vie de la société de la Poméranie. (...)». L'organisation de l'enseignement et du système de protection et d'éducation d'enfants et des jeunes en Poméranie a été menée en parallèle avec celui concernant l'implantation, développement des terres ainsi que l'administration civile.

### **Childhood in foster care institutions of Polish Central Pomerania in the period 1945-1949**

During World War II over 2,225,000 children and youth died in Polish territory. The Information and Search Bureau of Polish Red Cross (established in February 1945) in the first 11 months of its activity alone had 270,000 applications to search for lost persons, including children. Dispersal of families as a result of deliberate acts of occupation, mass resettlements, migrations and war hostilities constituted a serious problem. A child living for some years with the sense of threat and in extremely difficult material conditions, deprived of possibility of normal development, was most urgent and an extremely difficult object of protective care activities (Apanel 2006, passim.).

World War II made orphanhood and compensation of its effects one of the most important social issues (Wojtyniak 1946). The child coming to a foster care institution was most often „a post-war castaway, a homeless vagrant who wandered the length and breadth of Poland looking for family or opportunity; a volatile, unruly and audacious element. [...] They were participants of partisan warfare, the [Warsaw] uprising, former prisoners of concentration camps, witnesses of most horrible war atrocities. They [...] had lost their childishness amongst the ashes of the homes”(Wolawska 1950).

Social organizations had a substantial input in solving the problems of abandoned children. Many of them maintained their facilities: orphanages, juvenile reform schools, day centers, nurseries, kindergartens, sanatoriums and initiated various undertakings, e.g. summer vacations.

The large-scale organization of social care of children in the years 1945-1949 was maintained by Children's Friend Workers Society, Children's Friend Peasants Society, Central Committee of Social Care, Polish Red Cross, Caritas. In turn, the work of Committees of Social Care consisted in looking for Polish children who had been lost during repatriation transport and placing them at various educational care facilities all over the Pomeranian area.

The life of Poles in Central Pomerania was getting organized much later than in other territories returned to Poland after World War II. The first stage of care for mothers and children in Central Pomerania „was improvisational in character just like the social life in Pomerania at that time” (WAP, file 4569). Organization of the school system and the system of care of children and youth in Pomerania was conducted in parallel to the settlement and development of the territory as well as foundation of civil administration.

### **Arce Hai, Alessandra**

Universidade Federal de São Carlos/katholieke Universiteit Leuven-KU  
Belgium

### **Decroly in Brazil: educating in order to build a new world during wartime?**

This presentation is part of a research project which constitutes an effort to comprehend, analyse and understand the “other” and “me” together in “we” and all the richness that involve these three reference points inside the movement of diffusion and appropriation of an author's ideas. The aim of this work is to comprehend how Ovide Decroly's ideas were appropriated and transformed inside the New School Movement in Brazil during the period between 1914 and 1945. In order to achieve the aims of this Project our start point is that we should be able to explain with this investigation how and when Decroly's ideas entered Brazil. At the same time we should explain which were the socio-cultural historical conditions of its arrival. In addition we should be able to understand which role his ideas were called to play in Brazilian society and, which were the transformations and changes experienced. The sources used were journals and book collections. As a result we can point out that Decroly's ideas travelled far away from their original birthplace and were transformed and tangled up with New Education ideas as understood and appropriated by Brazilian scholars.

### **Arredondo, Adelina**

Universidad Autónoma del Estado de Morelos  
Mexico

### **Consecuencias de la Invasión de Estados Unidos a México en la Educación (1846-1848)**

Después de tres siglos de colonización española, México emergió como país independiente en 1821. En la Constitución de 1824 se adoptó la forma de república. Una nueva nacionalidad fue construida a través de diversas estrategias políticas y varios eventos históricos. Uno de esos importantes eventos fue la invasión de Estados Unidos a México entre 1846 y 1848, que culminó con la mutilación de más de la mitad del territorio mexicano original.

El propósito de esta ponencia es explicar el impacto que la Intervención Norteamericana tuvo sobre los procesos de educación. Se describirá de qué manera la invasión afectó las instalaciones

y las labores escolares, ocasionó la muerte de alumnos y profesores y dejó un profundo resentimiento que fortaleció el sentido de pertenencia nacional en Chihuahua, actualmente el estado más grande de la república, al centro de la frontera de tres mil kilómetros entre México y Estados Unidos.

El orden expositivo de la ponencia será el siguiente: 1) Ubicación histórica del lugar y la época. 2) Panorama de la educación formal en Chihuahua. 3) La invasión de Estados Unidos a México y la ocupación de Chihuahua por parte del ejército invasor. 4) Los efectos inmediatos de la guerra en los procesos educativos en Chihuahua. 5) Las consecuencias de la guerra en el largo plazo.

La ponencia se sustentará en fuentes de primera y segunda mano. Las fuentes de primera mano serán los periódicos locales, los informes escolares, las actas municipales, los reportes de guerra y las declaraciones del Congreso y el gobierno local. Las fuentes de segunda mano serán la biografía sobre historia de la educación en la época, la historia de la invasión norteamericana a México, y los trabajos históricos sobre la construcción de la nacionalidad mexicana. En la aproximación teórica al problema de investigación subyace la concepción de la sociedad como una totalidad, en la cual todo fragmento es un complejo de determinaciones económicas, políticas, sociales, culturales, que sólo con fines metodológicos puede ser separado de la totalidad pero que requiere ser reincorporado a esa totalidad para su mayor comprensión. Las llamadas historia social, historia cultural, nueva historia, historia total e historia crítica hunden sus raíces en esa concepción delineada originalmente por Carlos Marx. Además de él, Gramsci, Braudel, Foucault, Carr, Aron Anderson, Brubaker, Bobbio, entre otros, nutren mi perspectiva teórica para la reconstrucción de la educación y las identidades nacionales, sin dejar de tener como base los datos empíricos y su interpretación.

### **Consequences for Education in the light of the United States Invasion of Mexico (1846-1848)**

Three centuries after the Spanish colonisation, in 1821, Mexico emerged as an independent country, and by the 1824 Constitution it was established as a republic with the name of Estados Unidos Mexicanos. A new nationality was built through diverse political strategies and historical events. One of these important events was the United States invasion of Mexico, between 1846 and 1848, which ended with the mutilation of more than half of the original Mexican territory.

The purpose of the paper is to explain the impact that this North-American invasion had on educational processes. This invasion affected the school facilities and tasks, caused the death of students and professors, and left a deep resentment that strengthened the sense of national belonging in Chihuahua, currently the largest state of the country, located in the middle of the three-thousand-kilometer border between Mexico and the United States.

The order of this talk will be as follows: 1) Historical location of the place and the time. 2) Outlook of the formal education in Chihuahua. 3) The United States invasion of Mexico and the occupation of the invading army in Chihuahua. 4) The immediate effects of the war on the education processes in Chihuahua. 5) The long-term consequences of that war.

The work will be supported by primary and secondary sources. The primary sources will be the local newspapers, school reports, municipal minutes, war reports, and Congress and local-government statements. Secondary sources will be the history of education of the period, the history of North-American invasion of Mexico, and the historical works on the Mexican nationality construction. In the theoretical approach to the research problem, underlying the conception of society as a whole, in which every fragment represents a complexity of economical, political, social, and cultural determinations, that only with methodological means could be

separated from this whole, but needs to be incorporated in order to be better understood. The so-called social history, cultural history, new history, total history, or critical history, all have their roots in this conception, which was originally outlined by Karl Max and elaborated by Gramsci, Braudel, Foucault, Carr, Aaron Anderson, Brubaker, Bobbio, among others. These approaches nourish my theoretical perspective for the reconstruction of education and national identities using the empirical data and its interpretation.

**Arredondo, Adelina**

Universidad Autónoma del Estado de Morelos  
Mexico

**Góngora, Janette**

Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana  
Mexico

*SWG Gender: Gender, Power Relations and Education in a Transnational World*

**Research Problems, Conceptual Approaches, and Methodological Procedures in Studies about Gender Violence at Schools considering the International Legislation of Human Rights**

Our proposal has the aims of identifying and characterising the research problems, conceptual focuses, and procedures for the research of national policies to prevent gender violence at schools, considering international legislation of human rights. Our study will embrace those problems comparing two Latin-American countries: Brazil and Mexico.

We will analyse the formulation and development of researches, exploring the links between local elaboration, and international theoretical and methodological references, arising in the 1990's. That means we keep our work within the context of the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (1993), the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action from the World Conference on Human Rights (1993), and the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence Against Women, known as the Convention of Belem do Para (2001).

Our work will show the methodological and theoretical tools used to evaluate the impact of the international lineaments and the national policies that apply in the different contexts of Brazil and Mexico. Also, we will go into detail about the dominant research models in both countries, considering that the conceptualisation and the methodological orientation to embracing the problem of gender violence at schools has an important role in the efficacy of the policies and specific interventions for its prevention and solution.

**Arslan, Ali and Meşeci Giorgetti, Filiz**

Istanbul University  
Turkey

**War Rituals in Ottoman Schools**

Ritual can be defined as a 'modeled symbolic performance' in accordance with the extent of this study. Emile Durkheim (1912/2005) identifies ritual as one key mechanism in the construction of the society. Durkheim and researchers after him explain the function of educational ritual with

two main themes: the first one is the opinion that ritual performance is an indispensable element to establish and protect social solidarity and social order. Rituals, ceremonies and symbols signify the national unity in a physical manner and make them evident for everyone. The second theme, concerning the function of a ritual, is the opinion that a ritual sanctifies and thus legitimizes the rules of the order and its representatives. (e.g. Durkheim, 1912/2005; 2004; Bernstein, Elvin & Peters, 1966; Bell, 1992, Bernstein, 2000). Within the process of creating the feeling of 'us', rituals also help create the feeling of separation from the ones that are 'not one of us'. Rituals work for not only unity and solidarity, but also for separation. Wellendorf (1973) emphasizes that the power of a ritual comes from the dialectic between the feeling of interpersonal unity and solidarity and separation of individuals. The emphasis is sometimes on the cooperation and sometimes on the division.

The purpose of this study is to determine how the rituals were used in Ottoman schools during the Balkan Wars (1912-13) and First World War (1914-18). The research will try to answer the following questions: How and why did educational rituals change in terms of content, discourse and applications during the war years? Under which identity did these rituals create solidarity? Who were identified as the 'us' and 'others' in the discourse of these rituals? What were sanctified and legitimized by these rituals?

National holidays, celebrations, ceremonies, daily events and worships that were performed every morning, symbols used in the schools and clothes will be studied as educational rituals. As a first step, a survey will be undertaken of the curriculums, relevant legal acts, statutes, and regulations pertaining to the educational rituals of the time in Ottoman Archives. We will also pay attention to the relevant debate in the daily newspapers, education journals, and childrens' magazines.

## **Asiru, Tajudeen**

Nigeria

### **The impact of the Nigerian Civil War on the Development of Basic Education in Nigeria (1967-1976)**

Nigeria is a multi-ethnic nation with a population of about 150 million people made up of over 250 ethnic groups. After independence in 1960, the country was engulfed in a socio-political crisis which culminated in a civil war between the Igbo ethnic nationality, who occupied the Eastern region of the country and the other regions of the country between 1967 and 1970. This paper examines the impact of the thirty months civil war on the development of basic education in Nigeria. A descriptive survey design was adopted in conducting the study. Four research questions were raised to give the study a focus. Data were collected using primary sources of information such as records, Journal articles, newspapers and periodicals. Data were analyzed using the thematic approach. Tables and charts were added where required. Findings revealed that the 30 months civil war paralyzed school operations in the then Eastern region or Republic of Biafra as school premises were converted into training/recruitment centres for soldiers as well as camps for war victims. School premises were destroyed, parents and children forced to relocate and academic programmes truncated while the war minimally affected school operations in the other parts of the country. The most significant impact of the war on education was the take-over of schools by the various states governments shortly after the cessation of hostilities on January 15, 1970. As part of the rehabilitation and reconstruction process, there were agitations for provision



of mass education. The Federal Military Government launched the Free Universal Education Programme nationwide on September 6, 1976. In addition, unity schools/Federal Government Colleges were sited in all the states of the federation.

**Attali, Michaël and Bazoge, Natalia**

University of Grenoble Alpes, SENS

France

**«Le sens de l'effort utile» : l'éducation physique au service de la paix au sein de la Ligue Française d'Éducation Physique (1915-1924)**

Dès sa création en 1888, la Ligue Française d'Éducation Physique (LFEP), dirigée par un médecin, Philippe Tissié, ambitionne de positionner l'éducation physique comme moyen d'une politique d'hygiène sociale. La Ligue se fixe pour objectif de contribuer « à la régénération et à la beauté de la race » (Tissié, 1903) au service d'objectifs patriotiques. Pour atteindre ce but, P. Tissié s'inscrit dans la théorie solidariste défendue par une majorité d'hygiénistes (Bourdelaï, 2001), selon laquelle le relèvement de la race repose sur chaque individu. Au regard de ce projet, la LFEP s'intéresse particulièrement à la diffusion de l'éducation physique dans les écoles primaires et secondaires, autant pour les filles que pour les garçons, dans la perspective républicaine française d'une complémentarité des rôles sociaux masculin et féminin (Accampo, Fuchs, Stewart, 1995). Ce travail envisage de questionner l'adaptation de ce projet dans le contexte du premier conflit mondial et de ses conséquences. En effet, si la préparation puis le début du conflit orientent ponctuellement le travail de la Ligue vers une préparation militaire des garçons, la préoccupation de contribuer à la paix prend très vite le pas sur les finalités guerrières dans les discours. Dans l'optique de faire de l'école le « préventorium de la race » (Tissié, 1922), le programme hygiéniste d'éducation physique et morale de la jeunesse est renforcé par le conflit (Saint-Martin, 2006). Les devoirs des garçons et des filles à l'égard du pays sont constamment soulignés dans une perspective de protection de l'ordre social, face au danger de son effondrement engendré par la guerre et ses conséquences (Thébaud, Bard, 1999). L'éducation physique doit alors participer à construire une masculinité et une féminité définies au regard d'un enjeu hygiénique et des devoirs patriotiques attribués à chaque sexe. Désorganisée par la guerre, la LFEP peine cependant à mettre en œuvre son programme éducatif, à l'exception des écoles primaires du Nord.

Ce travail repose sur l'analyse exhaustive des articles parus dans la revue officielle de la LFEP, la *Revue des Jeux scolaires et de l'Hygiène Sociale*, ainsi que de l'ensemble des ouvrages publiés par les acteurs de la LFEP. Il s'appuie également sur les archives de la LFEP conservées au siège de la Fédération Française d'Éducation Physique et de Gymnastique Volontaire (FFEPGV), ainsi que sur les archives départementales du Nord.

**«Sense of useful effort»: physical education for peace in the French League of Physical Education (1915-1924)**

The French League of Physical Education was established in 1888. It was headed by a doctor, Philippe Tissié. Its aim was to show that physical education could be used as means of social hygiene policy. One of the patriotic purposes of the League was to contribute to the «recovery and the beauty of the French race» (Tissié, 1903). In order to reach this goal, P. Tissié as most hygienists (Bourdelaï, 2001) defended the idea that the recovery of the race depends on each individual. Therefore the French League of Physical Education focused on the growth of physical

education in primary and secondary schools. Since feminine and masculine social roles have been seen as different but useful to French society (Accampo, Fuchs, Stewart, 1995) the League was both interested in physical education for girls and for boys. This research aims to analyze how this project developed through the First World War. At the beginning of the conflict the League was working on military preparation of boys. However its leaders were quickly concerned about contributing to peace. So as to make school a « préventorium de la race » (Tissié, 1922), the initial hygienist program for physical and moral education was strengthened during the conflict (Saint-Martin, 2006). Boys' and girls' duties to their country were reaffirmed as fundamental in order to protect a social order threatened by the War and its consequences (Thébaud, Bard, 1999). Physical education should contribute to define and reinforce models of masculinity and femininity in association with social duties of each sex. Nevertheless the League was affected by war and experienced problems with the implementation of the program in schools, except in primary schools of northern France.

This work is based on a full analysis of articles published in the League's official review (*Revue des Jeux scolaires et de l'Hygiène Sociale*), leaders' books, archives of the League and local archives in the north of France.

### **Baeza, Andrés**

University of Bristol  
United Kingdom

### **Education, War and Peace in Post-Independent Chile, 1817-1830**

This work aims to challenge some established ideas on the role of education after the end of the war of independence in Chile during the 1820s. Historiography has emphasized such a role in a context in which the main goal was to leave the Monarchy behind adopting the republican regime. Such a role was the shaping of a new political identity, that of 'citizen', and more specifically that of the 'active citizen', to the detriment of the old category of 'subject'. As reading and writing were two of the requirements to be an active citizen, School was considered as a fundamental tool to consolidate this new political project.

Nonetheless, during the 1820s there were several menaces for the security of the newly-created Republic of Chile. Domestically, some foci of armed royalist resistance persisted in Southern Chile. At the continental level the war of independence would last until the Battle of Ayacucho in Peru (9 December 1824), won by Simon Bolivar's army. After this triumph, also, many Chileans feared a possible invasion of Bolivar's army to Chile as a consequence of his ambitious plan to rule America under one single government. In global terms, fears of a Spanish invasion supported by the Holy Alliance were also latent in Chileans' mind-set. These three scenarios, however, have not been sufficiently explored by historians to understand the fragility that characterized the beginnings of the nation-state building process in Chile and neither the way that the new educational institutions responded to these challenges.

What role then had education in a post-war context, but in which war was still a threat? Considering the features of some 'civilian' institutions founded and re-founded in the period, such as the Instituto Nacional (originally established in 1813, but re-opened in 1819), the Liceo de Chile (1829) and many Lancasterian schools (1821 onwards), I suggest that the configuration of the emerging Chilean educational system was based on a tension between the desire to achieve a degree of internal harmony (what might be called 'peace'), and the need to prepare the new

citizens to face possible external threats (in other words, 'war'). The former was attempted by teaching the 'republican virtue', understood as the willingness to love the republic. The latter, in turn, by means of curricula that explicitly prepared students to defend the country from their enemies, and militarized institutions such as the Liceo de Chile which emulated a military regiment. Also I will consider the impact of the military institutions such as the Academia Militar and the Academia de Guardiamarinas – founded in 1817 and 1818 respectively – for the training of prospective military and naval cadres. In this tension, educating for war seems to have been even more significant than educating for peace, which speaks of an early militarization of the Chilean educational system. This challenges the assumption that after independence, education was almost exclusively devoted to the internal harmonization of the Chilean republic.

### **Bagchi, Barnita**

Utrecht University

Netherlands

*SWG Gender: Gender, Power Relations and Education in a Transnational World*

### **The Differentials of Gendered Social Capital in South Asian Women's Literary-Educational Activism, 1880-1930: Renewing Transnational Approaches**

This paper will focus on fresh methodological and theoretical approaches to adopt in relation to transnationalism, power, and the work and writings of women actors in the field of education in South Asia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. South Asia is in that period of British colonialism and emerging anticolonial movements a fertile laboratory for studying transnationalism, frequently analysed with focus on white women and their relationship with their South Asian counterparts (Burton; Jayawardena). Bagchi has argued that the transnational character of the British empire facilitated the emergence of a women's movement for education that paradoxically took on an anti-imperial slant (Bagchi 2009). In this paper, we extend and deepen work by Bagchi (2010) that incorporates theoretical approaches from sociology, notably gendered social capital, in analysing the transnational educational work of Ramabai Saraswati. Firstly, this paper will extend and deepen the notion of gendered social capital so that it explicitly includes hierarchies of race, caste, and class as analytical differentials to study the work of women educational actors. Power relations inflect the work of white women, middle-class women, and Dalit or lower-caste women differentially, so that our notion of gendered social capital needs further layering to enable analysis of determinants of gendered power. Secondly, this paper will analyse how the literary activism of women actors in education in South Asia created transnational grids of articulation of agency. We will analyse how matrices of power, including race, caste, and class, informed such literary activism, through which women laid out claims to formal and informal education. To illustrate these theoretical and methodological approaches, the paper will use a range of case-studies, including the transnational trajectories of Kamala Sathianadhan (1879-1950), editor of the remarkable early 20th-century periodical *Indian Ladies' Magazine*; and the writings of Krupabai Sathianadhan (1862-1894), another Christian teacher and novelist, whose books *Saguna* (1887-1888) and *Kamala* (1894), two of India's first English-language novels by and centring on women, are *Bildungsromane* showing both critique of white racist missionary attitudes in the field of education and of contemporary Brahminical society in India. Such literary texts, key resources for educational history, articulate women's voices and agency as they seek an education that can combine South Asian heritage and Western education.

**Bandini, Gianfranco**

University of Florence

Italy

## **The Educational Roots of Violence: nationalism and racism in Italian schools between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries**

In the Kingdom of Italy, between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, primary schools were a fundamental factor in the nation-building process, helping to construct a precise sense of national identity. The main elements in this can be singled out as (the difficult route to) knowledge of the Italian language, the peninsula's geography (also in relation to neighbouring and more distant countries), and some particular periods of its past (such as the Roman Empire or the recent Risorgimento), apt to highlight the country's greatness, its independence and future aspirations.

In this context, the teaching of history and geography played a highly important role as they were increasingly allocated this special function of moulding sentiment for the fatherland. Very quickly the patriotism took on a marked nationalistic hue, within which (parallel to the colonial adventure) there developed a core of racist concepts, allusive first of all, before expanding and becoming more repetitive.

In school books, in response to the question 'do all men form a single species?', reference was no longer made to the traditional culture inspired by biblical universalism; instead emphasis began to be placed on the great differences among populations, classified by 'race' rather than the usual terms of 'species' or 'descent'. Hence, the various peoples were each placed at very distinct levels, which had gradually been outlined during history: therefore, some appeared bound to civilisation, and others to barbarity. The first had the right (and in a certain sense the duty) to spread civilisation and its benefits, if necessary using the force of weapons.

Upon arrival of the Fascist dictatorship, a racist and violent discourse had been circulating for some time, repeated insistently in the classroom. It considered war inevitable and just, a 'mission' with an ideal as well as spiritual justification, especially if aimed at the African 'barbarian' and non-Christian populations (as was fully evident in the colonial wars in Ethiopia and Libya).

The paper will rebuild the steps in the construction in schools of a series of textual and visual stereotypes concerning national identity, superiority, the use of violence and its rational justification. It will use school manuals (as well as globes and wall maps) in order to observe the stratification and consolidation of this new way of looking at the world in educational practices. It will pay particular attention to the European context, which will be analysed by studying the reception and adaptation of foreign models, first of all French and German, which were particularly important in geography teaching.

### **“Make Love, Not War”.**

#### **The promises and perils of communitarian life experiences**

The 1960s and 70s in Italy marked a moment of great discontinuity, change and generational conflict. In these years of contestation, original and alternative lifestyles came to light: young people wanted to personally engage in a concrete and real experience of peace, brotherhood and sharing property (and in some cases also personal affections), breaking out of the roles imposed by the bourgeois family. The pacifism of these first Italian 'communes' eclectically mixed the American dream with Eastern spirituality; rebellion and drug use with Marxist ideologies stemming from various sources. The result was a substantially minority (but not fleeting) movement which had ties both with its nineteenth-century predecessors (of both religious and

socialist origin) and with some subsequent interesting twentieth-century experiences, up to the present day.

The communitarian ideal took shape in some experiences, which became increasingly interconnected, and so went on to form an international movement. While, in terms of numbers, the people choosing to live in communitarian form (also in the recent eco-villages or cohousing) were few, their way of thinking started to be shared by increasingly broad swathes of the population, with evident effects on lifestyles (such as buying organic foods) and forms of education. In particular, think of their refusal to do military service, openness towards Eastern spirituality, vegetarianism, their ecological vision, fight against vivisection and for animal rights, and so-called critical consumption. In Italy, the latter aspect developed above all thanks to Francesco Gesualdi, a pupil of Don Milani who pursued the ideal of a peace that was never detached from justice: with his activity and writings he made consumers responsible, engaging them in a form of non-violent protest against the waste and violence of the economic world. Unfortunately, we must not forget that not all the promises of brotherhood and communitarian joy were fulfilled. Some communities, in the secrecy of their isolated world, practised forms of coercion and violence, even against children. These cases, some of which have been subject to criminal investigations by the judiciary, show how the danger is not to be found in the drugs or the feared sexual promiscuity of the outset, but in the very character itself of small communities, by definition different from the rest of the social body and purposefully, physically separate. Such that, paradoxically, in these communities history, violence and peace interweave.

### **Barausse, Alberto**

University of Molise

Italy

#### **“Advanced Sentinels of civil mobilization”**

#### **War, nationalism and teachers’ associations in Italy (1915-1918)**

The period of the Great War represents an important and particularly intense moment in the history of the relationships between schools and society in Italy. Recent studies in Italy have highlighted the role of the school and the teacher’s function, understood as part of a process of patriotic regimentation, which worked against the social integration of the small and middle bourgeoisie and the working class. In the evolution of this process an important position was assumed by teachers’ associations. The aim of this paper is to highlight the changes in Italian teachers’ organizations and their contribution to the transformation of the school as an instrument of support to civil aid and propaganda. The story of the National Teachers’ Union (UMN) or the Catholic Teachers’ Association “Niccolò Tommaseo”; the birth of the Teachers’ General Union for the national war (UGII) in May 1915 and the creation of a Special school and teachers’ section within the Commissioner for the Propaganda in May 1918, provide an opportunity to consider the changing role of the teachers and their involvement in the overall realignment of the school’s function in the wartime framework. It is not a coincidence that the birth of UGII was promoted by the Minister of Propaganda, Antonio Scialoja, who hoped the teachers would undergo a transformation and become a “body of spiritual assistance in the Nation in the hour of endeavor”; and that Ubaldo Comandini, Commissioner of Civil Assistance and of internal propaganda in the Government would be re-elected to the presidency of UMN in 1916. This paper tries to cast light on how the war determined and favoured the

progressive transformation of teachers into “propaganda professionals”; and therefore the beginning of a change which helps to explain the subsequent accession of many primary teachers to the fascist teachers’ movement in 1922. Within this process the teachers’ associations had to contend not only with the debate on the orientation and attitude towards the war, but also with changes that were affecting the educational and scholastic culture in the face of the war. Teachers were among the main protagonists of civil mobilization, which resulted not only in direct participation at the front: the war had also become part of the curriculum developed within the schools. Furthermore schools worked towards the organization of patriotic support through conferences and collaborations with Civil Service committees. Therefore young people engaged in institutionalized socialization processes through the actions of their teachers and their introduction to forms of school culture influenced by nationalistic tones greatly accelerated. Teachers were also called upon to encourage the participation of children in the initiatives of civil service through actions such as the collection of clothing or books for soldiers or to provide childcare even when schools were closed. As a result, through their associations and schools, teachers became one of the most important channels of consensus building and welding between the ruling class and the people.

**Barbu, Ragnhild, Rothmüller, Barbara and Schreiber, Catherina**

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### **Conceptions of civic education in the Luxembourg school system during World War I and the subsequent years**

Shortly after the outbreak of World War I Luxembourg was occupied by German troops after Germany had declared war on France. Luxembourg’s occupation was not only problematic against the background of the official neutrality of Luxembourg, but also with regard to the overall interests and identity of the country. Since its independence in 1839 Luxembourg had continuously been collaborating with all its neighbors France, Belgium and Germany, and was heavily depending on good relations, not least (as member of the *Zollverein* or German Customs Union) with regard to economic exchange and growth. The political and societal developments in the context of the war did not only trigger large famine but also the most severe inner crisis Luxembourg had ever faced in history (Gruber 1916). The country was divided in two major interests groups, the (conservative) royalists with their affinity to Germany on one hand, and the social democrats with their affinity to France on the other. As a deep cultural crisis this opposition was not restricted to parliamentary front lines, but included also a deep conflict about the vision of the school and the idea of its best possible model: was it to be a French or a German model, or a Luxembourgian amalgam?

In our paper we want to analyse how WWI with its domestic political tensions was affecting the curriculum of the Luxembourgish school system, particularly with regard to its overall aim of the construction of the future citizens. In times of war notions like homeland and nation became even more important categories and were used to unite the people, to create a tighter collective identity over the individual identities and to calm inner conflicts. However, in the period of peace following WWI, these national notions brought about by “mental wars” (Schneider/Schumann 2000) had to be re-negotiated. Therefore we want to analyse how the described rupture in the politic-nationalistic orientations in Luxembourg affected the concepts of citizenship as it is

represented in school curricula and extra-curricular activities, not only during the war, but also afterwards. Against the background of this overall research interest, we want to address the following questions: Which ideals of national identity and citizenship were promoted during and after WWI in primary and secondary education in Luxembourg? In which way did the overall orientation between Germany and France affect the educational construction of citizenship in Luxembourg's curricula?

To answer these questions, we want to analyse how implicit and explicit citizenship education varied across the different school types, from primary education to secondary education and also in the different levels of secondary education (*Gymnasium, Mittelschule, Fortbildungsschule*). The paper will be based on two major sources: on the one hand we will examine the school books introduced for the subjects civics, history and geography and on the other hand we also want to focus on extracurricular activities, that were not bound to official prescriptions and hence offered a more flexible image of the instant expectations and instructions with regard to citizenship education (Ben-Porath 2006).

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### **El Día Escolar de la No Violencia y la Paz (DENIP), orígenes e internacionalización de una propuesta de educación para la paz**

El objetivo de nuestra comunicación es dar a conocer los orígenes, dentro del contexto político de la dictadura franquista en España, de una propuesta de educación para la paz que ha alcanzado dimensiones internacionales.

En 1964 el régimen de Franco celebraba oficialmente y por todo lo alto su victoria en 1939 bajo el lema “25 años de paz”. Se equiparaba la consecución e imposición de un orden victorioso con el establecimiento, la defensa y la celebración de la paz. La dictadura de Franco pretendía ofrecer una imagen, dentro y fuera de España, de paz y estabilidad.

En contraposición a esta idea de la paz que propugnaba la Dictadura surgió, ese mismo año 1964 y desde colectivos pacifistas, la iniciativa de instituir una conmemoración escolar dedicada a la no violencia y la paz. El régimen franquista que controlaba férreamente las actividades escolares, pese a sus recelos iniciales, acabó aceptando una iniciativa que se inspiraba en una filosofía y unos principios muy distintos a los que fundamentaban la utilización que desde las esferas oficiales españolas se hacía del concepto de paz.

La persona que tuvo la idea de crear la jornada educativa no gubernamental Día Escolar de la No Violencia y la Paz (DENIP), fue el poeta, educador y pacifista Llorenç Vidal Vidal, nacido en Mallorca (España) en 1936. La iniciativa ha tenido una gran difusión internacional desde sus orígenes hasta la actualidad. En 1993 esta celebración fue reconocida oficialmente por la UNESCO. Millones de estudiantes de centros educativos de todo el mundo han celebrado durante décadas esta jornada cada treinta de enero, fecha conmemorativa de la muerte de Mahatma Gandhi.

Actualmente, cuando se cumple el cincuentenario de los orígenes de esta iniciativa, su internacionalización es tan importante que prácticamente se han olvidado sus orígenes. En esta comunicación, a partir tanto de fuentes escritas e iconográficas como de testimonios personales, pretendemos analizar cómo surgió esta propuesta, cuáles son los principios filosóficos y

pedagógicos que la sustentan, cómo se difundió dentro y fuera de las fronteras de España y como se ha construido, en relación a ella, todo un conjunto de elementos identificativos (símbolos, canciones, actividades, imágenes, etc.) reconocidos internacionalmente.

### **School Day of Non-Violence and Peace (DENIP): the origins and the internationalization of an educative proposal for peace**

Our aim in this paper is to make known the origins of a proposal to observe in the Spanish educational system an annual “Day for peace” which was an initiative created within the political framework of the Franco-dictatorship in Spain, and which has reached international dimensions.

In 1964 the regime of General Franco celebrated officially and “in style” the victory of his troops in 1939 (which brought an end to the Spanish Civil War) under the slogan “25 years of peace”. The attainment of a military victory and the subsequent imposition of order (according to Franco and his followers) were equated with the creation of the defence and the celebration of peace. Franco’s dictatorship wanted to offer, within and outside Spain, an image of peace and stability.

Against this conception of peace that the Franco-regime was defending, in the same year 1964, and from Pacifist movement, emerged the initiative to institute a school commemoration dedicated to Non-violence and Peace. The Franco-regime, which had an iron-control over all the activities within the Educational-System, at first distrusted the proposal but in the end accepted an initiative that was inspired by a philosophy and principles very different from those which the official circles of the Franco-regime were making in the name of peace.

The person who had this idea to create the Day of Non-Violence and Peace (DENIP, in Catalan, Dia Escolar de la No Violència i la Pau) was the poet, educator and pacifist Llorenç Vidal Vidal, born in Mallorca (Spain) in 1936. This initiative has spread internationally since its inception until the present. In 1993 UNESCO officially recognized this celebration. Millions of students in educational centres around the world have celebrated for decades this event every 30th of January, the same date as Mahatma Gandhi’s death.

At the present, now that we are about to observe the 50th Anniversary of its beginnings, its internationalization has become so widespread that we have forgotten its origins. In this call for papers, by means of written documents and visual icons as well as personal testimonies, we intend to analyze how this proposal first came about; what were the initial philosophic and pedagogic principles which it underlined; how it was spread and propagated both within and outside of the borders of Spain; and how a whole array of identifying elements (symbols, songs, activities, images, etc.) have been created out of this initiative which is internationally recognized.



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## **Representations of war and social upheaval in British historical pageants, 1905-1960**

Edwardian Britain suffered from a severe bout of what contemporaries called 'pageant fever'. Inspired by Louis Napoleon Parker's influential Sherborne pageant of 1905, communities up and down the country staged outdoor historical pageants, in which large casts of performers re-enacted series of scenes from their ancient and medieval pasts, in front of audiences that could number in the thousands. Historical pageantry continued to be popular during the interwar period and after the Second World War, when towns and cities, as well as organisations such as the Women's Co-operative Guild, staged more episodic versions of their own histories. Although historical pageants declined after the mid-1950s, they have never completely died out, and occasional revivals still occur. Pageants are a good lens through which to examine both elite and popular attitudes to the past, and this in turn offers insights into the construction and performance of identities in local communities.

Historical pageants were one aspect of the wide range of informal educational activities that formed an important part of British associational life in the twentieth century. Many involved schools and adult education organisations, and were often accompanied by educational activities in museums and elsewhere. Historical companion volumes to pageants were produced and sold together with souvenir programmes. After the Second World War, HM Customs & Excise exempted pageants from the entertainments tax, on the grounds that they were 'wholly educational'. As such, the texts and imagery of pageants reflected the versions of the local, national and imperial past that educational elites chose to present to their communities. Read alongside other cultural productions such as school textbooks, museum displays and guidebooks, historical pageants can offer profound insights into what Peter Wright called 'the presence of the past in British society' at various points in time. There has been a lively debate concerning the extent to which pageants reflected a conservative, anti-modern attitude. Some historians take this position, while others have argued that pageants embodied a willingness to use the past to inform the present and future, in ways that were not necessarily conservative or nostalgic. There remains, however, considerable scope for a more nuanced examination of the representation of many aspects of the national past in historical pageants.

This paper will consider the ways in which wars and episodes of social upheaval were represented in pageants across Britain during their long heyday. Many periods of historical warfare - the Roman invasions, the Wars of the Roses, the English Civil War and various episodes of Anglo-Scottish conflict - were repeatedly performed in historical pageants, often in very different ways. The paper will consider what Jerome de Groot has called the 'performative educational function' of these re-enactments. It is based on an AHRC-funded project, 'The Redress of the Past: Historical Pageants in Britain, 1905-2016'

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### **National education as a battlefield in the German-speaking part of Switzerland during and after the First World War**

Triggered by the First World War, the mental reference system of the German-speaking Swiss teachers had become unsettled. Before that, teacher trainers and teachers orientated themselves towards education in the form of traditional history of ideas and used German textbooks among others in German and history lessons. Due to the war, the German textbooks were examined for their nationalist tendency and considered to be problematic.

Against this background, we deal with the question of which viewpoints have been set up in the Swiss teacher journals to support a realignment of intellectual reference system. In this context, the concept of national and civic education emerged as a political conflict field. In the political sphere the concept of national education meant a questioning of the cantonal sovereignty in the education system. Here also the Swiss Conference of Cantonal Ministers of Education (EDK) was active as a lobbyist of the cantons and responded to the parliamentary motion with its own proposal to promote patriotism. Where do these political tensions become manifest in the magazines?

There was a need for revision of pedagogical theory, which lined up on the German philosophy of education and was used until the beginning of the war as unquestioned and a widely accepted model in teacher education. Explicit and implicit values and attitudes that have been transported into the theories were questioned and should be renegotiated. At issue was whether the school should provide for peace education or for military preparedness. In a state dominated by the liberal party, Catholic-conservative parties and socialists feared that a concept of national education only served the interests of the state-carrying party. The mobilization and the defensive struggle of the different political milieu towards a liberal interpretation of national education is also reflected in the teacher journals.

For a historical documentary analysis, we use the official publications of different Swiss teacher associations (Schweizerische Lehrerzeitung; Schweizerische Lehrerinnen-Zeitung; Schweizer Schule). These differ in terms of their addressees in the categories denomination, gender, language and cultural region. In addition, school legal documents and protocols of political debates are observed. The reconstructed debates and discourses from the teacher journals should be interpreted in a moderate manner based on theories of the social field.

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### **Discourse on Peace and War Between 1948 – 1950 in Hungarian Educational Journals**

After World War II Hungary belonged to the zone under the supremacy of the Soviet Union. After a democratic election in 1945, the next election in 1947 was openly manipulated. The oppositionist parties were eliminated and a one party system under a communist dictatorship was built up.

The Hungarian school system and the ideology of education was re-formed under the control of Soviet power, and schooling adopted the Soviet model.

Among other objectives educational periodicals and the press itself had the function of propaganda. Discourses about *peace* and *war* also had to fit into ideological education, education confirming the identity of 'socialist youth'. War did not only concern the recent past of Europe but also represented a permanent fight against the ideals of democracy and capitalism. Education for peace was also a very characteristic theme of socialist education, as socialist countries defined themselves – lead by the Soviet Union – as the key agent/factor of 'world peace'.

In our qualitative research we try to discover the main discourses on these two deeply important themes in two leading Hungarian educational journals (Pedagógiai Szemle, Magyar Pedagógia). In employing 'discourse' as a notion we follow the interpretation of Michel Foucault, so we use the broadest meaning of it. We consider all the allusions to war and peace as parts of a broader discourse on this question. We use the methods of content analysis and metaphor analysis. In our presentation we would like to draw on the historical background to expose the main authors and to analyse the most important arguments and structural elements of the discourse on peace and war.

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### **An example of the impacts of war on Civil Education: Scouting in Turkey**

Wars have transmitted innovations in the field of military education to civil schools. For instance, as a result of wars, scouting was developed in Britain by General Robert Baden Powell. Wandering in the woods, learning in nature, and struggling with nature are among the main purposes of scouting. From a military consideration, the struggle with nature prepares the individual for the struggle with his enemy. In the period of the empire and beyond, militarist effects were observed in the Turkish education system. For example, with the reformist acts in education resulting from the Second Constitutionalist Period, new courses such as military training, physical education, and gun practice were added to the curriculum. The long period of wars that took place at the end of the nineteenth century and in the beginning of the twentieth century, especially World War I ushered in military formation and discipline as a new phenomenon in education. Scouting activities, which in a way have similarities with military education, were modified to fit the agenda of Turkey in those years. In this period, Ethem Nejat proposed the idea of "Oba Mektebi" (Oba School). This was a remarkable approach since it was – pioneered in the Ottoman Empire. "Oba Mektebi" was a significant project which emerged at times of war and which formed the basis of scouting in the Ottoman State. In our study, coupled with the "Oba Mektebi" example, the developmental phases of scouting in the Ottoman State will be examined alongside its worldwide development. The topic will be scrutinized under the light of archival sources and printed media documents. Numeric data of girl and boy scouts and scouting studies will be utilised. Furthermore, scouting practice in Europe and the USA will be compared with scouting in Turkey.

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### **War, Education, and State Formation: Problems of Territorial and Political Integration in the United States, 1848-1912**

After the Civil War (1861-1865), the United States faced a problem of “reconstruction” similar to that confronted by other nations at the time and familiar to the U.S. from previous wars. The problem was one of territorial and political (re)integration: how to take territories that had been operating under “foreign” governance, whether indigenous or rebel, British or Russian, Mexican or Native American, and integrate them into an expanded nation state on common structural terms. Building on its experience with territories in the West, Congress increasingly saw education as central to solving this problem. Just as western territories applying to become states had been required since the 1840s to establish state systems of education, southern states were required to establish state education systems to be readmitted to the Union after the Civil War. Anticipating the need for continued federal support and oversight of education in both the defeated South and the territorial West, Congress established a national Bureau of Education in 1867 and went on to consider a series of bills in the 1870s and 1880s that would have established a truly national system of education – the closest the U.S. has ever come to such a system, then or since. In the late 1880s, however, this effort backfired and responsibility for education returned to the provincial level, with significant consequences for the ten western states still to be formed between 1889 and 1912. That the effort to establish a national system failed at the same time that similar efforts succeeded in other industrializing countries is intriguing and provides powerful intellectual leverage for analyzing relationships between education and state formation prior to WWI. Drawing on a database including the education provisions of all territorial and state constitutions and constitutional revisions over a 150-year period as well as on secondary comparative literature, this paper traces the shifting significance of education in U.S. state formation from the end of the Mexican-American War (1848) to 1912, when the last territories acquired through that war achieved statehood. In the process, the paper highlights the significance of colonial racialism in initially promoting but ultimately limiting national responsibility and authority for education in the U.S.

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### **L'École Polytechnique de Lisbonne. Entre la formation militaire et l'instruction publique**

Après la fin de la guerre civile, remportée définitivement par les libéraux sur les partisans de l'absolutisme, surgit la nécessité de réorganiser l'armée et de la rendre capable de servir l'État moderne qu'il fallait construire. Dans ce contexte, le ministère de la guerre décide de créer, en 1837, l'École Polytechnique de Lisbonne, une école d'enseignement supérieur dont l'objectif premier était la formation de cadres militaires. Ainsi, elle serait dirigée par un militaire de carrière et son corps enseignant serait essentiellement composé par des militaires.

Ces caractéristiques ont permis de neutraliser la prévisible réaction de l'Université de Coimbra, qui étant la seule institution d'enseignement supérieur, s'est toujours opposée à la création d'autres. Cependant, une douzaine d'années plus tard, le Conseil Supérieur de l'Instruction Publique, l'organe de gestion du système d'éducation, a délibéré de proposer au gouvernement que «l'enseignement de la science spéculative et transcendante» devrait être exclusif à l'Université, tandis que les écoles telles que l'École Polytechnique devraient s'intéresser uniquement aux applications pratiques. Cette réaction est exemplaire de la crainte que le prestige croissant des écoles polytechniques pourrait mettre en question l'Université, malgré leur statut privilégié qui demeurera intouchable.

En 1859, l'École Polytechnique de Lisbonne passe de la tutelle du Ministère de la Guerre au ministère du Royaume, dont le responsable était un ingénieur militaire, le même qui a transféré le Conseil Supérieur d'Instruction Publique de Coimbra à Lisbonne. Bien que la nécessité de la formation de cadres militaires pour la réorganisation de l'armée était évidente, l'idée avancée pour justifier sa création était qu'il s'agissait d'un stratagème pour entourer le pouvoir de Coimbra. Cependant, la confluence entre les intérêts militaires et ceux de l'instruction publique permet d'imaginer une sorte de complicité qui désarme toute controverse créée autour de la création de l'École Polytechnique, compte tenu de l'objectif de la construction de l'État moderne.

Cette communication a pour but réfléchir sur le processus par lequel une école conçue pour la restructuration de l'armée devient une école civile, comparable aux facultés universitaires, ce qui a contribué à la décentralisation de l'enseignement supérieur, mouvement qui ne sera «complet» qu'en 1911, après la chute de la monarchie et la fondation des universités de Lisbonne et Porto.

Cette étude aura comme source la documentation existante aux Archives Nationales et aux archives de l'Académie des Sciences, ainsi que des écrits d'auteurs contemporains et des documents produits par la Faculté des Sciences, héritière de l'École Polytechnique de Lisbonne, dans le cadre des commémorations du centenaire de la fondation de cette dernière.

### **Lisbon Polytechnic School: From military academy to civil school**

After the end of the civil war, in which liberals finally vanquished the supporters of absolutism, a need arose to reorganize the army and make it capable of serving the modern state. An important measure by the Ministry of war was founding the Lisbon Polytechnic School in 1837, a school of Higher Education, run by a high-ranking military officer, with a mostly military faculty and meant for the formation on military staff.

These characteristics may have neutralized the predictable reaction of the University of Coimbra, the sole institution of Higher Education in the country, always opposed to the creation of others. However, a dozen years later, the "Superior Council of Public Instruction", responsible for the education system, decided to propose to the government that "Speculative and transcendent teaching of sciences" would be exclusive to the University, while schools such as the Polytechnic were meant for practical applications only, demonstrating a fear that the growing prestige of such schools could endanger the University, despite its privileged status remaining untouched.

Lisbon Polytechnic School would transfer from the Ministry of War to the Ministry of the Kingdom in 1859 under a minister graduated in Military Engineering, the very one who had brought the Superior Council of Public Instruction from Coimbra to Lisbon. Thus it appeared his tactic was merely a hoax to constrain the power of Coimbra, despite the fact that the formation of military staff in order to restructure the army was needed. Nevertheless, the evident confluence between the military and public instruction allows us to imagine a kind of involvement that

disarms any debate around the creation of the Polytechnic School, with regard to the objectives of Modern State development.

This communication intends to reflect on the process in which one school, that was created for the reorganization of the army becomes a civil school equivalent to the University Faculties, which contributed to the decentralization of higher education which would only be “completed” in 1911 with the foundation of the Universities of Lisbon and Porto, after the fall of the Monarchy. Documentation existing in the National Archives and the Science Academy archives shall be used, as much as the writings of contemporary authors and documents produced by the Faculty of Science, successor to the Lisbon Polytechnic School, in the centennial celebrations of its founding.

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### **Ciudades de niños. España 1939. Una experiencia educativa para la infancia en países en guerra**

Desde el estallido de la guerra de España y entre los años 1936 y 1939, en la zona leal a la Republica, se proyectaron y desarrollaron cientos de Colonias escolares permanentes para la desprotegida infancia que padecía los bombardeos a ciudades abiertas. Un gran número de niños y niñas fueron atendidos y tratados como nunca lo habían sido en ningún otro conflicto bélico, evacuados hacia territorios de retaguardia, donde la guerra aún no había demostrado todo su poder de destrucción, ofreciendo asistencia y educación.

La pérdida de territorios leales a la República Española, sumado a las experiencias del Ministerio de Instrucción Pública, hicieron que, a finales de 1938, se diseñara un plan novedoso para acoger gran cantidad de huérfanos y desplazados de ambos sexos en edades comprendidas entre 8 y 14 años, con la construcción de poblaciones neutrales de paz ideando estas ciudades para niños. La influencia de los conceptos pedagógicos del anarquista Juan Puig Elías (1898-1972) están en el trasfondo de este proyecto, pero tenemos que situarnos en un país en guerra, en una guerra avanzada y casi concluida con lo que supondría la derrota de la Republica y donde se diseña un sistema educativo superior al empleado en las Colonias escolares permanentes. Una idea de lugar neutral que fuera la plataforma para iniciar la construcción de ciudades para educar. En definitiva, no fue pues fruto de un pensamiento único, fueron las conclusiones de un largo y persistente trabajo evolutivo y de experiencias anteriores con los niños evacuados.

En un folleto de dieciséis páginas, editado por el “Medical Bureau and North American Committe to Aid Spanish Democracy” en 1939, titulado Ciudades de los niños en España, “Children’s cities in Spain”, se concreta que una cantidad aproximada de mil niñas y niños iban a residir en una “ciudad liliputiense”, divididos en unidades, en un régimen de comunidad y autogestión. Esta publicación nos habla de las características con la total participación de sus pequeños habitantes en la vida de la pequeña “city”. El patrocinio se ideó, a través de organizaciones internacionales antifascistas con la construcción de un conjunto de pabellones neutrales. Un modelo libertario en sus planteamientos con función social pedagógica y apoyo mutuo, educando a niños ciudadanos, la enseñanza de oficios, con una participación asamblearia y democrática, con responsabilidad, con todas las necesidades cubiertas y en plena naturaleza.

Lo que se planteaba pues, era poner en práctica dentro del transcurso de una guerra, la innovación pedagógica protagonizada por la infancia, con la finalidad de educar en espacios contruidos de paz y para la paz. En conclusión, estas actuaciones emprendidas aun hoy en día son ejemplo de cómo se debería actuar ante cualquier situación bélica donde los más inocentes tengan que sufrir, o morir. Un proyecto admirable del cual podemos teorizar que las ciudades liliputienses son la fórmula para la salvaguarda del futuro de un país en guerra. Ciudades para inocentes.

### **Children's cities. Spain 1939. An educational experience for children in countries at war**

From the outbreak of the Civil War in Spain between 1936 and 1939, the Republican zone set up and developed hundreds of colonies for children evacuated from bombing in the cities. They were offered welfare and education. The loss of territories loyal to the Spanish Republic meant that at the end of 1938, a new plan was developed to accommodate a large number of orphans displaced by the war of both sexes, aged between 8 and 14 in 'Children's cities'.

In a pamphlet edited by the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy in 1939 called 'Children's Cities in Spain', it appears that about 1,000 boys and girls went to reside in a 'Liliput City' - a self-governing community. This publication reveals the participation of its small inhabitants in the life of this small 'city'. The importance of this example is the attempt to put into practice, in the course of war, pedagogic innovations with the goal of education in spaces constructed out of peace and for peace. This project could offer a formula for the salvation of the future of a country at war: Cities for innocents. What was proposed is the creation, during the war, a pedagogical innovation project, starting with childhood education, in order to build education in spaces of peace and for peace.

### **Berdote Alonso, Esther**

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*SWG Gender: Gender, Power Relations and Education in a Transnational World*

### **POSTER: Women's formation at the expense of Women Religious in the Basque Country during the XIXth and XXth century**

An essential aspect of the educational system in the Basque Country, at present, is the great relevance of education at the expense of religious congregations from the beginning of the 20th century. The creation of educational centres directed by Women Religious has ensued from great relevance to give response to women's formation, in different social strata, during the XIXth and XXth century. The purpose of this research project is to analyse the evolution of the educational centres that were dedicated to the educational formation of women directed to diverse social classes. The circumstances that made this fact possible and the demands of society during this period are key to understanding the relation of equalities and/or differences between social classes.

Bearing in mind that the guiding thread of this research is the establishment of relations between congregations and education, the general aims that we are trying to manage are: to analyse the situation of the formation of women in the Basque Country during the XIXth and the XXth centuries; to study the expansion of Women Religious with major presence in the Basque

Country; to state the presence of the catholic sector in the phenomenon of the formation of women by setting it in the social, economic and educational context of the already mentioned period.

This project contributes to historical knowledge of this period in the Basque Country an explanation of this educational phenomenon that supposes women's education, bearing in mind the variable of social class. Additionally, it is expected to realise hidden aspects that exist in the area of private education, on whose importance nobody doubts, though a difficulty exists added to the access to the documentation in comparison with the availability to the documentation related to public education. The challenge that carries this research is the access to documentary sources that offer enough information to support the foreseen aims. The predictable access to the files of the religious congregations and of the educational centres placed in the Basque Country will guarantee the attainment of the above mentioned aims.

**Berto, Rosianny Campos and Simões, Regina Helena Silva**

Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo

Brazil

**“I am Brazilian, proudly I say; in peace and in war against the enemy”:  
physical education lessons for children in wartime (1932-1945)**

This paper analyses the ideological nature of school physical education in Brazil, expressed in articles published in the *Journal of Physical Education of the Army (MPE)*, between 1937 and 1945. This journal was published within the Brazilian New State (1937-1945), whose ideological orientation sometimes approached Nazism and Fascism. Created in 1932 by the Army Physical Education School (APES), the periodical publicized militaristic ideas about physical education practices within Brazilian schools. Read critically, these articles indict MPE as the spokesperson for the Brazilian dictatorial State, and echo the initial political-ideological alignment of the government with the Axis during the Second World War (1939-1945). It is important to note that in 1942 - when Brazil joined the allied forces in combat - publication of the Journal was temporarily suspended, under the argument that the military, changed “[...] the feathered steel by guns [...] there they went to a foreign land, to fight for the conquest of a better world” (Sant’anna, 1947, p. 1). As the official organ of the APES, the journal constituted a means to circulate in Brazilian schools a nationalistic ideology geared towards preparing the “strong and regenerate” man, able to defend the homeland in times of war. The articles established a relationship between games, playing and preparation for the future. Abade (1942, p. 16) criticized the absence of space for breaks and for physical education at school, arguing that it would be “[...] so necessary, that it reminds us of Wellington’s wise words, that it was in the break time of public schools that England won the battle of Waterloo”. Therefore, Abade argued that physical education should prepare children early for the defence of Homeland. Within the journal there are articles dealing with the preparation of soldiers to war. On the cover of the published edition in June 1942, patriotism and war are clearly shown in the image of the armed soldiers and of the National Flag. Images of the war are also present in stories and songs used to spread heroic ideals and nationalist feeling to children, as in the songs “Soldier March” or in “Story of Pinocchio” in which the puppet dignifies the national pride “In peace and in war against the enemy” (Abade, 1939, p. 12). Through a close reading of this journal, this paper concludes that in dictatorial and war times nationalism and physical energy were constitutive elements of physical education practiced at schools, possibly to educate future soldiers who should be prepared to serve the nation well and to fight for the Homeland.



**Bethell, Kerry**  
Massey University  
New Zealand

*SWG Gender: Gender, Power Relations and Education in a Transnational World*

**Transnational connections and travelling teachers: the educational travels of three New Zealand teachers to Britain to gain kindergarten qualifications and experience, 1896 – 1920**

This paper reports on preliminary findings drawn from a larger project that explores the two-way travel of women teachers between New Zealand and Britain in search of education and/or employment. The travels of three of the project's 22 teachers are profiled in this paper: Miss Mary Richmond who left in 1896, Miss Rachel Richmond in 1902 and Miss Anna Fell in 1914. Each made the lengthy and often difficult two-month return journey to England to undertake study at the London based, Froebel Educational Institute. What were their expectations, experiences and aspirations? How did these experiences abroad enhance or hinder their subsequent teaching careers? This paper explores these questions and also considers Froebelian and other networks and organisations that supported their endeavours.

This project uses a prosopographical approach to colonial issues of kindergarten qualifications and teacher supply to illustrate women's work in education, transnational connections, and their contribution to kindergarten development in both countries. Women's personal experiences provide the project's starting point to assist in understanding the social world in which their educational experiences and social worlds were expressed and ordered. Women's personal papers and professional and institutional records including teacher-training registers form the key sources of data.

Central to the data analysis is a focus on understanding more fully how women construct and negotiate their identities as teachers with particular regard to their participation in the global travel of ideas around kindergarten provision and pedagogy. Key organizing themes used include gender, class and, given the predominance of single women within the early kindergarten movement, marital status. Similarly the historical context is used as an organizing theme in which to explore how educational identities originated in a particular time and place. These identities are viewed as reflected, performed and negotiated through stories of personal experiences as travellers and as teachers.

**Bhragava, Prakrati**  
Central University of Himachal Pradesh  
India

**Exigencies of First World War and the Birth of Harcourt Butler Technological Institute, Kanpur**

The present paper is an effort to understand the institutionalization of technical education in the flourishing industrial centre, which had significantly contributed to the war supply of British army in the First World War. The paper will initiate its discussion with a brief introduction on the industrialization of Kanpur; largely due to military requirement; which was initiated after the Mutiny of 1857 and subsequently enormously contributed materially in the First World War. It will also bring out the perspective of European mill owners regarding technical education and

finally the extensive debate on the Harcourt Butler Technological Institute, Kanpur engrossed in colonial policy and contrasting demands of European mill owners and Indian industrialist. The First World War not merely produced new power centres in the world but also paved the way for the higher technical education in an industrial city.

### **Bianchini, Paolo**

University of Turin

Italy

#### **Apprendre la concurrence: émigration et colonisation dans les manuels scolaires européens entre la fin du XIX et le début du XX siècle**

Le papier vise à enquêter sur la façon avec laquelle la concurrence entre les nations européennes a été présentée et justifiée à l'école entre 1870 et 1914. A ce propos, sera analysé un échantillon de manuels scolaires employés dans les écoles primaires et secondaires de trois pays, la France, l'Italie et l'Espagne. Plus précisément l'analyse se concentrera sur les moyens utilisés par les textes pour présenter aux élèves le thème de l'émigration et de la colonisation. Les trois nations concernées par l'enquête étaient à l'époque concernées soit par le problème de la sortie d'une partie de leur population vers les terres nouvelles, en particulier vers les Amériques, soit par la conquête ou la gestion des anciennes et nouvelles colonies. Evidemment la situation était bien différente entre ces pays: l'Italie, qui connaissait à l'époque une impressionnante croissance démographique, devait faire face à une véritable fuite de millions de personnes et tentait de l'orienter vers certains pays plutôt que ceux qu'elle considérait comme concurrents. En même temps, elle cherchait à se garantir un rôle parmi les puissances européennes en inaugurant une politique coloniale en Afrique. La France avait le problème contraire, puisque sa population apparaît insuffisante (surtout si comparée avec la voisine et redoutable Allemagne) aussi pour la gestion des anciennes et nouvelles colonies et donc cherchait de limiter l'émigration pour ce que pouvait. L'Espagne venait de perdre la plupart de ses colonies mais était bien consciente de l'importance que sa culture (et ses habitants) pouvaient avoir pour garder des liens politiques et économiques avec l'ancien Empire. Pour ces raisons, à travers la présentation de l'émigration et de la colonisation dans les manuels scolaires, il est possible de connaître la façon avec laquelle des thèmes comme le nationalisme, la civilisation et la race et de manière plus générale le rapport à la diversité, aux niveaux européen et extra-européen, ont été enseignés et transmis, en générant des guerres et des préjugés difficiles à extirper à distance d'un siècle.

#### **Learning competition: emigration and colonisation in textbooks between the end of XIXth and the beginning of XX century**

The paper aims to investigate the way in which competition between European nations was presented and justified in school between 1870 and 1914. With this intention, I will analyse a hefty sample of textbooks used in primary and secondary schools in three countries – France, Italy and Spain. The analysis will focus on the themes of emigration and colonization and their presentation to the pupils. All three nations, thought in different ways, were concerned at that time with part of their population emigrating to other countries, especially in the Americas, and with the conquest or management of old and new colonies. Italy experienced impressive population growth but had to confront a leakage of millions of people and tried to orient them toward countries considered friendly or neutral rather than toward those considered competitors. At the same time Italy tried to ensure a role among the

European powers inaugurating a colonial policy in Africa. France had the opposite problem, because its population seemed insufficient (especially compared with its “formidable” neighbor Germany) for the management of old and new colonies and therefore sought to stop emigration and to attract people from other European countries. Spain had lost most of its colonies but was well aware of the importance that its culture (and its inhabitants) might have in maintaining political and economic links with her old empire. Through the presentation of emigration and colonization in textbooks it is possible to study the way in which subjects such as nationalism, civilisation and race and more generally the relationship with diversity, at European and extra-European level, have been taught and transmitted, generating wars and prejudices that even today remain very difficult to eradicate.

## **Bienvenue, Louise**

Université de Sherbrooke  
Canada

### **Construire une société non-violente par la psychoéducation: l'influence des réseaux européens de protection de la jeunesse dans le Québec d'après-guerre**

Cette communication entend mettre en lumière l'influence des réseaux de protection de la jeunesse européens sur les milieux de la rééducation au Québec (Canada) dans la période de l'après-guerre. Nous souhaitons plus particulièrement faire valoir la participation de deux pionniers québécois du domaine du traitement de la délinquance juvénile, Gilles Gendreau et son épouse Claire Lalande-Gendreau, à ces réseaux européens et internationaux afin de montrer comment l'enjeu spécifique de la construction de la paix a imprégné leur pensée et leur action.

Retraçant le parcours singulier de ces individus à l'origine de la psychoéducation – un traitement appelé à devenir dominant au Québec – nous ferons d'abord valoir l'empreinte de leurs engagements de jeunesse sur leur vision sociale. Le créneau pacifiste de la Jeunesse étudiante catholique et de sa fédération internationale (la JECI) semble, en effet, avoir été une impulsion décisive dans la suite de leur parcours auprès des jeunes.

Nous examinerons ensuite l'implication de Gilles Gendreau et de certains de ses collègues québécois au sein de l'Association internationale des éducateurs pour jeunes inadaptés (AIEJI), fondée en 1951, dans la foulée des rapprochements franco-allemands. En favorisant la circulation d'idées et la confrontation des expériences nationales dans le cadre de congrès et de journées d'études, l'AIEJI rejoint les aspirations de ces nouveaux experts québécois; elle s'avère, en outre, un important relai d'information pour tout ce qui concerne les techniques d'intervention et les normes professionnelles.

L'exposé sera complété par une analyse plus ciblée du programme psychoéducatif. Au-delà du traitement réservé aux clientèles difficiles comme les jeunes délinquants, l'approche dite « psychoéducative » peut se lire comme une véritable entreprise de prophylaxie sociale dans ses visées de pacification. Proposant de neutraliser la violence par le travail introspectif de chacun sur lui-même, la psychoéducation est marquée au sceau des efforts internationaux de reconstruction. Elle est, en ce sens, un véritable produit d'après-guerre.

### **Constructing a Non-violent Society through Psycho-education: The Influence of European Youth Protection Networks in Post-war Quebec**

This presentation attempts to bring to light the influence of European youth protection networks on re-education practices in post-war Quebec, Canada. We will illustrate in particular the

participation of Gilles Gendreau and his wife Claire Lalande-Gendreau, two Quebec pioneers in the treatment of young offenders, in European and international networks in order to demonstrate how the specific issue of peace construction permeated their ideas and actions. By tracing the unique journey of two people at the origin of psycho-education – a treatment that was to become dominant in Quebec – we will first highlight the influence of their youthful community involvement on their social philosophy. The pacifist orientation of the International Young Catholic Students and its international federation (the IYCS) appears to have been a crucial impetus in their future interactions with young people. We will then examine the involvement of Gilles Gendreau and some of his Quebec colleagues within the International Association of Social Educators (AIEJI) founded in 1951 in the wake of French-German reconciliation. By supporting the dissemination of ideas and the sharing of national experiences through conferences and workshops, the AIEJI aligned itself with the aspirations of these new experts from Quebec. It proved to be, among other things, an important conduit for providing information about all things related to intervention techniques and professional standards. The conclusion will consist of a more focused analysis of the psycho-educational program. In addition to treatment geared towards difficult clients such as young offenders, the “psycho-educational” approach may be viewed as a veritable enterprise of social prevention in its aim of pacification. By proposing to neutralize violence through introspection of one’s self, psycho-education is rooted in the international efforts of reconstruction. In this sense, it is truly a product of the post-war period.

### **Birocheau, Sonia**

EHESS, Paris

France

### **Florence Holbrook and the Promotion of Peace in the Chicago Schools and Beyond**

1914 was a significant year in Florence Holbrook’s life as a school professional and peace activist. In May 1914, she was granted permission by the Chicago Board of Education to organize a Peace Parade at her school in remembrance of the First International Peace Conference at The Hague in 1899. One month later, she was honored by her colleagues, staff and pupils for 25 years of “loving, loyal service as principal of the [Forestville] school.” Then, in the fall, she met Hungarian peace activist and future lifelong friend Rosika Schwimmer, as she toured the United States to enlist Americans’ interest in the cause of international peace.

Even though, from then on, Holbrook became an active peace advocate alongside renowned Jane Addams, Emily Greene Balch, Katherine Devereux Blake, Fannie Fern Andrews, or Lola Maverick Lloyd, little is known about her work for the promotion of peace, both in the United States and beyond. She is strangely largely absent from the historiography relating to the women’s peace movement as well as to education in general. Yet, within the framework of this conference, her career as an educator in daily contact with children and teachers for 50 years, alongside her membership of several feminist and peace organizations from the 1910s onwards, invite attention. Indeed, did she use her position as a school principal to help promote peace both in schools and in national and international organizations? Was her participation in the latter limited to educational matters? This paper proposes to focus on some specific moments in Holbrook’s life when education and peace intersected to shed some light on her role in education for peace before and after World War I.

Her personal correspondence with Rosika Schwimmer and Lola Maverick Lloyd, as well as her personal records are key sources to uncover her role as a spokeswoman for peace. Archival material pertaining to the peace movement of the early 20th century as well as official records and professional reviews published in Chicago can further help us assess the importance and relevance of her actions in the local, national and international contexts. By studying the life of this relatively unknown educator and activist, my project hopes to broaden our knowledge of education for peace in the early twentieth century.

## **Black, John**

Independent

United Kingdom

### **The Timely Intervention of War!**

#### **The Education Act of 1936 and its suspension in October 1939**

An examination of the inter war domestic policies, including education appear unexciting and the political actors of the day are almost forgotten. This paper attempts to put forward an alternative view and focuses on the 1936 Education Act. However the 1936 Education Act was successful in raising school attendance to 15 years of age, but this was a compromise whereby children could leave school from the age of 14 years under the ‘beneficial employment’ clauses contained in the Act. Indeed, the 1936 Act appeared to have its philosophical roots back into late 19th century elementary education legislation and labour certificates. This point was raised on numerous occasions by the Labour Party in opposition during the Act’s second reading in the Commons in February 1936. However the President of the Board of Education, Oliver Stanley had ‘re-branded’ the original labour certificates clauses that were now called ‘*beneficial employment*’ clauses. Indeed there were so many ‘beneficial clauses’ which if enacted it would have fallen to each local authority to interpret what beneficial employment actually meant! One Labour MP described the Education Bill as it passed through its second reading as more of an Industry Bill rather than an Education Bill, a point that is supported in this paper. It is argued that the beneficial employment clauses allowed the Education Bill to pass relatively unscathed through the National Government that was mainly made up of members of the Conservative Party, and through the Conservative House of Lords. The Lords had previously defeated Trevelyan’s attempts in 1931 to raise the school leaving age to 15 years without exemptions.

However, what some may regard as the timely intervention of war that caused implementation the 1936 Act to be suspended in October 1939, and its eventual repeal without ever having been enforced. This perhaps saved state secondary education in England from becoming an administrative shambles as previously experienced by state elementary education during the school board era. These difficulties had been resolved by the Fisher Act of 1918 that had successfully raised the school leaving age to 14 years without any exemptions. The 1936 Education Act had reversed this. During the debates of the second reading of the Education Act (Suspension) Bill in October 1939, there were prophetic utterances from the opposition benches that pointed to a future debate towards an equally future Education Bill suited to a post war society.

The principal actors within the debates surrounding both the 1936 Education Act, and the Suspension Act tend now to be forgotten. These actors are considered in this paper as they all contributed to the debates on education during the late 1920s and 1930s including Trevelyan’s

School Attendance Bill in 1931 as well as the 1936 Education Act. Despite being assumed as somewhat forgotten by historians they appeared to have some experience of education either through previously holding political appointments within the Board of Education; being university teachers, or elementary school teachers as was the case with William Cove, Morgan Jones, Goronwy Owen and James Chuter Ede. Ede went on to become Parliamentary Secretary to the Board (later Ministry) of Education from 1941 to 1945.

## **Bopp, Petra**

Germany

### **Ambivalence of Images and Narration in Times of War and Peace: Memories in German Private Second World War Photo Albums**

By 1939 some ten percent of the German population owned analogue cameras. Already in 1933 private photography there was declared to be an important propaganda instrument and promoted as such in popular journals. *Photo-Illustrierte* und *Die Linse*, for instance, repeatedly urged people to place their camera in the service of society and become members of the *Reichsbundes Deutscher Amateur-Fotografen*. In 1939, at the very start of the Second World War, this demand was repeated once again. At home, women were to take photographs of their families, and likewise men, as future soldiers, were not to let their cameras rest, since the exchange between the home and war front not only took place via army post letters but also, and above all, via visual images. Displays of the photo industry and war-mongering image propaganda advertised representations of soldiers and mothers with children to vulgarize this photographic praxis among the population. In private photo albums time and again images of soldiers with children in occupied countries are to be found. These images supposedly show familiar situations during quarterings of troops and marches through cities or villages, thereby often reminding of visual strategies employed by propaganda services. In representation modes and captions contradictions between consensual and violent proceedings become recognizable. From official war reports, wiretap protocols and army post letters we know of the German armed forces' murderous actions, especially against children during persecutions of Jews and executions of hostages or partisans. Following the research project *Fremde im Visier: Private Fotografie der Wehrmachtsoldaten im Zweiten Weltkrieg* and the resulting exhibition *Fremde im Visier. Fotoalben aus dem zweiten Weltkrieg*, my paper will concentrate on photographic traces contextualized by written documents. It will furthermore analyse interviews, some of them with ex-soldiers, but most of them with their children and other relatives, the so-called second generation, which provide insight into the working of these visual artefacts in families. The various ways in which these visual archives can be read and seen have entirely different repercussions on the approach and handling of war heritage in families. Via photographs the impenetrable silence of war participants and the resulting imaginings of their daughters and sons can be narrated and confronted with entangled biographical stories. From this emerge transgenerational issues, which allow for a more nuanced approach to current war and peace processes.

**Boser, Lukas**

Université de Lausanne  
Switzerland

### **Teachers in Uniforms – Soldiers in the Classrooms: Networks of Military Personnel and School Teachers/School Reformers**

The aim of this paper is to reconstruct the transfer of knowledge and technology between military and school. Knowledge and technologies do not travel by themselves. It needs media as well as humans to transfer them from one context to the other. Considering that personal networks play a crucial role in these processes, this paper will ask who were the people who provided the transfer of knowledge and technologies between military and school in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Switzerland.

From Germany/Prussia we know that there had been strong connections between military and the *Gymnasium*. To join the teaching staff was a common career option for military officers after they left the army. Many a student attended the *Gymnasium* not because he aspired to an academic career but because he wanted to enlist for the so called one-year-voluntary-service – a military training for future officers which also opened the doors to the higher ranks of civil service (cf. Stübiger, 1991).

As for Switzerland we know much less about those kinds of connections between the military and the school. To bring a bit more insight into that matter, this paper will trace two modes of transfer of knowledge and technologies. The first one is a transfer that is a consequence of personal experience. It follows the idea that former military personnel would have introduced specific knowledge and technologies into their new jobs whenever they began to teach at schools. On the other hand teachers could have used their professional skills during their military service. From 1874 onwards every young man in Switzerland had to join the armed forces – provided that he was bodily and mentally able to do so – and therefore (at least in theory) this form of transfer could be assumed to be very important. But since in some cantons the teachers were exempted from military service whereas in others they had to serve their time, a much closer look at the historical situations has to be taken. The question to be answered concerning this first mode of transfer is: Who were the people who served in both institutions – school and military?

The second mode of transfer is one where knowledge and technologies were transferred intentionally from one institution to the other. In 1876 for example a group of teachers asked the military to introduce the metric system into the recruitment exams. They did so not because the metric system was used in the armed forces, but because they knew that things asked in the recruitment tests would immediately find their way into the cantonal school curricula. Considering this second mode of transfer the question is: Who were the people involved in those transfers and which interconnections did they have?

**Bosna, Valeria Vittoria Aurora**

University of Foggia / Italy  
University of Barcelona / Spain

### **“Somos de la misma sangre, hermano, tú y yo”. Educación para la Paz por el Método Scout**

El Escultismo, movimiento juvenil de educación no formal iniciado en el 1907 en Inglaterra por Robert Baden Powell, tiene como fin principal formar, a partir de la Ley y de la Promesa

scout, ciudadanos y ciudadanas buenos, responsables y activos en la sociedad y en la comunidad mundial. El Método scout, gracias a herramientas educativas específicas, presenta un estilo propio de trabajo dirigido a una educación integral de los jóvenes y de las jóvenes. En ese sentido propone diferentes recorridos educativos que inciden sobre todas las áreas del desarrollo personal (manual, físico, carácter, social y espiritual). Además ofrece para cada edad herramientas específicas que tienen en cuenta las necesidades de niñas y niños, chicas y chicos, mujeres y hombres jóvenes.

El Escultismo en su dos formas -masculina y femenina- se ha distinguido desde su nacimiento por ser un movimiento educativo mundial dirigido a la construcción, difusión y mantenimiento de la Paz entre los scout, las scout y las guías de todo el Mundo y en sus comunidades de pertenencia. El trabajo para la Educación para la Paz por el Método scout parte ya de sus pilares fundamentales, Ley y Promesa scout, ambas comunes, en los valores que llevan, a todas las asociaciones existentes en el mundo y que expresan claramente una intención de hermandad mundial. En la Educación scout es muy significativa la importancia que tiene el área social. Se educan los jóvenes en la acogida, en valorar las sociedades multiculturales, en respetar los demás, en ser parte activa de una sociedad justa e igualitaria. Pero el trabajo en ese sentido pasa también por las otras áreas del desarrollo personal y en cada una se intenta ofrecer oportunidades para que los jóvenes puedan experimentar en primera persona una vida con los demás estableciendo relaciones positivas, de respeto y de Paz. Ese trabajo quiere presentar el Método educativo scout, llevado a cabo por parte del movimiento juvenil más grande del mundo y que resulta todavía actual después de cien años, profundizando en particular cómo trabaja y promueve entre los jóvenes una verdadera y eficaz Educación para la Paz.

### **“We be of one blood, thou and I”: Education for Peace by the Scout Method**

The Scouting youth movement of non-formal education began, in England, in 1907 under the leadership of Robert Baden Powell. It had as its primary goal to train, by the Scout Law and the Scout Promise, good, responsible and active citizens in the society and in the world community. The scout method, thanks to specific educational tools, presents a specific working style for an integral education of young people. In that sense it offers different educational paths that involve all areas of personal development (manual, physical, character, social and spiritual). Moreover, for each age, it offers specific tools that consider the needs of children, of young people, of young women and young men. Scouting in its two forms - male and female - was marked from its birth as a global educational movement for the creation, dissemination and preservation of peace among scouts, scouts and guides from all over the world and their communities. The work for education for peace by the Scout method starts from its pillars, ‘Scout Law’ and ‘Promise’, which are both common in the values of all associations in the world and that clearly express an intention of world brotherhood and sisterhood. In Scout Education, the social area is very important. The young people are educated to welcome, to value multicultural Society, to respect others, to take an active part in a just and equal Society. Education for peace is also made in other areas of personal development in which the scout method provides opportunities for young people to experience first hand a life with others by establishing positive relationships of respect and peace. This paper aims to present the scout educational method, carried out by the world’s largest youth movement that is still active after a hundred years, especially focusing on how it works and promotes among young people a real and effective education for peace.



**Boven, David**

Loyola University Chicago  
United States

### **Becoming Men: Schoolboys, Masculinity, and the Defence of the Lucknow Residency in 1857**

The Indian Rebellion of 1857 was a defining moment in the history of South Asia. For students at La Martiniere College, Lucknow it was also a turning point. By the time the Rebellion began in Meerut and Delhi, there were more than 250 boys at the school. By mid-June, the school's principal decided to move the 65 remaining students to the Lucknow Residency to provide a safer environment. As the Residency became the target of rebel attacks, the schoolboys began service as soldiers, snipers, and porters for the garrison while school officials still attempted to continue lessons. The Martiniere students were finally evacuated in mid-November with only minor casualties (Bartrum 1858).

This paper attempts to make sense of the reasons why school-aged boys would be encouraged to participate in military actions. The choice to send them into battle was still being celebrated as late as 1932 when La Martiniere College was awarded a Battle Honor for the Siege of Lucknow. Using diaries and other contemporary accounts of the Rebellion, this paper ties the Martiniere boys' experience to modern scholarship on the relationship between effeminacy, masculinity, and race in colonial India. At the time of the Rebellion, the Indian people increasingly were being characterized as racially inferior and in need of British civilization (Walvin 1987, 251). Indian men specifically were being labeled as effeminate and separated into martial and non-martial races. Victorian ideals of manliness at the time of the Indian Rebellion were evolving from a focus on "godliness and goodlearning" in the 1830s to the "vigorous muscular Christianity" of mid-century (Sinha 1995, 9-16). La Martiniere College's administrators found themselves in this milieu leading a school that catered primarily to Anglo-Indians - the bi-cultural children of Europeans and South Asians. This paper argues that the students were able to use the defence of the Residency to more fully relate to their masculine, European identities by proving themselves on the field of battle. These young men could then be seen as decorated military veterans rather than effeminate Indian *babus*.

In the past, the experiences of the Martiniere students have been examined as one piece of the struggle against Indian rebellion. Scholars have yet to address the reasons that school boys were allowed to participate in the defence of the Residency and have certainly not explored these issues of masculinity. In studying these experiences, this paper directly addresses the conference theme of Education, War and Peace and promises to shed light on the ways that war has directly impacted children and teachers.

**Braster, Sjaak**

Erasmus University, Rotterdam

Netherlands

**del Pozo Andrés, Maria del Mar**

University of Alcalá

Spain

### **Education and the Children Colonies in the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939): images of an “ideal” community**

At the very beginning of the Spanish Civil War the Republican authorities showed their concern for children by organizing an experience of childhood protection and education: the refugee children camps, or the “children colonies”. The boys and girls who lived in Madrid were especially at risk because of continuous bombing by Fascists. Thousands of these children were translated to summer camps located either on the beaches of Valencia, Alicante, Castellón and Cataluña or in small cities that stayed free of the attacks of the Franco troops. Classrooms, school material, textbooks and workbooks had to be provided because these summer camps became both the home and the school of all children that were evacuated from Madrid. The experience was studied by European and American educators and intellectuals as a model of protecting and raising children out of their families, but in a very special atmosphere of love and attention. In the last twenty years much research has been done from an organizational point of view, about external aspects and life experiences of these children. But very little is known about the internal everyday life in these communities, about the aims of the hundreds of teachers that participated in them, about their pedagogical creed or the educational activities that were applied in these summer camps.

The purpose of our paper is to study in depth the educational practices of *self-government* experienced in many of these “children’s colonies”, by means of images. In the paper we will discuss the iconic experiences of “children colonies” during the Spanish Civil War and the way of representing the different concepts of “community”. The basic sources of this paper are photographs collected from different archives. The main collection is the one kept in the General Archive of the Administration (AGA) which is built upon the photographs that were left in the “children’s colonies” when the war was finished. These photographs will be compared with examples published in the newspapers and pedagogical journals, with the ones preserved in other international archives from children organizations and with others from private archives. We will contrast the iconic information with the written contents, trying to find the parallelism between words and images, and what message the latter are telling us about representation of the concept of “community”.

**Brathagen, Kjersti**

Telemark University College

Norway

### **Pushing education: The place of education in rehabilitation after the Second World War**

This paper investigates how education was promoted at the San Francisco Conference for International Organization in 1945 as part of the foundations of a new international social order.

The education debate focused on what form international cooperation on education could take, including what values were perceived as positive to promote, in order to strengthen the coming peace. To avoid a repetition of events, several delegations argued, it would be necessary to prevent a repetition of what had occurred to the educational system in war time. In the words of the Haitian delegation. The first consideration of dictators upon their arrival in power has been to take possession of the youth in schools. It is from this vantage point that they have been able to carry on the remainder of their campaign the abolishment of liberties, the persecution of minorities, lying, killing, stealing and even posing as God. (Doc.2 (English), G/7(b)(1) May 5, 1945, reproduced in UNIO, 1945, p. 52-53: 53). However, to what extent the new international organization should devote itself to international cooperation for education, and whether it should have a say in national educational matters remained to be decided. Many promoted the idea of an international education agency, picking up on earlier ideas that would contribute to the establishment of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

The formal debate under UN auspices formed only part of an on-going discussion or discourse of what international cooperation on education should entail. The underlying argument here is that the actors involved can be studied as members of an epistemic community, and that the formal debate can be studied as a snap shot of their debate on international aspects of education at the time (Haas, 1992). If that snap shot is then put into a contemporary historical context that captures the same actors' opinions expressed elsewhere, a transnational discussion on international cooperation on education emerges (e.g. Snyder, 2011). At the same time, it can capture some of the nuances of that debate that stemmed from different war time experiences, e.g. the attempted nazification of children throughout occupied Europe. Based on contemporary literature, open sources and archival material, this article discusses education as part of international politics in the transition from war to peace in the middle of the twentieth century. It illustrates how the Second World War can be understood as a catalyst in the promotion of international cooperation for peace through education at a transition point in international history.

### **Brewis, Georgina**

Institute of Education, University of London  
United Kingdom

### **The Students' Contribution to Victory? Students, universities and war work, 1939-1945**

Over the Christmas vacation of 1940 hundreds of students from all over the country played their part in a massive relief effort for the Blitzed cities of London and Manchester. A pamphlet produced by students involved in what they described as a "great and terrible experience" contained an urgent "call to the universities of Britain. The society passing through this ordeal is our society; we must make ourselves ready to play our part." By 1941 the rhetoric of a "student tradition of social work" was being employed by the National Union of Students and others to promote war work across colleges and universities, but such coordinated student support for the war effort seemed unlikely in the autumn term of 1939. While thousands of students immediately joined the forces, those returning to college faced the multi-faceted challenges of evacuation and ARP (Air Raid Precautions) as well as uncertainty over their very future as university students. The Communist-dominated NUS leadership launched a robust campaign aimed at defending university education

during wartime but its anti-war stance plunged the organisation into crisis and shattered the pre-war consensus that had been carefully built up across the student world. This paper examines the impact of the Second World War on students in British universities and university colleges, exploring the ambivalence of many to the outbreak of war in 1939 and the challenges faced by a student movement built on anti-war foundations in the late 1930s. The paper argues that a new consensus was eventually forged through student involvement in voluntary war work, before examining a claim in Brian Simon's 1943 *A Student's View of the Universities* (London: Longmans, 1943) that such voluntary work was "markedly different" from pre-war efforts "carried on in a spirit of condescension." Part of a wider study using student voluntary action as a lens through which to explore the changing experience of being a higher education student in Britain, this paper uses student reminiscences cross-referenced with contemporaneous accounts of the wartime student experience preserved in reports of student activities, minutes of meetings and student newspapers/college magazines. Unexpected light will be cast on student activities from sources such as special branch surveillance and Mass Observers' reports. The paper, like the wider study, is not a case history of any one voluntary or student organisation or any one cause or campaign. Rather, it is an attempt to synthesise a wide body of secondary work and published and unpublished primary sources on student voluntary action in the belief that this will make an important contribution to our knowledge and understanding of the histories of both higher education and voluntary action.

### **Brühwiler, Ingrid**

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Switzerland

### **Swiss Teachers and the First World War**

During the period of the First World War Switzerland struggled not only with economic restrictions and foreign policies, but as well with major domestic political conflicts of the two main cultures of the French speaking part and the German speaking part (Forster 2008). The mental gap ("*fossé moral*") consisting of the Swiss-Germans supporting Germany on one hand and the Swiss-French sympathizing with France on the other affected foremost the educated classes and the political elites (Jost 1986).

This paper examines the question to what degree the educational field was involved in the debates of this *fossé moral*. The main sources are the Swiss Teachers' journals of the French and the German speaking part of Switzerland (*Schweizerische Lehrerzeitung*; *Schweizerische Lehrerinnenzeitung*; *L'Éducateur. Organe de la société pédagogique de la Suisse Romande*) from the time period of 1910 to 1919. This time span - starting before the outbreak of the War - allows us to see whether or not and to what extent the mental gap was already virulent and whether or not war changed or radicalized it. In general, the sources are analyzed in terms of the subject War and how the War was dealt with in the journals. Therefore the main question is: are there (re-)actions to the policy debates in the teachers' journals? Additional analyses are made to see if there is a mental gap considering the citizenship of the two main cultures in Switzerland and if so, how does it look.

This gap is well recognised in Swiss history literature, but a lot of these studies deal with the daily print media (Cerutti 2013) and hardly any research is done with regard to professional groups and their journals or in relation to education. Hence, until now no studies have been made to explore teachers' ideological background with respect to war education and in particular to citizenship in Switzerland during the First World War. This presentation takes initial steps to fill this research gap.

## **Buchardt, Mette**

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Denmark

### **The Nordic model of education and “the Sputnik shock”. Systemic competition during the Cold War and its aftermath in the educational system, Denmark 1957-1961 and 2008-2012**

During the 2000s the so-called Sputnik crisis was re-launched as a metaphor for systemic competition between states and economic models with the field of education as arena. In e.g. Denmark the ‘Nordic model of education’ was due to poor results in international assessments such as PISA allegedly challenged by the educational success of Asian economies such as China. In 2012 this ‘new Sputnik crisis’ became part of the argument for a reform program: “The new Nordic school”. The process points to the central role of inter-state competition and invites an exploration of the historical layers behind the present crisis of educational reform, more specifically tracing how cold war crisis served as a vehicle for reform in the historical development of the Nordic model of education: A comprehensive school “for all” as a means to distribute welfare as well as to develop citizenship mentality suitable for the welfare state.

In Denmark, as in the US, the launch of the Sputnik satellite in 1957 led to an educational crisis characterized by increasing attention to the scientific level of especially math and science, but also to a paradigmatic shift in relation to forms of school knowledge: Not only should the school teach academic knowledge, it should do so in an applied manner fostering creativity in order to raise the level of societal productivity. This is mirrored in a ministerial publication from 1960-61, *The Blue Report (Den Blå Betænkning)* which also influenced the school act of 1975 - a landmark in the development of a comprehensive school.

Drawing on sociologically informed curriculum history, especially Bernstein’s concept of *recontextualization*, and transnational welfare state history, the paper discusses the educational crisis following the Sputnik launch as an example of transfer between state educational systems as *symbolic recontextualization*.

Based on source material from parliamentary and public debate from the Sputnik launch up until *The Blue Report* (1957-1961) and from 2008 to the launch of “the New Nordic school” in 2012, the paper explores the impact on the educational field of crisis related to systemic competition during the Cold War, and suggests that such crisis has been formative for education as a field of political intervention at the present day.

## **Buergi, Regula**

University of Luxembourg  
Luxembourg

### **Linking Policy and Research in the Aftermath of the Second World War**

#### **The Emergence and Consequences of *Educational Planning* within the OECD**

Since the Second World War, a belief in the need to shape, govern and plan society has become dominant in the Western world (Hahn, 2003). The horrors of war have resulted in a loss of faith in the nation states (Meyer 2009) or rather ‘faith in mankind’ as a whole (Gumbrecht, 2012, p. 28). This has virtually led to an obsession with societal planning in order to avoid another

escalation. At the same time the immense growth of the population as well as of the economy and rapid technological change have made the need to plan even stronger – the more the future was perceived as insecure, the deeper the wish to systematically control it (Rudloff 2003). Due to the failure of the nation states to prevent World Wars, international organizations were considered by Western states as the right institutions to develop universalistic models of planning.

Since the late 1950s and early 1960s education has become an integrated part of these overall planning approaches: *Educational Planning* was set on the agenda of vastly different intergovernmental organizations like the UNESCO, the Council of Europe, or the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). My paper analyses how this planning discourse has affected and shaped international educational policy making as well as international educational research. I approach these questions by focusing on the emergence and operations of OECD's educational planning programs. The OECD emerged out of the Marshall Plan and was the major organization that dealt with the educational planning of the so-called *industrialized* Western countries. I will argue that these planning programs created an institutionalized link between educational policy and research that, on the one hand narrowed the scope of research and on the other hand gradually undermined democratic decision-making processes. I will demonstrate this thesis by drawing on a variety of sources such as minutes, program outlines, and monographs on educational planning issued by the OECD between 1957 and 1970. My paper's aim is to point to how a societal planning discourse that has become dominant in the wake of the traumatic events of the Second World War contributed to international organizational structures being highly relevant for the educational policy making of today.

### **Bühler, Patrick**

School of Education Northwestern Switzerland  
Switzerland

### **The “sanitary inspection of all school recruits” in Switzerland Special Education and mental Health around 1900**

When Swiss teachers and doctors talk about the examination of school children around 1900, they very often use military comparisons. At the sixth annual meeting of the Swiss Society of School Hygiene in 1906 one speaker demands e.g. the “sanitary inspection of all school recruits”. On a national level such “inspections” take place between 1897 and 1914. The mental, moral and physical health of all Swiss children in their first year was examined for over twenty years. This large-scale screening of school children at the turn of the century was not really a novelty. School children were before examined in several cantons. In 1897, when the teacher associations of the French, Swiss and Italian parts of Switzerland demanded that the federal government should undertake such an investigation, several cantons responded, that they already examine their school children. Nevertheless all cantons were willing to cooperate. The aim of the teacher societies, at least at first glance, is to obtain more classes for children with special needs. But, as the teacher associations stressed, they already knew because of the army statistics, that generally 1 - 2% of the children were to be considered “feeble minded”. So are the comparisons of school children with recruits only a manner of speaking? How closely are army statistics and educational ones really linked? Do army and educational statistics differ in figures, nosology etc.? While Michèle Hofmann will focus on somatic disorders, my paper will analyse mental disorders.

**Burgard, Antoine**

Université Lumière Lyon 2 / Université du Québec à Montréal  
Canada

### **Familialism vs. collectivism: education and child care policies of postwar Holocaust orphans rescue projects in Belgium, France and Canada (1944-1952)**

In immediate post-World War II, the future of Jewish orphans or abandoned children is an issue of utmost importance. Through a comparative analysis of the works of the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC) in Canada, the *Oeuvre de Secours aux Enfants* (OSE) in France and the *Aide aux Israélites Victimes de la Guerre* (AIVG) in Belgium, this paper aims to explore the education policies and child care guidelines of these Holocaust orphans rescue projects.

In Canada, the program is based on a foster care system shaped by the requirements of Canadian social welfare and child care agencies, undoubtedly attempting to avoid the abuse and failures of similar past child immigration projects (Bagnell, 2001, Bean and Melville, 1989). From foster family selection methods to putting *professional* social workers forward, this project was the first major child rescue and welfare scheme to be built with the new directives adopted by the Canadian Welfare Council (CWC). In Canada, family is seen as the favoured space for (re)construction whereas in Belgium and France, collective solutions are more widespread a reference. OSE and AIVG children's homes illustrated different conceptions of child care influenced by the innovative approaches of Anton Makarenko, Janusz Korczak, Ernst Papanek or the Geheeb's *Odenwaldschule*. As renowned Belgian child-survivor and psychotherapist Siegi Hirsch said, they "were the pioneers of [their] own education".

In Montreal, Brussels or Paris, guidelines are constantly redefined and reinterpreted ("trials and error"). The evolution of these projects embodies a child welfare system in the building and marked the emergence of new perceptions of family, childhood and trauma. By focusing on the interactions of the orphans with the various adults in charge of them – social workers, gatekeepers and foster families – we will explore the diverse conceptions on children's "best interest" (Doron, 2009, Zahra, 2010). This comparison will highlight the conflict between collectivist and familialist ideals which strikingly illustrates that there was no universal understanding of how best to rehabilitate these youths.

**Burke, Sara Z**

Laurentian University  
Canada

### **Insurrection of Women: The Impact of World War I on Canada's Coeducational Universities**

In January 1919, female undergraduates at University College in Toronto, Canada, organized a march to protest the principal's attempt to introduce more stringent regulations and curb student government in the women's residence. The Varsity student newspaper reported on this confrontation between female students and the college authorities, and printed a cartoon depicting women marching with banners under the caption, "The Insurrection of the Women." By 1914, most Canadian universities had been coeducational for several decades, yet women still were considered guests in academia, both in terms of their physical accommodation on campus and of their participation in male undergraduate culture. As the disturbance at University College

demonstrates, female students responded by contesting what it meant to be an undergraduate, constructing an alternative identity in which women as well as men had the right to participate in such activities as debating, student government, and public protests. Drawing on the theory that gender is performative, this paper explores the ways in which women undergraduates across Canada negotiated their right to self-government on student councils and in the women's residences. During the war years, women became more active in student government, and more visible in public spaces on and off campus, and they increasingly came into conflict with officials appointed by the universities to supervise their behaviour. The paper argues that World War I accentuated existing tensions at Canada's universities, and the prominence of female undergraduates sparked growing concerns among administrators that coeducation was a problematic institution, and greater separation of the sexes would be essential following the return to peace.

### **Burton, Maxine**

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United Kingdom

### **Adult literacy provision and the legacy of the Second World War: changes and continuities**

Despite the need for adult literacy provision that had been identified amongst army recruits during the Second World War, literacy teaching barely featured on any adult educational agenda until the 1970s. This has been explained in terms of the extremely negative attitudes of the time towards adult illiterates, together with a reluctance within the educational community to acknowledge that this problem was even within their remit (Jones and Marriott, 1995).

The 1960s saw a growing awareness of the themes of educational and social inequality, and against this background, the inner-city settlements, notably the London-based Cambridge House Settlement from 1963, started to offer informal one-to-one tuition. These were social enterprise initiatives, run mainly by barely trained volunteer tutors. From these low-key beginnings, momentum grew, with the major TV campaigns of the 1970s, the subsequent establishment of dedicated adult literacy agencies and the provision of classes in FE colleges.

This paper will re-examine the reasons for this initial failure to build on 'lessons already learned in the more enclosed worlds of the armed forces and the prison system' (Jones and Marriott, 1995: 351). This was not a failure unique to England - reactions were even slower in other European countries (Limage, 1993: 75). I shall explore aspects of the stigma attached to illiteracy, a stigma which persists to the present day (Burton, 2014). 'Enclosed worlds' continue to provide literacy classes for those who need them, but now do so against a background of adult literacy as a mainstream educational endeavour, with its own Core Curriculum, national qualifications framework and graduate teaching force.



**Butchart, Ronald**

University of Georgia  
United States

### **Taking the Battle to the Classroom: Confederate and Union Veterans as Teachers in Black Schools in the Aftermath of Civil War, USA, 1865-1876**

The costliest war the United States ever waged was a war against itself, the American Civil War, fought between 1861 and 1865. At the heart of the war, and at the heart of military strategy to end the war, was the American slave. Emerging from the war as an emancipated but utterly destitute people, African Americans overwhelmingly demanded access to knowledge. Thousands of teachers responded to the demand, some intending thereby to tie the freed people back to the land and to the southern white power structure, some hoping to secure black emancipation through education, some expecting to assure the teachers' own glory. Upwards of one thousand veterans of the great conflict became teachers in the schools that the freed people intended as guarantees of their own freedom. Of the nearly 12,000 teachers known to have taught in black schools in the decade following the American Civil War, veterans made up a substantial fraction. This paper examines the lives, motivations, and work of three distinct groups of veterans: northern white Union veterans; African American Union veterans; and southern white Confederate veterans. It argues in part that for many of the Civil War veterans, teaching in the freed people's schools was a continuation of a war that was, ultimately, aimed at controlling the lives and thought of African Americans.

**Callari, Victor**

Universidade Federal de São Paulo  
Brazil

### **Holocaust and Memory in Art Spiegelman's "Maus: a survivor's tale"**

The article analysis the representation and memory of the Holocaust built upon an account of experiences of a father to his son, it gives emphasis on the daily survival strategies, the representations of the concentration camps and the relationship problems between father and son presented in comic book entitled MAUS - a survivor's tale, by Art Spiegelman, winner of the Pulitzer prize of 1992. This text highlights the specific narrative structures from comic book stories - that are studied upon some theoretical references as Will Eisner, Scott Maccloud and Paulo Ramos, which are articulated to the concept of representation used by the French historian Roger Chartier - and his educational talent to present texts and images as a single narrative form.

**Caluori, Barbara**

Universities of Zurich and Luxembourg  
Switzerland

### **Pestalozzi or Bell-Lancaster? The two big competing pedagogical methods in Napoleonic Europe**

Nation-building becomes imaginable only after the French revolution and its idea of a nation. In this context the idea of mass schooling arose and with it the quest for school reform towards a (national)

education system (see Tröhler, 2002, p. 9). Within this discussion the notion of the method became the central education/pedagogical concept, promising among others both modernization and efficiency (see Osterwalder, 2004, p. 638). Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827) was one of the actors in the educational field who profited from this strong belief in method. The interest not only of private persons such as families, but also from (nation-)states towards Pestalozzi's method increased dramatically in the first decade of the 19th century and triggered its fame. However, in competition to Pestalozzi there was a second method claiming modernity and efficiency on the education market, the so-called Bell-Lancaster-method, the method of mutual instruction, developed by Andrew Bell (1753-1832) and Joseph Lancaster (1778-1838) independently.

Within the genre of reception history, the question arises of which (nation-)states who were reforming their education system in the beginning of the nineteenth century were more inclined to Pestalozzi's method and which ones preferred the Bell-Lancaster method. Were there any strongholds and if so where were the border areas? Which expectations, hopes, and aims did the two competing methods meet in the governments of the different nation-states? Are there any identifiable cultural modes or patterns in the reception practices? And if so, could they be traced back to clear indicators, such as religion, language or economy?

According to the research literature the English and French speaking parts of Europe were more inclined to the Bell-Lancaster-Method, whereas Pestalozzi was more received in the German speaking part and in Eastern Europe. This paper asks whether or not and to what extent this thesis is correct and will then examine more closely the mentioned border areas such as the Alsace or the French speaking part of Switzerland. Of utmost interest is the latter, because Pestalozzi's famous institute was placed in the middle of the French speaking part of Switzerland, where advocates of the Bell-Lancaster method were also numerous. The source of my paper will be Pestalozzi's correspondences between 1800 and 1820.

**Canales Serrano, Antonio Fco.**

Universidad de La Laguna  
Spain

### **Re-educating children for the New Spain. Educational discourses in Franco's side during the Spanish Civil War**

The rebels in the Spanish Civil War sought to rectify radically the meaning and evolution of Spanish education. The children of New Spain should be re-educated in ultra-nationalist, warmongering, authoritarian and fundamentalist religious values completely opposite to the dominant pedagogical traditions in Spain during the first third of the century. This claim required a new pedagogy that would provide guidelines for action to the teachers of Franco's Spain.

This paper aims to study the discourses of educators who supported Franco's side in the Spanish Civil War and the early postwar period. For this, it will analyze the work of lay educators as inspectors Antonio J. Onieva, Adolfo Maíllo, Alfonso Iniesta or Agustín Serrano de Haro, among others, as well as leading Church educators such as Enrique Herrera Oria, Eustaquio Guerrero or Ignacio Errandonea. The aim is to explore three issues. First, the main features of these educational discourses. Second, the degree of breakup regarding the prevailing stances in previous decades. And third, whether these discourses responded to an attempt to restore Catholic traditionalism or to advance on the path of Fascist modernity.

**Carapeto Ferreira, Naura Syria**

Tuiuti University of Parana

Brazil

### **Fraternity, Solidarity, Dialogue and Peace**

The present day reveals a new situation in history: we have been released from a rich and powerful society, we have freedom from an opulent society, which was the holder of financial capital dictating humanity's destiny (Marcuse, 1986). We have freedom from the "Overflowing Society" (Jeudy, 1995) of senses and meanings, and are engaged in the pursuit of a fraternal, fair and solidarity society, which is truly human. The avalanche of discourses and images circulating in the media renders people insignificant. This "insignificance of the reality" is arrived at through a process of trivialization - whereby excessive value is attached to the discourses and images in circulation. In society and the media, the exercise of solidarity is blasted from top to bottom. In soap operas, which are so popular in American and European countries, in the personal advice sections of fashion magazines or on talk show programs, disputes between "genders and generations, between the possessors and the dispossessed" are common themes. This mundane, unimaginative and idle chatter has promoted the ideal of a liberal and modern life, and "the revolution of manners". Such points are symptomatic of larger and deeper causes. This triviality is based on raw, material aspirations and behaviors, which correspond with the failure to face our serious human and social problems; conflicts and wars that have been fought in this "global village" (Ianni, 1989). It is the triviality of a "dispersed" life, "distracted" from the main questions of human existence (Ferreira, 2003, p.132). In this context, associated with the scientific and technological revolution that drags with it extremely unequal consequences, namely the "homogenizing" of cultures, theories and ideas, the elation of antagonistic feelings and the incitement of violence in all its forms, this paper aims to investigate the culture of the teaching profession. The responsibility of the teacher and of his professional training is entangled in a complex web of social relations. Which synthesis does the current educational, cultural and multicultural professional process? Which priorities do they establish in their decision-making in terms of what to teach and how? These questions led to research conducted with teachers in the public education system in the State of Paraná/Brazil concerning the culture of violence or peace developed in schools. Primary and secondary sources were analysed following the methodologies used by Herbert Marcuse, Jean Pierre Jeudy, Stephen Ball, Octavio Ianni, François Dubet, Dermeval Saviani and Paulo Freire. From the result of our empirical study and democratic methodological perspectives we aim to generate knowledge that will lead us towards a fairer and more fraternal society, where peace dwells in the nations and hearts. The thread of it may be the fraternity, solidarity, dialogue and peace.

**Carpentier, Vincent**

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United Kingdom

### **War and the transformations of political settlements in education**

This paper draws on previous research that has identified a shift from countercyclical to procyclical public expenditure on education after the Second World War. This reversal of the correlation was interpreted as a change in the relationship between economic performance and

education linked to wider socio-economic transformations. The intense shocks of the great depression and the Second World War created a socio-economic context favourable to the emergence of a new regime of production. Productivity gains were translated into redistributive wage policies and public funded investment in productive social spending which in return increased productivity levels. This led them to formulate the assumption that education became a driver of growth rather than a corrector of crisis. The paper proposes to examine key policy documents and statistics in order to assess the mechanisms at work during the Second World War which contributed to such radical changes in the political-economic settlement of education.

**Carreira, André**

Catholic University of Santos

Brazil

### **The Foreign Threat: World War 1 and Nationalization through Public Education in the city of Santos/Brazil**

The study examines, from a historical perspective, the role played by the public education system of the State of São Paulo (Brazil) in the incorporation and assimilation of foreign population - mostly European - linked to the labour movement during World War I. The research uses as a case study the seaport city of Santos, municipality characterized by a significant number of immigrants from the Iberian Peninsula and the presence of militant working class, mainly associated with port activities and construction. The research aims to discuss the impact of nationalist speech, translated into public policies, in State's popular education initiatives, as well as examining forms of resistance encountered by teachers and students of these education institutions. In the 1910's, especially during the Great War, the school returned to the center of debates about the future of the Brazilian nation. Illiteracy and "foreign threat" became targets in speeches and educational policies of the period. In the city of Santos, the idea of incorporating foreign people through school benches gained strength. The notions of civility played a key role in the work expected by public schools. The idea was to try to instill in children the concepts of love for the country, respect for the established order and fulfillment of duties. Still under the influence of workers' mobilizations and strikes of the period, the reformist impetus saw the moralization of the Brazilian people as a way to rebuild the Republic established in 1889. The emphasis on control devices, discipline and the idea of civility as an element of constitution of nationality orientate the work that should be developed by public education. Among the materials used for this research are written documents of the first public schools in Santos - Cesário Bastos, Barnabé and Vila Macuco - as well as the Yearbooks of Education of the State of São Paulo (1910, 1913, 1914, 1917, 1918 and 1919), the municipal census of 1913, local and regional journals like A Tribuna, O Diário de Santos and press related to the labor movement. The analysis of document *corpus* for the preparation of this work came from the conception of Thompson (1981) that the course of investigation does not fit in previous schemes, being constituted through an ongoing dialogue between the concepts of a theory and the evidence found in selected sources. The research sought to capture, in convergence with the perspectives of the British historian, the internal movement of each education institution in relation to the social and political context of the city of Santos during the 1910's. Methodologically, the study is based on authors such as Thompson (2011), Silva (2003), Enguita (1989), Apple (1979), Souza (1998), Escolano (2005) and Viñao (2002).

**Carter, Patricia**  
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United States

### **Between Loyalty and Subversion: Henrietta Rodman's Struggle for Free Speech and Peace in WWI Era New York City**

This paper reviews the role of New York City teachers' involvement in the WWI-era peace movement and the subsequent assault on their academic freedom as seen through the political activities of Henrietta Roman.

As World War I increasingly invaded almost every aspect of the New York City public schools (Brumberg, Beale, Kuhlman, Marsden), teachers who opposed the war found themselves first marginalized and then demonized by the Board of Education and the upper school administration. Pressured by local businessmen in the form of the groups such as the American Defence Society, officials at the school, city and state levels pressured teachers to fulfill increasingly exhaustive demands to demonstrate unqualified support of the war, through peer reviews, surveys, testimonies, and oaths in order to retain their teaching certificates. This paper follows one particularly vocal and active teacher, Henrietta Rodman, an English high school teacher, for insight into how local teachers experienced the first Red Scare. A strong proponent of free speech for teachers, Rodman faced the issue as a representative of the local union, a socialist, a member of the New York City Woman's Peace Party, and as one who had been earlier suspended from teaching for eight months in 1915 for her criticism of the school board.

The paper concludes that jingoist members of the Board of Education pressured by militarists in the business community brought about conditions which subjected teachers to spy networks which often gathered false information used in trials with predetermined outcome – a process which John Dewey equated with the inquisition. Dozens of teachers in the NYC schools were faced with a choice of falsely proclaiming pro-war sentiments or losing their careers.

My paper considers the limits of free speech for teachers in and out of the classroom. Sources include newspapers from 1914-1922, archival sources of the New York City Woman's Peace Party from the Swarthmore College Peace Collection, the Local 5 (NYC) of the American Federation of Teachers from the Wayne State University Labor Archives at the Reuther Library, and Lusk trials in New York State from the Cornell University International Labor Archives, NYC Board of Education Records, and other primary and related secondary sources.

**Castro Lopes, Sonia**  
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Brazil

**Granato da Silva, Maria Carolina**  
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### **Prácticas cívicas y construcción de la imagen de la futura maestra en el Instituto de Educación de Río de Janeiro en el contexto de la guerra europea (1941-1942)**

Concebido por educadores vinculados al Movimiento Escuela Nueva, el Instituto de Educación de Río de Janeiro, inaugurado en 1932, promovió cambios en el modelo de formación de los

antiguos maestros de la enseñanza primaria. Desde la creación de su Escuela de Maestros (posteriormente llamada Escuela de Educación), los estudios se elevaron a un nivel superior, situación que se mantuvo hasta 1939, cuando el Instituto volvió a formar sus maestros a través de los estudios normales en nivel secundario. El texto en cuestión refleja la tensión vivida por la institución en un momento particularmente autoritario del gobierno de Brasil - el Estado Novo de Getúlio Vargas (1937-1945) - agravada por el contexto de la Segunda Guerra Mundial. El marco de tiempo de la investigación incide sobre los años 1941 y 1942, cuando se publicaron dos números de la revista de estudiantes *Instituto* que trataban las rutinas y las prácticas cívicas discentes, cada vez más frecuentes en el dicho período, del mismo modo que daban cuenta del momento de definición y actualización de las identidades femeninas que varían desde características cívicas que representan oficialmente la dictadura del Estado Novo y la guerra, hasta la actualización del visual simbolizado por Carmen Miranda (1909-1955), el ícono de la mujer brasileña de la época. El análisis documental e iconográfico realizado en la revista adopta como clave teórica las reflexiones de Hobsbawm y Ranger (2008), Scott (1992), Certeau (1994) y Mauad (1996). También se han incorporado los testimonios de antiguas alumnas que, a la luz de la historia oral por la perspectiva de los estudios de Joutard (2000) y Portelli (1997), ayudaron a (re)definir el significado de las experiencias compartidas por las alumnas de la institución. Se ha llegado a la conclusión de que, a través de las prácticas cívicas, la escuela ha contribuido a la consolidación del proyecto político-ideológico de construcción de la nacionalidad de acuerdo con el nuevo orden internacional. Además, teniendo en cuenta la dimensión visual de la historia, se infiere que los usos y funciones de la revista se entrecruzan con las similitudes y diferencias que apuntan a las continuidades y los cambios en la representación de la maestra en formación, enmarcada por avances y retrocesos en el lugar de la mujer en la sociedad brasileña en la Segunda Guerra Mundial.

### **Civic Practices and Image-building of Female Trainee Teachers at Instituto de Educação do Rio de Janeiro within the context of WW2 in Europe (1941-1942)**

Conceived of by educators associated with the 'New School Movement', Instituto de Educação do Rio de Janeiro was established in 1932 to implement specific changes in the female primary teachers' qualification model. This training institute initially had Higher Education as teacher qualification target level, and it remained as such until 1939 when the Instituto changed its target qualification level to vocational secondary education. This paper discusses the tension experienced by the Instituto during the particularly authoritarian Getulio Varga's Estado Novo administration (1937-1945), which was significantly aggravated by WW2. In 1941 and 1942 two issues of the Instituto's newsletter were published discussing female trainee teachers' routine and civic practices that were becoming increasingly frequent at this point in time - in which women's identity was being redefined and reshaped by civic attitudes, official representation of the Estado Novo dictatorship and Carmen Miranda's (1909-1955) as icon of the new Brazilian woman of the period. The documentary and iconographic analysis conducted on the Newsletter relies on the theoretical principles proposed by Hobsbawm & Ranger (2008), Scott (1992), Certeau (1994) and Mauad (1996) and is complemented by testimonials of female alumni. In the light of oral history as discussed by Joutard (2000) and Portelli (1997), these methods have helped (re) frame the experiences shared by the young female students of the Instituto. We conclude that by implementing civic practices the school reinforced a consolidated political-ideological process of nationality construction that was coherent with the new international order. Additionally, given

history's visual dimension, it can be inferred that the functions performed by the Newsletter interweave with both common and distinct features of the female teachers' qualification process with reference to advances and drawbacks in establishing women's role in Brazil's society by the time of WW2.

**Charkin, Emily**

Institute of Education, University of London  
United Kingdom

**'We had to learn a new way of living': children's experiences of being evacuated abroad during the Second World War**

This talk will offer a close analysis of two oral interviews and a memoir of women who, as children, were evacuated abroad during the Second World War for four to five years. Two of the children were sent to the USA and the other was sent to South Africa. All three women attended relatively progressive schools and experienced aspects of the Dalton system, self-government and informal relations between pupils and teachers. Their testimony casts light not only on this schooling but on their wider educational experiences, relationships and spaces.

This paper will seek to situate the women's experiences within a wider historical context and provoke comparisons with other evacuation experiences within Britain and to Canada - as offered by the two other panellists. It will explore the sometimes unintended educational impact of these evacuation experiences on the women's lives; take seriously their own perspectives on their educational significance; and challenge the tendency to equate education and schooling. Phenomenological and narrative analytical methods would be used as a way to offer fresh perspectives on historical debates about evacuee education and the philosopher John Macmurray's view that war could provide a 'golden opportunity for experimental advance'.

**Chatzistefanidou, Sofia**

University of Crete  
Greece

**Battlefield "education" in occupied Greece during the Second World War**

This time period presents many competing and contested forms of education arising from the multiple military and political forces acting in Greece during the Second World War. Education and schooling, apart from being a casualty of the War as far as material infrastructure and human resources were concerned, were also a competing "battlefield" where many stakeholders developed distinct and opposite plans of action with specific goals and aspirations. After the occupation of Greece by the Axis forces, Greek territory was divided into occupation zones between Germany, Italy, and Bulgaria. Each of these countries pursued its own policy on educational issues, serving goals which were not necessarily convergent. Furthermore the Greeks themselves did not have uniform attitudes towards education. Beside the formal education system which typically functioned under the supervision of the quisling Greek governments and the local authorities, educational activities were developed and carried out by the resistance forces, especially in mainland Greece. These forces - particularly liberals and communists - although united against common external enemies, did not share the same social and political ideology,

the same political agenda or the same vision for postwar Greece. Most militant in the educational field was the action of the leftist forces, which developed and implemented a distinct educational program as part of the guerilla warfare they conducted against the occupying forces. The present work aims to highlight and interpret the multifaceted interconnections between war and education at this given time and place. It also aims to emphasise the challenges around and great potential of education in wartime, which can range from absolute oppression to empowerment and deliberation.

**Cheng, Rachel**

University of Glasgow  
United Kingdom

### **Themes of Peace in the Kindred of the Kibbo Kift: Examining *The Great War Brings It Home***

Following the First World War, there was a certain feeling of sourness to the militaristic uniforms and marching drills so integral to existing outdoors educational youth groups like the Boy Scouts and Boy's Brigade. Young leaders within the Boy Scouts, such as John Hargrave and Leslie Paul, returned from their war service with new ideas for Scouting and outdoors education, ideas that deliberately aimed to trade militaristic overtones for a focus on developing a peaceful, sustainable community. Meeting with resistance to their ideas within the Scouts, Hargrave and Paul left in 1921 to found the Kindred of the Kibbo Kift, active from 1921 to 1931, a new type of outdoors educational youth group designed to be pacifist, regenerative, and apolitical.

This paper will examine the pacifist educational preoccupations of the Kibbo Kift from 1921 to 1924 with particular focus on the foundational outline for the Kibbo Kift in John Hargrave's 1919 book, *The Great War Brings It Home: The Natural Reconstruction of an Unnatural Existence*. The significance of this book has not yet been sufficiently examined despite how it outlines the early structure of the Kibbo Kift and its founding philosophies of world peace through outdoors education. Written after Hargrave returned from his service in the Gallipoli Campaign, this book is an eclectic combination of *fin-de-siècle* anxieties about degeneration, backlash against imperialistic militarism, and concern for public health and education of British youth. While primarily concerned with Britain itself, the Kibbo Kift was envisioned as an international, humanistic entity, part of Hargrave's concept of "The Great Spirit" that would connect the people of the world through peaceful and wholesome outdoor education and lifestyle. The educative process of camping, handicraft, and woodcraft was to begin from babyhood and continue throughout adulthood, and this structure formed the backbone to the organisation and facilitated members' personal connection to the internationalist Great Spirit. The Kibbo Kift aimed to create a peaceful, holistic community to cure the world of the violence that had led to the First World War and the ill-health wrought by increasing urbanisation and reliance on technology.

The historical impact of John Hargrave's early intellectual thought in *The Great War Brings It Home* survives in the Woodcraft Folk, which formed when Leslie Paul broke from the Kibbo Kift in 1925 as Hargrave moved increasingly towards the politicisation of the organisation through C.H. Douglas's idea of Social Credit. By conducting a close reading of *The Great War Brings It Home* and considering the themes within it, we will better understand the origins of the Kindred of the Kibbo Kift as a pacifist outdoors educational youth group in the early 1920s.



**Chia, Yeow-Tong**

University of Sydney  
Australia

**Education, Culture and the Singapore Developmental State (1955-2004):  
Crisis management and legitimation**

This paper examines the role of education in the formation of the Singapore developmental state, through a historical study of education for citizenship in Singapore, where I explore the interconnections between changes in history, civics and social studies curricula, and the politics of nation-building. It provides a historical study of citizenship education in Singapore, in which a comparative study of history, civics and social studies curricula, and the politics and policies that underpin them are examined. The paper relies mainly on published primary sources in the form of government documents, speeches and curriculum materials such as textbooks and syllabus documents.

Building on existing scholarship on education and state formation, the paper maps out cultural and ideological dimensions of the role of education in the developmental state. At the heart of the developmental state is political legitimacy that is attained through the solving of crises by the state. In other words, the developmental state arose out of the crisis of survivalism, and is perpetuated by the generating and solving of crises. Economic development is the means to attaining the end of nation building and the legitimation of state power. The notion of crisis fits nicely to the conference theme, as war is a form of crisis. And crises such as external threats or major political upheavals account for accelerated state formation.

The story of state formation through citizenship education in Singapore is that of a culture of crisis management that is driven by an innate sense of vulnerability and a survivalist mentality of the People's Action Party government. It is essentially the history of the Singapore developmental state's management of crises (imagined, real or engineered), and how the changes in history, civics and social studies curricula, served to legitimize the state, through the educating and molding of the desired "good citizen" and nation building.

**Chisholm, Linda**

Human Sciences Research Council  
South Africa

**History Curriculum and Historical Change in Germany and South Africa:  
1976-2005**

At first sight, there is not much to compare, or any reason to compare the GDR and apartheid South Africa and their transitions. The history of the two societies is very different. The premise on which each society was built differed. The educational legacies of each society also vary substantially. And yet they each have a history of racism and authoritarianism that has marked the respective education systems and society of each as a whole. The fall of the Berlin Wall and subsequent decline of the Soviet Union had immense consequences not only for the former German Democratic Republic but also for apartheid South Africa. The fall of the Wall brought both within a common global framework. A significant literature in comparative education points to increasing homogeneity in education systems and their curricula, while another points to how systems absorb or deflect such ideas in a manner that confirms difference and diversity, linked to

historical specificity. The paper will explore these questions through comparing the curriculum changes in each context and their implications in each society from 1976-2010. It will examine change over three distinct periods: 1976-1990/4; 1990/4-2000; 2000-2005. Change will be explored through a discussion of context, process and content of history curriculum frameworks in each period. The paper will draw on a combination of primary and secondary documentation. Primary sources will consist mainly of official curriculum documents. The paper will argue that similarities in the immediate pre-1990/1994 period are shot through with difference and differences simultaneously quite similar. It will explore the profound differences of the nature of curriculum transition in each context, but show how apparent convergence in the form of expression of history education goals in the early 2000s were simultaneously informed by deep historical differences.

### **Chou, Yu-Wen**

National Taiwan Normal University  
Taiwan

### **The Impact of World War One on the development of Chinese Education in the 1920s-1930s: From pro-Japan to Pro-America**

After Ching China was defeated by Japan 1894, she began to learn from Japan's experiences of educational reform for modernization. The 1902 and 1904 school systems enacted by Ching China directly imitated the Japanese model. However, the pro-Japan attitude changed after World War One. The main purpose of this paper is to explore the impact of World War One on education in Republican China. After the war broke out in 1914, the Chinese government declared war on Germany in 1917. Although China did not send troops to the European battlefields, over ten thousand labourers were sent to France to help the logistic service. Although a member of the winning side, China was not treated fairly at the Paris peace conference and in the Treaty of Versailles. This resulted in students' demonstrations and labour strikes in Peking and other big cities in 1919. The so-called 'May Fourth movement', which was conceived as the Enlightenment of Modern China, raised the self-awareness of intellectuals and students, and reinforced their nationalism and patriotism. Democracy and science became popular slogans and values. The movement also induced the 'new Culture movement', a literary revolution, which made a great change to teaching in schools. Schools textbooks for example began to be written in a colloquial style rather than a classical one. In addition, several critical changes occurred which had a great impact on the educational development in China later. Firstly, educational institutions, thoughts and culture were increasingly influenced by the US. By contrast, the influences from Japan and Europe declined. After returning to China in the 1910s, students who had studied in the US invited American educators, such as John Dewey, Paul Monroe, W. H. Kilpatrick and others to visit China. The peak of US influence was the establishment in 1922 of a school system which replaced the old mixed Japanese and German system with the American 6-3-3 model. Secondly, not only did the school system change, but also the educational theories and paradigms from America became more popular than those from Japan and Europe. Thirdly, because Japan's political and military ambitions towards conquering China strengthened gradually from the 1910s, an anti-Japan ideology was instilled in students through schooling, which helped pave the way for the outbreak of the second Sino-Japanese War in 1931.

In sum, World War One indeed impacted the educational development of Republican China from a pro-Japan system to a Pro-America one in the 1920s and 1930s. However, ironically, this dramatic change turned out to be a preparation for the second bloody war between Japan and China later.

**Christensen, Ivan Lind and Ydesen, Christian**

### **Routes of Knowledge: a Methodological Framework for Tracing UNESCO's Historical Impact**

This paper forms part of the larger international research project 'Routes of knowledge: The global history of UNESCO, 1945-75' initiated early 2014 from Aalborg University, Denmark. The overall aim of this project is to trace the routes from the center to the periphery – from UNESCO's headquarters in Paris to the member states – to assess the impact of UNESCO's educational, cultural and scientific initiatives in the member states. In this paper we examine the methodological challenges that arise from this particular type of research question. Numerous research fields seem to be engaged in similar or related methodological questions (e.g. globalization studies, impact studies, comparative education, history of education, global history). But the communication between these fields is, however, rather limited. The overall purpose of this article is, through an eclectic scan in these related research fields, to develop a grammar of movement and impact that opens up the notion of transnational space as well as clarifying how this grammar is conducive to answering the methodological questions raised by this recent research agenda. In conclusion the article presents a manageable model based on the analytical discussions of impact, space and movement.

**Clark, Jennifer**

University of New England  
Australia

### **After Sputnik: Australian Science Education in an Era of Cold War**

The work of the science teacher in 1958 in NSW, Australia, was undervalued, the support was minimal and the recompense was poor. Moreover, if student success was a measure of reward then the results were unforthcoming there as well. Although Australia sat perched perilously on the brink of a future newly defined by advances in space technology and nuclear physics, science teaching in secondary schools lagged behind. After the launch of the Soviet satellite Sputnik in 1957 shocked and frightened the western world, teachers, academics, public servants and government officials all turned their attention to science education and made what amounted to revolutionary changes in order to 'future-proof' the nation. The domestic drivers were broad and plentiful: international influence; political expediency; individual commitment; anxiety from key scientists in the tertiary sector; teacher discontent around conditions of employment; a rising public awareness of the need for scientific knowledge; and demographic pressure from the baby-boom. 'I can foresee a big improvement in Science Teaching as a result of this public awakening to Science', wrote Fred Ring, a science teacher from Goulburn in NSW. 'For this may we thank the Russians and their Sputniks'. Perhaps he should have thanked forces closer to home as well, such as Professor Harry Messel from the School of Physics at the University of Sydney,

Director General of Education in NSW Harold Wyndham, Headmaster of Sydney Grammar School L. C. Robson and Senator John Gorton working under Prime Minister Robert Menzies' direction, each of whom assumed leadership of a segment of the revolution that set Australian science education on a new trajectory between 1957 and 1964. Their motivation was singular: to secure the nation for an uncertain future dictated both by rapid scientific change and political uncertainty.

This paper examines the ways in which Australian science education was energised after the Sputnik launch as part of a response to the broader fear of Cold War. I argue that the response to Cold War was quite subtle among Australian educators and somewhat different from the American response which is much better known, but still we can detect a clear indication that science education was a mechanism to shore up the nation against foreign political threats. This paper teases out the ways in which science education assumed a political purpose between 1957 and 1964. It concentrates on those who led the science education revolution to ensure that Australian children were given a modern scientific future. It also concentrates on explaining how the Australian experience of Cold War had an impact on changes to the science curriculum and the acceptance of the need for a better science education in the post-Sputnik era. Ultimately, this paper seeks to provide a more nuanced interpretation of science education for Cold War.

**Colleldemont, Eulàlia** and **Padrós, Núria**

University of Vic  
Spain

### **From Viewer to Subject: Children as a Subject in War**

Studies relating to children and war, primarily the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), have observed that the adult persistently positions the child as a 'casual victim' of the War and we generally think of children as passive receivers. By repositioning them as a subject and analysing their graphic and textual productions, we are able to view them as active receivers. In this paper we analyse the relationship between children and war and present the child as an active receiver. The role of the child is characterised as an observer, as seen through the graphic representations of the Spanish Civil War in a Barcelona school; an actor, as represented in drawings in French schools during the First World War which engage with the political ideology of the time; an agent, as revealed in the collection of drawing made by the Spanish refugee children and used as a propaganda tool in the USA; a 'Promoter', as a number of novelists have noted. We will assess whether we should consider children's role to be an active one or whether it would be better not to involve them as subjects.

**Conde Calderón, Jorge**

Universidad del Atlántico, Colombia  
Colombia

### **La Instrucción del Ciudadano Armado en Los Inicios de la Colombia Republicana**

Esta ponencia analiza los elementos ideológicos empleados en la instrucción y formación del ciudadano soldado. La ecuación político-militar sobre la que ella se sustentó fueron el

aniquilamiento del enemigo representado en el español realista y la defensa de la patria y los valores republicanos. Para lograrlo durante la guerra de independencia y los primeros años de la república fueron imprimidos, divulgados y tuvieron circulación tratados de guerrilla, manuales, ordenanzas y reglamentos militares que eran leídos y cumplidos por soldados, oficiales y algunos ciudadanos enfrentados al dilema de la guerra o la convivencia armoniosa.

### **The Instruction of the Armed Citizen in Early Republican Colombia**

This paper analyses the ideological elements used in the instruction and training of citizen soldiers. The political-military balance on which it was based was the annihilation of the enemy, represented in the Spanish realist and the homeland defence of republican values. To achieve this during the war of independence and the early years of the republic, they printed reports, guerilla treaties, manuals, orders and military regulations which were read and fulfilled by soldiers, officers and some citizens faced with the dilemma of war or harmonious coexistence.

**Correia, Luís Grosso**

Universidade do Porto

Portugal

### **The Portuguese colonial war and the new players in the international education arena in the 1960s**

This paper could also be entitled “some reflections on an incident which occurred during the 27th International Conference on Education of the International Bureau of Education in 1964”. The beginning of the colonial war in the African colonies of Portugal from 1961 onwards, the publication of studies on the national educational systems and its colonial dependencies by UNESCO from 1955 onwards (see *L'Éducation dans le monde* series - 1955, 1960 and 1963) and the worldwide process of colonial emancipation following World War II, gradually brought new players, themes and problematics to the international arena of education. Portugal, in its double capacity as the oldest and most resilient colonial empire, was strongly criticized in the IBE quoted Conference by the Nigerian representative due to the lack of educational development in its colonial dependencies and to the illegitimate war in Africa.

The Delegation of Nigeria proposed to the chairman of the IBE a resolution to exclude Portugal from the Conference because of its “retrograde and aggressive colonialist policy” against people who yearn for “culture and dignity” (Session 07/07/1964). The session was suspended by a decision of the IBE’s Chairman, Jean Piaget, but the Portuguese delegation remained working in all Conference sessions.

This incident is unique among all the international conferences of education organized by the IBE and the main reason why the Conference ended without the traditional approval of the Recommendations and Resolutions of the Conference.

Freedom, knowledge and human dignity were the values asserted by the Nigerian representative against the Portuguese attitude and position towards its colonial dependencies. The incident, dating from 1964, is enough to assess the educational policy led by the Portuguese authorities at the time both in the metropolitan space and in its colonial dependencies: the refusal of an education for self-determination of individuals and populations and its use as a technology for social and political domination.

This paper aims to contextualize this incident in the IBE's 1964 conference in both educational policies led by the Portuguese Estado Novo regime towards the metropolitan and colonial spaces and in the educational problematics debated within the international arena.

### **The intermediating activities of the International Bureau of Education during the World War II**

The IBE was created as a non-governmental organisation and, similarly to former Genevan education organisations (the *Bureau International des Écoles Nouvelles* and the *Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, established in 1894 and 1912, respectively) was aimed at centralising and disseminating information on education, conducting surveys and research, promoting the development of a more scientific approach to educational problems at international level, thus contributing to publicising the (often private) initiatives derived from the new schools movement and to promoting pedagogical reforms. In 1929, IBE reviewed its Charter of 1926 and became an intergovernmental organisation which was to gradually attract the membership of a growing number of countries and governments. This change in status coincided with Jean Piaget's appointment as Director of IBE, and with the Bureau's shift in its activities of information gathering and research towards providing greater support to ministries of education and the administration and management of each member country's national education system. Housed at the Palais Wilson, Geneva, Switzerland, and due to its intergovernmental status, the IBE kept a neutral role during the World War II period in order to accomplish one of the main objectives of its institutional mission: education for peace.

This role was conceived dually. First, to answer the tempore belli educational questions and tangible needs of generations of under-educated, under-fed and "nervously disturbed" children and youth, of a decimated teaching staff, a lack of textbooks and scientific texts, a shortage of school supplies at all education levels, and of a "ruin of school buildings and an economic situation that prevents the prompt resolution of all these disasters". In this context, the most relevant of IBE's activity was intellectual support to teacher prisoners of the war programme, launched in September 1939, implemented by means of the 566800 books sent by mail to every camp of prisoners until 1944. Second, to provide technical support to the non-belligerent state members and to the state members at war, that intended to shape the reconstruction of the (inter-)national education systems in a post-war era. In this sense, the IBE activities were situated between war and peace, on the one hand, and beyond wartime, on the other.

Jean Piaget stated, in the IBE's report of 1943-1944, that "la guerre est, par définition, la négation de la vie internationale" (p. 3). The neutral and technical role played by the IBE, sustained by its ninety publications edited between 1927 (*La paix par l'école*) and 1944 (*The International Bureau of Education and post-war educational reconstruction*), became the core of its cognitive meaning on the international wartime stage: "an exchange body whose pure technicality fits the needs of all" (*ibidem*, p. 4).

The intermediating activities performed by the IBE during the war are unique and point to a third path to act in the international education arena during the interwar period, different from other internationally-oriented institutions or publications at the time (Educational Yearbook, Teachers College, New York; The Year Book of Education, Institute of Education, London; Internationale Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft/International Education Review, Cologne-Berlin, for instance).

**Costa, Patrícia**

Pontifícia Universidade Católica, Rio de Janeiro  
Brazil

### **The educational use of radio for the improvement of understanding among nations (1925-1935)**

The League of Nations recognized radiophony as a great accessory mean for education. The International Association of Radio Broadcasters, based in Geneva, involved broadcasters from several European and American countries. Created in 1929, this confederation was particularly devoted to the defence of radio broadcasting, to the improvement of broadcasting for the benefit of humanity, and avoided using this vehicle for less significant individual interests. For these admirers of radio broadcasting, who underwent the consequences of the First World War, it was crucial to ensure the use of such communication to spread pacifism among nations. The association was composed with the following three sections: technical, legal and intellectual, artistic and social approach departments. This latter, which was involved in international exchanges, in works with artists and educational radio broadcasting, studied strategies for the promotion of radio shows whose content was grounded on information concerning different cultural expressions, such as, for instance, literature, music, and folklore, thus leading nations to get closer to each other and to interact without the shadows of vindictiveness.

Since 1930, this section organized several international inquiries about the measures carried out by broadcasters to spread a peaceful environment worldwide. Among the questions to be answered, we should point out the following ones: “What have you done to date to disclose the peculiarities of activities performed by the League of Nations and its Affiliates, by the Permanent International Court of Justice and by the International Bureau for Work?” “Do you usually create shows only to exhibit literary and musical works from foreign nations? Do you alternate your own shows with other typical attractions from other countries? Do you illustrate such broadcastings with appropriate comments?” The purpose of this work is to analyze the answers provided by 38 stations from different countries to the query supported by the League of Nations in 1932, in an attempt to identify the strategies used by radio educators to organize shows aimed at narrowing the gaps among nations. Our analysis shall focus the content of shows prepared to a school audience, and our sources shall be the documents entitled *Radio e educação* (1934) and *Os Anais da União Internacional de Radiodifusão* (1932), which published the answers to the queries, as well as scripts of shows and letters from hearers. The combination of such data shall produce the results reported in our work. That is the way I hope to contribute new perspectives for history of education between the First and the Second World Wars, and also for history of education through radio, and for the history of distance teaching and learning.

**Coulter, Rebecca**

University of Western Ontario  
Canada

*SWG Gender: Panel: Boundary Activism: Educated Women, Politics, and Historical Memory*

### **Working the Edges: Women Teachers and Agency in Twentieth-Century Ontario, Canada**

To explore individual and collective agency in the lives of women teachers in Ontario, this paper exposes both the seams and fissures that emerged as female educators worked the edges to

secure recognition and justice from a patriarchal, capitalist state while simultaneously serving as employees of that state. By using evidence from a sizeable collection of oral history transcripts, autobiographies, personal journals, and letters, an analysis of the different ways in which women teachers understood, negotiated and imagined their positions in relation to one another and to male teachers, employers, state institutions, and dominant gender arrangements is provided.

A particular focus is placed on female elementary teachers and the exercise of agency in and through the Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario (FWTAO). Over its 80 year history as a separate organization, the FWTAO served as an important site for female teachers struggling to make sense of the social relations of gender and power and reconcile their developing identities as professionals with their material conditions and union activities. The feminist activism of some teachers also drew the FWTAO into the broader women's movement and involved the organization in suffrage, anti-poverty, equal pay, and anti-violence campaigns, thus making feminism more readily accessible and acceptable to individual teachers as an analytical tool to aid understanding and action in both individual and collective contexts.

### **Cowan, Steven**

Institute Of Education, University of London  
United Kingdom

### **Educational Campaigning and Publishing in Britain 1939-1945**

The outbreak of War between two advanced and militarised nation states presumes a high degree of existential crisis dependent upon the outcome of the conflict. From a British perspective from 1939 onwards, Germany was militarised, fascist, expansionist and seemingly invincible. Early in the conflict Britain and her allies suffered serious defeats, was uncertain of US commitment and faced invasion preparations. Britain's cities also came under aerial bombing. Restrictions on publishing were put into place, partly for political but also for resource reasons and the entire nation was mobilised under Wartime regulations.

The paper examines how, despite the seriousness of the situation facing the government, there continued throughout the period to be a thriving educational debate often connected to campaigning for reform in a post-War world. Using contemporary documents which formed part of the Ministry of Education's collection of published educational writing during Wartime and other sources drawn from the archives of the Institute of Education Library and from the National Archives, the paper asks how and why such educational activism was able to continue at a time of such national peril. What does this tell us about the position of education within the wider social formation of the country at that time? Was it this campaigning more than anything else, that led to an Education Act being passed in 1944 rather than one dealing with another aspect of social reform?



## **Cunningham, Peter**

Homerton College, University of Cambridge, and Institute of Education, University of London  
United Kingdom

### **Evacuation made visible – Images of Children, Parents and Teachers from WWII Evacuations in England**

This panel will debate comparative readings of contemporary visual representation of three wartime mass evacuations: the British *Government Evacuation Scheme*, the German *Erweiterte Kinderlandverschickung*, and the Japanese *Gakudō Shūdan Sokai*. The biggest and most concentrated mass movement of people in Britain's history took place in the first four days of September 1939, when 3.5 m people including 800,000 children were transported from towns and cities identified as likely targets of aerial bombardment. Whole families, especially mothers with very young children, were evacuated, but the vast majority of schoolchildren were separated from their parents and travelled with their teachers to undeclared destinations. The exercise was promoted as an organisational success by state administration, as in many respects it was. However there was also much bungling, friction, insensitivity and trauma entailed for many evacuees and their hosts.

For all the pressures to conform, the evacuation was not compulsory under law. Suspicion and resentment was generated amongst all parties and when bombing did not immediately occur, many children returned or were taken back to their homes. Consequently a state propaganda campaign was mounted persuading parents of the need for evacuation. This campaign was heightened, and evacuation resumed in the spring and summer of 1940 when *Blitzkrieg* on industrial sites and ports began.

I offer for discussion a range of visual images portraying children, teachers and parents during the WW2 evacuation in England. I aim to provide images for comparative analysis with German and Japanese sources in open discussion to which presenters and audience will contribute. For purposes of discussion I will briefly outline the scope of materials found and identify the rationale for my selection. Film to be presented may include clips from officially commissioned documentaries 'Westward Ho' (1940) [8m] school children being evacuated from London, with warning messages from mothers in Europe about their experiences.

'Village School' (1940) [11m] an idyllic rural setting to reassure parents of the educational benefits for urban children, enjoying a healthy and communal life of the countryside.

'Living with Strangers' (1941) [12m] revealing the clash of urban and rural cultures and the need to cooperate in harmony for the common good. My selection of visual sources is intended to raise questions about this cinematic representation aimed at a popular audience.

## **D'Alessio, Michelina**

University of Basilicata  
Italy

### **Times of war, time of school: The school chronicles of elementary teachers during the fascism time in Italy**

Among the new sources considered useful by the historians of the school and education in the reconstruction of the "school luce", the contribution draws on a study of unpublished material, represented by school records compiled by some Italian primary school teachers, during the years of fascism.

The project aims in launching a reflection of methodological nature around this new source, so far not considered too much, for the study of material history of the school, in line with the gradual shift in the range of interest in the inner world of the school and the daily lives of their own protagonists. The records, along with school copybooks and diaries, qualify themselves as new and original sources, of which stressed the difficulty of finding, since they are special materials, manuscripts and unpublished, valuable reservoir of news and useful information for tracing back to knowledge and educational models and values taught, as well as the mode of transmission of the same, to generations of schoolchildren. The transcripts of the “chronicles of the school teacher on the life of the school” traced in a significant number of records coming from different national areas – taken from the historical and school archives, and furthermore from the vast collection owned by Ce.S.I.S of University of Molise – help us to better understand the reflection and the conditioning of the war events relating to the history of Italian fascist era and during the Second World War, on the school life and to reflect on the relationship between training models and the school culture. They also allow us to follow the dynamics between local history and Great History. The found elementary logs give a cognitive route where the documentary, educational heritage facilitate a reflection on the influence exerted by the wartime on its time, space and the same way of doing school. In particular, they allow to focus on the educational principles as well as on teaching methods that were inspired by elementary school teachers in the years of fascism. The result is a consideration, as evidenced by these new school sources, on the influence exerted in attempts to control public school operated by fascism. They show the feelings that the teachers wish to promote, the educational objectives set by the fascist organizations – including the “Opera Nazionale Balilla” and “Piccole Italiane” inside and outside of schools, in order to train students to become “disciplined, scholars and good” fascists of tomorrow.

### **Darbellay, Frédéric**

University Institute Kurt Bösch / IUKB

Switzerland

### **Moody, Zoe**

University of Geneva & Valais University of Teacher Education

Switzerland

## **War and Peace between Disciplines: towards an Interdisciplinary Dialogue in Education**

The centenary of the outbreak of the First World War – and the physical and symbolic violence that followed – resonates coincidentally with the current highly topical debates on the present and future challenges of higher education. Indeed, concerns are expressed regarding what is identified by some academics as a ‘crisis’ and conflicts between disciplines within the field of humanities and social sciences. The history of modern university systems (20th-21st Centuries) reflects this growing fragmentation of knowledge in relatively autonomous disciplines. This fragmentation leads to situations of incommunicability and conflict between researchers whose languages, theories, concepts and methods are immeasurably different. This warlike spirit between academic disciplines, which are fighting for their institutional positioning, their epistemological survival and for access to human and financial resources, reveals nevertheless legitimate hopes of getting over conflicts. Indeed, interdisciplinary approaches as citizen science consider knowledge as a common and negotiated property within intercultural relations and inter- and transnational flows.

They are thus perceived as a means of overcoming the vision of the scientific field as a battlefield to allow and promote peaceful relations between disciplines.

Drawing on elements of the history of universities and of intergovernmental organisations this paper will analyse, through documented situations of conflicts (e.g. in the aftermath of WWII, the foundation of UNESCO; 1968 university reforms in France), the role of an open and interdisciplinary dialogue between academics from different backgrounds. The potential of interdisciplinarity and scientific cooperation to overcome sterile situations of conflict and power relationships between disciplines will therefore be questioned. Also building on the results of an ongoing research on the practices of inter- and transdisciplinary research in Swiss universities in particular, it will be argued that the sound values of interdisciplinarity – pacifism between disciplines, listening to each other and assertiveness – cannot avoid a dialogical confrontation necessary to the exchange of views on educational issues. Capitalizing on disciplinary skills in a collaborative perspective towards a common goal are thus constitutive of scientific (r)evolutions. This paper therefore aims to contribute to the interdisciplinary dialogue in the international community of historians of education, providing examples of implementation of interdisciplinarity through the circulation of concepts, theories and methods throughout formal and informal education.

**Darby, Derrick and Rury, John**

University of Kansas  
United States

### **War, Race and Education in the United States: Three Historical Episodes**

This paper examines the historical impact of total war on African American education. Total war required complete mobilization of people and resources for purposes of conflict. In the USA these episodes also entailed the ideological elevation of such national ideals as liberty, equality and fair play, resulting in a temporary attenuation of racially discriminatory ideas and practices and new opportunities for black schooling. We consider this process in three different periods: the eras of the American Revolution, the Civil War and the Second World War. We also discuss its larger implications.

The Revolution occasioned the initial articulation of such ideals, featured in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and innumerable pamphlets, broadsides and newspapers. Thousands of slaves were freed during the conflict and anti-slavery societies led by influential whites appeared in Northern cities. These groups started schools for African American children. Although such institutions focused on moral education and proper behavior, they evolved academically and helped educate the nation's first generation of free black leaders. Their success belied the virulent racism that developed in subsequent decades, as it became more difficult to establish black schools.

The Civil War was largely a conflict over slavery, if not race, and thus directly addressed questions of liberty and equality. As is well known, Northern victory led to Reconstruction and the education of millions of freedmen. Whites and blacks alike contributed to this remarkable period, when African Americans gained political and social standing, supported by the anti-slavery and anti-racist elements of the Republican Party. The passing of these ideological stalwarts and consequent loss of national resolve contributed to Southern white restoration in the 1870s. With this, of course, African American education suffered widespread loss of support and eventual decline.

African Americans struggled to improve educational opportunities for their children, and with the Second World War more rapid advancement became possible. A response to Axis aggression, it also entailed a rejection of hereditarian Nazi theories of Aryan supremacy. This contributed to a reexamination of American racial ideas, and federal courts proved more receptive to arguments for equity in schooling, placing enormous pressure on Southern states. African American communities mobilized to demand greater fairness, and many whites became supportive. Eventually equality of education became a major national issue, especially following the historic *Brown v Board* decision.

Written in collaboration by a philosopher and historian, the paper concludes with a consideration of how ideological mobilization during wartime can help foster greater attention to human rights, and access to education in particular. This entails consideration of ideological shifts and historical changes in social opportunity. Such change is especially likely in the case of total war, when demands for national unity and popular participation are greatest. In the USA such episodes created moments of openness to the advancement of social groups that historically suffered discrimination and exploitation. In modern history, gaining greater access to educational opportunity has been among the most tangible of such benefits, as demonstrated in the case of African American experience.

### **D' Ascenzo, Mirella**

University of Bologna  
Italy

### **Italian school during the Great War. Neutralism, assistance, education and solidarity in the city of Bologna (Italy, 1914-1920)**

This work aims to demonstrate the impact of the First World War on daily life in Italian school, particularly focussing on the city of Bologna. This city, home to the oldest University in the Western World, tackled the war period in a special way, run by a socialist municipal administration from 1914 to 1920 which was openly neutralist and hostile to all wars.

The social policies of the Mayor, Francesco Zanardi, and the Councillor for Education, Mario Longhena, paid special attention to the needs of the poor (the municipal bakery, the independent consumer board, etc.) and particularly to the needs of children.

Despite the economic difficulties, child care and education initiatives multiplied, residential schools were opened in many districts, along with special schools for sick children, teaching staff, outdoor schools and nurseries for conscripts' children. Although not all avid neutralists, the city teachers took part in these educational missions as an expression of their educational function, supporting the poorer citizens who were often children of the men fighting on the front.

One particularly interesting and original event was the hospitality offered to many children from the once-enemy city of Vienna, in the post-war period 1919-1920. The socialist administration went by train to defeated Vienna and brought a number of poor children and orphans to Bologna, hosting them in residential schools and with families for a while, before returning them home. Although little-known today, at the time the episode created quite a scandal, and was criticised by both the political opposition and the teachers from Bologna, given the economic crisis and the general moral climate of the nation, yet marked a glorious example of solidarity and the promotion of tolerance and peace among peoples.

Archive documents, printed materials and photographs from the period will be used to illustrate this outstanding era of wartime school management in the city of Bologna (Italy), and the role of education between the official propaganda and the search for an alternative based on peace and understanding between populations, during the painful period of the Great War, referred to in 1917 by Pope Benedict XV as “a pointless carnage”.

**de la Ferriere, Alexis**

University of Cambridge  
United Kingdom

**The Perils of Progressive Education in Revolutionary Algeria:  
*Les Service des Centres Sociaux***

Under French colonisation, investments in socio-economic development in Algeria largely sidelined the majority Muslim population. In education in particular, most Muslim children were excluded from formal schooling whilst colonist populations benefited from near-universal enrolment. It was only once the Algerian War of Independence broke out (1954-62), that French authorities took this inequity seriously. In this presentation, I discuss one service which was developed to rapidly address the educational deficit amongst Muslims. In 1955, the French Governor-General of Algeria Jacques Soustelle asked the anthropologist and human rights activist Germaine Tillion to establish a new socio-educational service which could address the needs of the Algerian Muslim population. What Tillion created was the *Service des Centres Sociaux*. This service aimed to promote community-based development by providing the poorest areas in Algeria with basic education, critical literacy and associated social services such as healthcare and skills training.

However, within the war context, the progressive approach of the *Centres Sociaux* and the proximity between its employees and the Muslim population quickly raised suspicions amongst the French security services. This presentation draws on internal *Centres Sociaux* documents, French military archives, and oral history interviews with former *Centres Sociaux* employees. On the basis of this evidence, I discuss the aims and values of the *Centres Sociaux*. I document the level of official persecution, which the service was subjected to; this ranged from covert surveillance to arrest and torture. Finally, I consider the reasons why the French security sector was so hostile to this service in particular.

**de Mestral, Aurelie and Rouiller, Viviane**

University of Geneva  
Switzerland

**Narrative Construction of War in History and German Schoolbooks in the  
Century of Nation-States' Accession**

This communication aims to analyse the position and the treatment of wars in French-speaking Switzerland's textbooks for the disciplines of History and of German as a second language in the XIXth century. A period during which the nation-states' accession occurred in Europe, supported by the elaboration of collective references considered as constituents of a common heritage. Among these references, we find a set of heroes, memorial sites and most of all “a

history establishing the continuity of the nation throughout vicissitudes of history” (Thiesse, 2000, p.52), all of which can be highlighted by narratives of wars.

On the basis of a dozen history and German schoolbooks in effect in the cantons of Geneva, Vaud and Fribourg between 1830-1914, we will study the contents concerning war events within these resources. How the educational institution dealt with the concept of war during the period of nation-states accession? Whereas History is mobilized *de facto* to promote a national consciousness, the discipline of German is likely to contribute to it as well, first as a national language, but then also as a foreign language, throughout the image of the otherness which the contents build and express.

In history textbooks, as well as in the society, past is often used to legitimize a sense of belonging to a nation. To achieve this, battle history and the chronological use are often mobilized. Therefore, we will evaluate the place granted to each war and the way they are mentioned. We will look into a history invented in the XIXth century, namely “the nation history”. We will see how the narrative of “founder wars” participated in this tradition invention and in the development of concepts which have created the image of Switzerland, such as withdrawal and neutrality. Beyond History, the discipline of German also includes historical narratives in its didactic contents. As a national language but also as a foreign language, its learning is completed by some cultural and historical representations expressed in schoolbooks, to inspire a patriotic feeling. In this sense, the narrative of some warrior facts would have contributed to it. Therefore we will examine the importance of these historical narratives in a language textbook. Which wars are selected and which ones are not mentioned, in view of history textbooks? In the light of two disciplines of different status, we will carry out a comparative analysis on the basis of the following questions: How does a country, which claims its neutrality, talk about war? Which place is assigned to Swiss and foreign actors? These are all elements, the analysis of which enables to highlight a certain idea of relationship with the other.

**de Vincenti, Andrea and Grube, Norbert**

Zurich University of Teacher Education  
Switzerland

### **The War as an Educator to Temperance and a Healthy Racial Corpus (Volkskörper)**

In the first half of the twentieth century the international temperance movement was one of the largest social movements. They conceived themselves as intellectual elite designated to instruct the so-called ignorant mass of people and claimed vigorously the diffusion of allegedly scientific knowledge about the harmful effects of drinking. A central point of reference in their argument is the racial corpus (Volkskörper), which - according to the Association of abstinent Swiss Teachers - should be restored not only but also through instruction at schools. In a popular pedagogical way the temperance movements required to stand up against the drinking habits of the community and to fight alcohol as an enemy of racial strength and purity, hygiene, and of physical and intellectual performance.

Thus, this paper analyses how, during WWI, partly eugenic and racist pedagogical ambitions to accomplish temperance for a powerful social formation in a military as well as in a civil context have been intensified internationally and in Switzerland. After the war, alleged moral behaviour acquired at war was supposed to establish the figure of the abstinent soldier, who should act as

an instructing opinion-former in favour of this ideal that holds up general physical, intellectual and economic strength of a community. War thus appears to be an important factor of culture. With the general conscription abstainers regarded the army as directly dependent on the physical and mental health of the racial corpus. Hence, especially during the war demands of abstinence were reinforced. We argue that the war and its leading actors, such as officers, comrades, and the army per se, were conceived as educators of the unreasonable drinkers. Furthermore, we focus on military barracks or the front and their perception as spaces of instruction for abstinent behaviour.

Our research is based on various pedagogical brochures and journals of the temperance movement (e.g. *Die Alkoholfrage*). These documents show that war and army were not able to fully meet the raised expectations regarding their educational role. In fact, soldiers were accused of leading an immoral and faceless life in consequence of their drinking. Their desires for distraction from the horror of war were not taken into account. We argue that the temperance movement judged military and war to be important actors in the process of educationalization of social problems (Smeyers/Depaepe 2008) in the first third of the 20th century. But at the same time the war itself contributed to the intensification of social problems, particularly the drinking habits.

## **Dehli, Kari**

OISE, University of Toronto  
Canada

*SWG Gender: Gender, Power Relations and Education in a Transnational World*

### **The Powerful Fiction of the ‘Developing Child’: Gender and Psychology between Canada and Britain during WW2**

In today’s discussions about education, psychological discourses of development are firmly entrenched as truths about children and childhood that guide curriculum and teaching. But, what if ‘development’ were viewed as one of several possible truths about the child, a truth that was generated and made to work at particular times and places? And, what if we were to suggest, as Valerie Walkerdine (1984; 1993) has done, that developmental psychology does more than merely *represent* the child who moves naturally toward reason, maturity and democracy? What if psychology’s practices of observation and categorization *produce* the developing child as a fiction whose apparent naturalness has powerful effects in the organization of schools and families?

In this paper I want to build on and qualify Walkerdine’s analysis by introducing a transnational dimension that locates the production of the ‘developing child’ in the practices of a group of Canadian women child psychologists during WW2. For women on staff at the Institute for Child Studies in Toronto, Canada, the war opened up possibilities for dissemination and popularization of theories and practices of early childhood development beyond Canada. Two transnational initiatives are of particular interest: First, the organization of the Children’s Overseas Reception project, which provided temporary shelter in Canada for English mothers and children during the war; and second, the establishment of a training school in Birmingham to prepare child care workers to staff nurseries across the United Kingdom, as women were recruited into war industries and children were evacuated from major cities. I trace the contributions of four Canadian women psychologists and early childhood educators to these efforts: Mary Salter Ainsworth, Dorothy Millichamp, Mary Jean Wright and Mary Northway.

By examining a range of documents that they produced (teaching manuals and curriculum documents; observation guides; research reports and scholarly papers), as well as oral history interviews conducted between 1969 and 1977 by C.R. Myers for the Canadian Psychology Association, I examine how fictions of 'the developing child' were produced and circulated in the disruptive conditions of war and dislocation. I show that much of the transnational traffic of ideas, concepts and approaches to children and childhood between Canada and the United Kingdom was conducted by these women. I also argue that gender operated in complex and consequential ways to shape knowledge about childhood and interventions into children's lives, and to position women psychologists and educators in contradictory ways.

**del Pozo Andrés, Maria del Mar**

University of Alcalá  
Spain

*SWG Gender: Gender, Power Relations and Education in a Transnational World*

### **Internationalization and glocalization of progressive educational practices: a case study of the Spanish schoolteacher Justa Freire**

In 1925 the eleven members of the teaching staff of the school "Cervantes" from Madrid had got an official grant for travelling to Europe during two months. They could visit the best known new schools of France, Germany, Switzerland and Austria, they were attending the III Conference of the New Education Fellowship that took place in Heidelberg and they participated in the Summer Course of the Institute Jean Jacques Rousseau in Geneva. All the schoolteachers were writing daily diaries of their experience and their personal observations.

One of these travelling schoolteachers was Justa Freire. Together with her colleague Elisa López Velasco these were the only two women in the group and the only two women who were teachers in a state school for boys in Spain. I will follow the trip through her eyes, using as main sources her diaries and agendas. I will try to analyze the influence that this pedagogical trip had in her future work as schoolteacher and headmistress of a state school for boys and girls in the thirties and in the construction of her pedagogical discourse about the theory and practice of the education.

This experience will be considered as a case study for discussing the processes of circulation and appropriation of educational ideas and practices, the links between the internationalization and the nationalization of the progressive ideals and its transfer to the local areas. But this process can also be studied from a gender prospective. Justa Freire and a small group of schoolteachers were the first Spanish women that became headmistresses of schools with both male and female teachers. The paper will draw some hypothesis about the way in which her male colleagues were resisting her educational practices, not only because of their traditional mentality, but also because they could not accept to be under a woman in authority. The consequences of this tension had changed her life forever after the Spanish Civil War.



**Denéchère, Yves**

Université d'Angers / CNRS CERHIO

France

### **Le Centre International de l'Enfance: éducation, formation et paix sociale dans l'espace colonial français en Afrique (1949-1960)**

Dans le contexte de l'après Seconde Guerre mondiale et de la réorganisation d'un espace de la cause des enfants avec la paix retrouvée, le pédiatre français Robert Debré (1882-1978) et Ludwik Rachjman (1881-1965), premier président de l'UNICEF, créent en 1949 un Centre International de l'Enfance dont l'objectif est « de favoriser dans les différents pays du monde l'étude des problèmes qui touchent à l'enfance, la diffusion des notions d'hygiène et de puériculture, la formation technique du personnel spécialisé ». La création du CIE a été proposée et fortement soutenue par la France qui assure son financement conjointement avec l'UNICEF. Situé château de Longchamp (Paris), le CIE est complémentaire de l'UNICEF en tant qu'opérateur de formations professionnelles, de campagnes de sensibilisation et d'éducation à destination des populations concernées et constitue un centre-ressource initiant des projets de recherche, des manifestations scientifiques et des outils (études de terrain, séminaires de formation, colloques, programmes d'éducation). En tant que tel, il participe donc activement aux échanges transnationaux sur les questions de protection de l'enfance, spécialement dans le domaine de la santé. Enfin, il est chargé de promouvoir, dans chaque espace national avec lequel il était en relation, le développement de politiques « enfance-jeunesse » intégrées dans le champ économique et social. Ce faisant, le CIE collabore avec les grandes organisations internationales s'occupant de toutes ces questions: en premier lieu l'UNICEF bien sûr, mais aussi l'UNESCO, l'OMS, le FAO, le PNUD, le BIT, etc. et les grandes institutions interétatiques, ONU et Conseil de l'Europe, garantes de la paix. En même temps, installé et cofinancé par la France, le CIE a pour vocation de s'occuper des enfants d'Afrique dans l'espace colonial français. Il organise des campagnes de vaccination, finance des recherches sur les pathologies infantiles, assure la formation des personnels prenant en charge les enfants, conçoit des vecteurs d'éducation.

Cette présentation montrera en quoi le CIE a été un trait d'union entre les grandes organisations de la galaxie onusienne et l'Afrique et comment il est intervenu dans les processus d'éducation à la santé à destination des enfants africains dans l'espace colonial français. Sera également abordée la problématique de l'instrumentalisation du CIE par la France pour assurer une sorte de paix sociale dans ses colonies. Les sources mobilisées seront essentiellement les archives du CIE déposées à la Bibliothèque de l'Université d'Angers en 1999. Ce fonds, désormais classé, complémentaire de celui de l'UNICEF, est inédit et constitue une source de premier ordre pour faire l'histoire des grandes questions d'éducation sanitaire et sociale relatives à l'enfance et à la famille au second XXe siècle.

### **The International Children's Centre: education, training and social peace in the French colonial system in Africa (1949-1960)**

In the context of the post-WWII era, the return of peace and the reorganization of the field of children's advocacy, in 1949, the French paediatrician Robert Debré (1882-1978) and Ludwik Rachjman (1881-1965), first president of UNICEF, created the International Children's Centre (ICC) whose goal was "to promote the study of the problems affecting children, the dissemination of knowledge on hygiene and childcare and the technical training of specialised personnel in different countries of the world". The creation of the ICC was proposed and

strongly supported by France, which financed the organisation in conjunction with UNICEF. Located in Longchamp Château (Paris), the ICC served as a complement to UNICEF through its professional training programmes and awareness-raising campaigns for concerned populations and as a resource centre initiating research projects and scholarly events and producing tools of the trade (field studies, seminars, conferences, education programs). As such, it participated actively in transnational exchanges on issues of child protection, especially in the field of health. Finally, it was responsible for promoting, in each national space with which it was connected, the development of socially and economically integrated “child-youth policies”. In so doing, the ICE worked with major international organisations dealing with such issues, not only UNICEF, but also UNESCO, WHO, FAO, UNDP, ILO, etc. and major intergovernmental guarantors of peace: the UN and Council of Europe. Since it was established and co-financed by France, the ICC also had a mission to care for African children located within the French colonial space. It organized vaccination campaigns, funded research on children’s diseases, provided training for childcare workers and designed education programs.

This presentation will show how the ICC served as a link between the major organizations of the UN galaxy and Africa and how it was involved in the process of providing health education to African children in the French colonial space. It will also address the issue of France’s exploitation of the CIE to assure social peace in the colonies. The sources used are essentially the archives of the ICC which were donated to the University of Angers library in 1999. This unique fonds, a complement to that of UNICEF, constitutes an excellent source for reconstructing the history of the major issues of social and health education for children and families during the second half of the twentieth century.

**Dessardo, Andrea**

LUMSA, Rome

Italy

### **Becoming Italian Teachers: Cultural and national teacher education in the former Austrian provinces**

During the summer 1919, the Army General Secretariat for the Civilian Affairs organized six courses for the teachers of the new Italian provinces (Julian March and Trentino-South Tyrol). During the war, in summer 1917, similar courses were already established in Florence. The administration provided for the residence of hundreds of men and women in the best holiday places of the former Austrian regions, in the mountains and by the seaside, offering them the tickets for the journeys, books and food. For four weeks, the teachers received high level lessons about Italian literature, art, philosophy, laws, held by some of the most important professors from the Kingdom. The national propaganda aim was explicitly declared in order to equip the new teacher of the Italian cultural heritage most important elements, believed to be oppressed during the Austrian domination. Another key, was the way to interpret the motivation on the war in the larger contest of Italian history.

Among the lecturers, there were Giovanni Gentile and Giuseppe Lombardo-Radice too, who will prepare the new school reform in 1923. Gentile, the first Minister of Education in the Fascist era, will publish his lectures texts, which obtained a remarkable success in sell and critics. In that period, the Governor of Trentino and South Tyrol was Luigi Credaro, former minister of Education in years 1910-1914, professor at the University of Rome and director of the influent

journal «Rivista pedagogica». The paper will analyse the organization process, lectures programs, journalistic chronicles, professors' reports, teachers' comments and final essays, focusing on national rhetoric and propaganda and trying to comprehend what the Italian authorities wanted to pass on their new citizens and how they used to watch to them. The analysis will consider the teachers' point of view too: their expectations and their level of satisfaction by reading essays, memoirs and reports in their professional reviews.

**Diamant, Ana**

Universidad de Buenos Aires / Federación de Entidades Culturales Judías de la Argentina  
Argentina

**Lestani, María**

Federación de Entidades Culturales Judías de la Argentina  
Argentina

**Hojman, Gabriel**

Federación de Entidades Culturales Judías de la Argentina  
Argentina

**Niños por la paz, entre democracias y dictadura. Cuarenta años de producción en memoria y derechos humanos (1974 – 2014) en instituciones argentinas judeo progresistas de educación no formal**

Desde principios del S XX existen en la Argentina instituciones judeo progresistas con el propósito de preservar la cultura judía y universal y de la militancia antifascista y anti bélica. Fueron espacio de acogida a migrantes y perseguidos de la Europa del Este “entre guerras” y aún después. Se plantearon, desde sus orígenes redes solidarias entre europeos y nativos, impulsando a sus miembros a participar en acciones solidarias, particularmente en la lucha por la justicia y la paz, con propuestas educativas complementarias de la escolaridad oficial, en formatos deportivos, artísticos, escuelas idiomáticas, colonias de vacaciones, campamentos.

La expectativa del “hombre nuevo” y de una nueva sociedad, se contraponía a la imagen de la guerra que había dejado veinte millones de muertos y al recuerdo de haber perdido familiares, amigos, objetos, tradiciones y cultura. Cada cambio epocal, puso a estas instituciones ante el desafío del cumplimiento de objetivos democratizadores, pacifistas, contestatarios. La propuesta pedagógica de los años ´50 desplegó estrategias para la preservación de la cultura de origen y del idish y la integración a la cultura receptiva. Los años ´60, con acontecimientos nacionales e internacionales que conmovían especialmente a la juventud, invitaron a educar desde posiciones combativas y a compartir acciones con las fuerzas democráticas nacionales.

En los años setenta las acciones palparon con los acontecimientos políticos del país y de Latinoamérica, mientras se consolidaban alternativas gubernamentales democráticas, que resultaron luego fueron avasalladas por el terrorismo de estado. De estos itinerarios pedagógicos quedan vestigios – murales, instalaciones – producidos por niños y jóvenes, que oficiaron como analizadores de la preocupación por la paz y de la responsabilidad de hombres y mujeres en ella. Algunos se perdieron o fueron destruidos. Otros fueron guardados o sobrevivieron casi abandonados durante años, “transparentados” en la cotidianeidad, hasta que niños y docentes, de la misma edad de sus originales autores, decidieron intervenirlos y recuperarlos. Desde la factura original, pasaron dictaduras, guerras, retorno a la democracia, compromisos de paz, informaciones y experiencia que los “autores” tramaron en sus producciones. Esta presentación

propone el análisis de los procesos de restauración y creación de materiales representativos de diferentes épocas y de una ideología, desde las voces los de originales autores y de quienes intervinieron 40 años después, en un viaje en el tiempo que permitió transitar la experiencia antigua y actualizarla.

**Children for Peace – Between Democracy and Dictatorship.  
Forty years working for memory and human rights (1974-2014) in Jewish-Argentine Jewish progressive institutions for informal education**

Progressive Jewish institutions have existed in Argentina since the beginning of the 20th century for the purpose of preserving the Jewish and worldwide culture and the movement against fascists and war.

Immigrants from Eastern Europe, who were persecuted “between the wars” and even later, made up the institutions. Since the beginning, supportive networks were created between Europeans and the local people encouraging their members to participate in acts of solidarity particularly in the struggle for justice and peace, educational proposals such as sports, arts, language schools, and camps. The hope for a “new man” and a new society was contrasted with a war that resulted in 20 million casualties and the memories of lost family, friends, belongings, traditions and culture. There are remains of the educational plans from the 1950s to the 1930s including wall paintings and installations created by children and teenagers who analysed and were concerned about peace and the responsibility that men and women had for it. Some of them were lost or destroyed. Others were preserved or survived in a neglected condition for years concealed in every day activities until children and teachers of the same age as their original authors decided to take action and to recover them or to reinvent them. Since the beginning until today, there have been dictatorships, wars, democracy recoveries, peace agreements, information and experiences that the “authors” expressed in their creations. This presentation proposes and analyses the restoration and creation of materials representative of different eras and ideology, the voices of the original authors and the ones who participated 40 years later. We construct a trip in time in which it is possible to live an experience and bring it up-to-date.

**Dighton, Adam**

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United Kingdom

**Instructive History or Propaganda? British Official Military History, 1882-1914**

This paper will examine how the intended didactic function of British official military history changed between 1882 and 1914. There has been little scholarly work on the writing of official history in Britain, and most attention has been focused on the historiographical controversies surrounding the authorised account of the First World War. This focus has obscured the changes in the nature of official historical writing before 1914 and the perceived educational function of these histories. This paper aims to provide an insight into these changes in the intended educational role of official historical writing, and the wider concerns of military historians at this time.

It will be argued that from 1882, when work began on the official account of the British invasion of Egypt, there was the first of two significant changes in the intended didactic function

of official history written during this time. Instead of compiling a highly detailed work to provide information for professional study by staff officers planning a campaign, as had been done previously, the official historian produced a work aimed at the general public. He intended the work to refute the negative press coverage of the British campaign and wanted to 'educate' the electorate about the difficulties associated with the conduct of a military operation, thus limiting the influence of similar 'sensationalist' journalism in the future. Likewise, the first official account of the Second Boer War was initially written for the reading public in an attempt to alter their understanding of the conflict. The account attempted to place much of the blame for the British Army's poor showing during the war onto political figures and the government. This paper contends that this new approach, which reflected how these historians perceived the educational role of official history, was able to be adopted because of the informal and impromptu way in which authorised history was compiled at this time.

However, in 1903, work on the first official account of the Second Boer War was stopped by order of the Secretary of State for War. The decision was taken because this work had adopted a provocative view of the war and was not deemed suitable for publication. This paper will argue that the suppression of this account led to the second major shift in the intended didactic function of official history produced in Britain. Following the suppression of this account, official history was written primarily for the instruction of regimental officers as well as those studying military history. This marked an important move away from the existing intended function and again reflected the changing perception of the educational role of official history. Consequently, the official histories written about the British operations in Somaliland, the new official account of the Second Boer War, and of the Russo-Japanese War, were written primarily to instruct this new professional audience.

## **Diniz, Aires**

Escola Secundária Avelar Brotero

Portugal

### **War as an obstacle to Portuguese Republican Educational Development**

In Portugal, as a monarchy, for a long time, successive political obstacles stopped or slowed educational development, but 5th October 1910 Republican Revolution opens the way to New School Ideas entering primary and secondary schools. It also permits the teaching of Economics, Natural Sciences and Engineer matters, upgrading also the Medicine curriculum and introducing Philosophy, Philology and History at Coimbra University and founding New Universities at Lisbon and Oporto.

It seems that a New Golden Age came to the Portuguese School System that could make our workforce more competitive and healthy by reinforcement of popular education, particularly through Maternal and Paediatric Education. Also Republicans believe that their previous popular education through political propaganda, preparing 5th October 1910 Revolution, explains this peaceful result. So, before World War I, many people believe in Pedagogic propaganda of Peace among workers, against militarism, with leadership of Neno Vasco, a Portuguese anarchist, recently returned from Brazil, who argues against war causes. He hopes that change can be made with pedagogic virtues of general strike, as a collective effort to stop an expected bloody war, justifying pacifist anarchism and, also, the end of capitalist society as a permanent source of wars. This propaganda results in some Portuguese teachers leaving the army. On the other hand, the

Republican Government argues that the war can be a good business by increasing economic and colonial profits, sustained by an augmented fiscal income during war. But, awkwardly, World War I stopped Portuguese collective hope of a better schooling because the general climate of war destroyed many hopeful republican pedagogic experiences in Portugal and had also negative influence in migrations to and from Europe, particularly with Brazil. A consequence of war was also discussion of social and pedagogic assistance to children that lost their fathers in the conflict. Later, the dynamics of schooling were broken by December 1917 Sidónio Pais coup d'état because it had direct influence on the educational ambience as premonitory of an Authoritarian Regimen and had later dramatic consequences in the Portuguese Expeditionary Army effort in Mozambique and in France

At the end of war, Portuguese Royalists reveal a deep inclination to revenge, ridiculing some republican educational personalities, highlighting the Peace weaknesses signed by the victors against defeated Germany, also emphasized by John Maynard Keynes. After the 1919 North Monarchy Revolt's defeat, the young monarchists felt a permanent fear of bolshevism, and appealed for the ending of strikes to attain a New Social Peace as a Hope.

### **Discini de Campos, Raquel**

Federal University of Uberlandia

Brazil

### **The “war in Sao Paulo”: press and education on the memory construction of the Constitutionalist Revolution of 1932 (Sao Paulo, Brazil)**

On July ninth of 1932 erupted in the state of Sao Paulo the Constitutionalist Revolution, a fact that became known in Brazil since then until nowadays as the “Paulista’s war”. Although it had a short duration - only three months - the revolution is one of the most recollected episodes of official education syllabus, through the execution of civic parades, street naming in tribute of the martyrs, patriotic holidays institution and etc. The revolution was, in essence, an insurrection that was militarily confined to the territory of Sao Paulo state, although the initial plan was about the consolidation of an alliance between many Brazilian regions, aiming to take over the national power from Getúlio Vargas’ hands, president from 1930 to 1945, someone who had just risen to power through the Revolution of 1930.

The main reason for the “war” was the misunderstandings of the urban middle classes and agriculture and industrial sectors from the elite of Sao Paulo, one of the richest states of Brazil’s federation, regarding the interveners nominated by Getulio Vargas to administrate. Besides, the government’s delay on making a new constitution official, that effectively implemented a liberal democracy in Brazil, long wished, was the unifying banner of these different population sectors.

Through those tragic months the mass media communication means, such as the cinema, newspapers and radio, were widely used, especially as mobilizing vehicles for the population around the “paulista cause”, not only in the city of Sao Paulo, but also in the furthest regions, far from the capital, as the case of northwest of Sao Paulo.

The newspapers from the city of Sao Jose do Rio Preto, in particular, played a central role both on the preparation and the execution of the Constitutionalist Revolution, in the interior regions of Sao Paulo, taking the ideological leadership of the conflagration. They participated in the opposition against Vargas, calling everyone to gather around the liberal project of Brazil’s democratization. It was through the pages of those publications, spokesmen of the insurgents from the country side, that

the famous campaign “Gold for the sake of Sao Paulo” achieved success, and all the effort for the war involved the population was made public: transformation of schools into headquarters, from civilians to soldiers, industries into ammunition factories. Thus, the collaboration of school teachers for the revolutionary effort was hailed as a patriotic mission of mastership.

In light of theoretical and methodological procedures from Cultural and Social History of Press, this communication analyses how the newspapers from these regions publicized the participation of schools, students and teachers from the revolutionary movement, constituting itself in one of the mobilizing elements of school space and agents of the interior regions of Sao Paulo to the benefit of the 1932 Revolution. It specially problematizes the memory construction of the Revolution executed in the following years, particularly regarding the significant participation of the school communities on that event.

### **Dittrich, Klaus**

Université du Luxembourg, Luxembourg

### **Connecting the Grand-Duchy to the World: Luxembourg Education at World Exhibitions, 1870s-1930s**

For one and a half centuries, world exhibitions have been global events on the intersection of war and peace. In 1851, when the very first world exhibition was held in London’s Crystal Palace, *The Times* wrote of a “Temple of Peace” and a “Festival of Labour”. But world exhibitions were also “battlefields where the rival industries of different nations struggle together”, as can be read in a US report of 1879. A Japanese visitor to the Vienna exhibition of 1873 spoke of a “peaceful war”. These labels make clear that world exhibitions, on the one hand, served to bring together individuals of various backgrounds and therefore facilitated the exchange of ideas and knowledge, potentially contributing to a better understanding between peoples. On the other hand, exhibitions encouraged the confrontational staging of mutually exclusive national and imperial projects. During the last years, research has thoroughly re-evaluated world exhibitions, highlighting in particular the place of education. While the participation of great powers in world exhibitions has been well analysed, the role of smaller countries, such as the Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg, has often been neglected. The Luxembourg participation at world exhibitions reflects the different economic and cultural junctures when the country leaned towards Germany, France or Belgium, if we think for example of the staging of economic reorientation away from Germany after World War One or the conspicuous advancement of friendship with France just before World War Two. Based on empirical research in Luxembourg archives, this paper discusses strategies pursued by actors from this country at exhibitions, especially in the educational sections, from the 1870s to the 1930s. Luxembourg, similar to the surrounding countries, experienced a profound transformation, not least due to the development of the steel industry on its territory from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards. In 1878 in Paris, the public schools featured prominently in the exhibit and attracted the attention of French reformers. One of the Luxembourg actors who regularly participated in world exhibitions from 1900 to 1937 was Antoine Hirsch, director of the *Ecole des artisans de l’Etat*, one of the leading technical schools of the Grand-Duchy. He did not only represent his own school, but on several occasions also served as secretary general of Luxemburg commissions to world exhibitions. He also used the exhibitions in order to stay informed about recent developments in technical education in foreign countries. The exhibitions are therefore analysed as vehicles that linked Luxembourg to transnational networks of knowledge circulation in the field of education.

**Dodd, Lindsey**

University of Huddersfield

United Kingdom

**‘For the unity of the Patrie’: evacuated children’s and teachers’ experiences in rural France, 1943-1944**

In 1940, France was divided. The north was occupied by the German army, the southern ‘free’ zone controlled from Vichy by a nominally autonomous French government that slid from authoritarian conservatism into fascist collaboration by 1944. The division of the country affected French children and their education in a particular way. The Occupied Zone was more heavily bombed by the Allies as the Germans were making full use of its industrial and military resources. Although the south was also occupied from November 1942, it remained less threatened from invasion and attack as it held fewer strategic targets and routes. For children north of the demarcation line, the dangers of war were acute. The Parisian suburb of Boulogne-Billancourt had been evacuating children on a number of different schemes from 1939; during 1943, over 1000 children (1/8 of its child population) ended up in the Creuse, a lush pasture-rich rural department south of the line. This paper, based on upcoming research in the Creusois archives, examines the experiences of children and their teachers as they struggled to integrate so far from home. In a divided country striving to reshape its identity, these encounters served an ideological purpose: children were vehicles for ‘reinforcing national feeling and the unity of the *Patrie*’.

**Doff, Sabine**

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Germany

**Re-Education through Language? English Language Teaching in post-war Western Germany (1945-1965)**

New ideas are best explained and understood in a “new” language. This is at least what the US American occupiers were convinced of when they were confronted with the challenge of establishing an education system in post-Hitler Germany which was supposed to help overcome the past twelve years of “Gleichschaltung”. American politicians agreed that the “re-education” of the German people should be aimed at their “democratization” and was most likely to work in a language unburdened by the Nazi influence: English – the language of democracy *per se*. Thus English language teaching was assigned a high priority in the German school system in the American zone and was explicitly linked with the overall aim of democratization with regard to addressees, content as well as teaching methodology. Did this imposed reform of the educational system work? Did English language teaching change from scratch? This paper explores these questions based on curricula and other official documents as well as teaching materials, e.g. textbooks, and thus highlights a phase of the history of English language education in the intersection of politics and pedagogy which has so far hardly been investigated.



**Domínguez García, José Manuel**

Independent Researcher

Spain

### **La escuela en la “retaguardia”: la enseñanza en Betanzos durante la Guerra Civil española (1936-39)**

Betanzos es una ciudad pequeña situada en la provincia de A Coruña. Betanzos tiene una antigua historia que podemos observar en sus colegios e instituciones educativas. En la presente ponencia vamos a estudiar la enseñanza en Betanzos durante la Guerra Civil española. Betanzos fue una zona de retaguardia donde no hubo ni batallas importantes ni ejércitos, pero sí una terrible represión y persecución, especialmente sobre el colectivo de docentes. La ponencia se va a estructurar en los siguientes epígrafes:

1. Marco teórico – normativo: análisis del modelo educativo republicano y de la escuela del franquismo. Durante la II República española (1931-36) la educación adquirió un protagonismo muy importante como motor de la renovación social. Los gobiernos progresistas de la República intentaron hacer de la escuela, una “escuela única”, en el sentido de una escuela no clasista, impulsaron la formación del maestro, una escuela neutra en lo religioso, pedagogía activa en contacto con la naturaleza, coeducación, aplicando esquemas educativos de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza. Iniciada la Guerra Civil, la primera medida en la zona controlada por Franco fue la publicación del decreto sobre *Comisiones de Depuración* (08/11/1936), que afectó especialmente a los docentes. La España nacional inicia la construcción de un modelo educativo en el que la iglesia católica recupera su influencia en la enseñanza, se reponen los crucifijos en las aulas, se prohíbe la coeducación y la enseñanza es sometida a un estricto control ideológico.

2. La enseñanza en Betanzos en la época de la República. Informaremos de las escuelas públicas, de patronato y privadas que había en Betanzos en aquella época, así como del instituto de bachillerato de carácter municipal. Aportaremos gráficos mostrando el número de alumnos y maestros, del currículum y del material escolar empleado. Se incluirán fotografías ilustrativas procedentes del archivo municipal. En la época de la República hubo una importante creación de escuelas, de lo que se aportarán datos en la zona concreta de Betanzos. También se expondrá el ambiente cultural en esta época, informando de las numerosas actividades culturales fomentadas por las autoridades republicanas locales.

3. La repercusión de un gran trauma social: el curso escolar 1936 / 37 y los inmediatamente siguientes. En Betanzos, al no ser una zona de guerra, se reanudó el curso con prontitud. Sin embargo sí hubo una importante depuración de maestros, lo que tuvo consecuencias sobre la organización escolar. En el vecino municipio de Bergondo, las nuevas autoridades se incautaron de la escuela de “A Senra”, creada por emigrados de la zona de Nueva York. Se incluirá un listado con docentes de la zona que fueron temporal o definitivamente apartados de sus destinos, así como aquellos que sufrieron persecución o fueron ajusticiados.

### **The school in the “rearguard”: teaching in Betanzos during the Spanish Civil War (1936-39)**

Betanzos is a small city in Corunna province. It has an ancient history, which we can see in its schools and educational institutions. In this paper we study the teaching in Betanzos during the Spanish Civil War. Betanzos was a rearguard area under Franco’s control, where neither armies nor important battles happened. However, there was terrible repression and persecution, especially against teachers. This paper has going to have the following themes:

1. Theoretical and normative framework: analyses of the republican school and the educational pattern in Franco's regime. During the Spanish II Republic (1931-36) the education had an important influence on social change. Republican progressive governments tried to turn the school into a co-educational, non-denominational place open to all social classes, especially the working classes - putting into practice the ideas of the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza*.

At the beginning of the Civil War, the first action in Franco's area was an order for Depuration Inquiries (08/11/1936), which particularly affected teachers in Franco's Spain. There began the building of an educational provision in which the Catholic Church had significant influence over the teaching, the crucifix went back into schools, co-education was not allowed and teaching was under strong ideological constraints.

2. Teaching in Betanzos in the II Republican age. We report on the public, patronage and private schools in Betanzos in that period, as well as the secondary school led by the Town Hall. We will display graphics showing the number of the students and the teachers, the curriculum and school material used. We will also exhibit illustrative photographs of schools from the Town Hall Archive. We show the important creation of schools built in the Republican years in Betanzos area. We also discuss the cultural environment in Betanzos, showing the large number of cultural activities promoted by local republican authorities.

3. The repercussion of a great social trauma: 1936 / 37 and the following courses. As Betanzos was not a war area, academic courses were restarted quickly. However, there was an important purge of teachers, which obviously had a big impact on school organization. We will show a list of teachers temporarily or definitively separated from their jobs, as well as those teachers who suffered persecution or were executed. In the neighbouring town of Bergondo, the new authorities commandeer "A Senra", a school built by Bergondo emigrants from the New York area. The coup d'état induced changes in the town's cultural activities, which we will also explore.

## **Doney, Jonathan**

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United Kingdom

### **From Enemy to Ally: Ecumenical reconstruction of the 'religious other' and the adoption of world religions teaching in English Schools during the 1960s and 1970s**

In the early years of the Twentieth Century, non-Christian religions were constructed by the Christian Ecumenical Movement as 'Enemy', being referred to variously as 'animalistic', 'backward' and 'childlike' (Morrison 1910) with an emphasis being placed on 'the darkness, idolatry, and devil-originating character of the non-Christian religions' (Goodall 1972: 28). By the time of a series of meetings during the late 1960s and early 1970s, this relationship of enmity had been reconstructed. The belligerence between rival groups was replaced by reconciliation and co-operation, with those of other worldviews (both religious and secular) being positively reconstructed as 'Friends'. This significant discursive reconstruction of the religious other is exemplified in the discussions leading to the establishment of the *Secretariat for Non-Christians* by Pope Paul VI (1964), the promulgation of *Nostra Aetate* by the Second Vatican Council (1965) and the establishment by the World Council of Churches of a sub-unit on the Dialogue with People of Living Faiths and Ideologies (1971).

During the same period, the nature, purpose of Religious Education (RE) in English fully State-maintained schools underwent a significant transformation leading, among other things,

to the widespread adoption of a “confessionally neutral” World Religions Teaching. This development has been discussed widely and there is a wealth of historical analysis undertaken through the lenses of pedagogy, curriculum theory and policy. However, a robust analysis of the Ecumenical context is lacking.

A detailed examination of this overlooked Ecumenical background offers to enrich the existing historiography of English RE. Further, the methodological approach adopted, in seeking to trace the ‘history of ideas’ by applying Foucault’s historical methodology to a range of previously unutilized primary sources, facilitates such a detailed examination and offers potential for a wider deployment, both within this field and beyond. In searching for the ‘relative beginnings’ of processes and discourses relating to the adoption of World Religions Teaching, it appears that the process mirrors developments in the Christian Ecumenical Movement during the same period of time.

In particular I suggest that the discursive reconstruction of the religious other in the Ecumenical discourse extends the boundaries of the discourse of RE in English fully state-maintained schools, allowing for World Religions Teaching to be firstly ‘thinkable’ and then - through processes of normalization - to become widely adopted. This new way of thinking becomes possible through the Ecumenical legitimization of dialogue between Christians and those of other worldviews. The paper will explore this ‘ending of hostilities’ and the way in which the new found peace affected the development of English Religious Education.

**Dotts, Brian**

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### **War Informs and Misinforms: Understanding How Dissimilar Groups Contested the Ideological and Moral Principles of the American Revolution**

Thomas Paine asserted in 1795 that “the moral principle of revolutions is to instruct, not to destroy.” This paper analyzes the contested nature of republican thought following the American Revolution by focusing on three groups. The first two groups (Federalists and Anti-Federalists) are well known, so most of this paper will analyze the third group: the democratic-republican clubs that emerged during the 1790s. Starting with conceptions of informal civic education, including the press as a medium of democratization and a disseminator of knowledge, I analyze the conception of republican thought that both informed and was molded by the societies’ interpretations of the American Revolution. What they learned from the Revolution is important, and despite their short-lived duration, their normative revolutionary arguments are illustrative of war’s educative effects.

It is my belief that the societies adopted the radical and classical understanding of civic republicanism, emphasizing its democratic tendencies – predilections that had been reverberating under the surface since the Glorious Revolution of 1688-89. Their constitutions, resolutions, toasts, and correspondence reveal their commitment to ancient republican and democratic principles, public education, and civic involvement in shaping their political communities. They perceived the purposes of the war with the mother country as a call to democracy, and they emerged in the 1790s to contest what they perceived to be a return of aristocracy and Toryism in the Washington and Adams administrations. Members of the societies not only sought public education for the masses, but their activities exhibited a practical form of education in republican theory for all the parties involved.

The Federalists opposed the societies' intentions because their actions did not represent a deferential, orderly, and institutionally managed way of expressing popular opinion. The moral rectitude of ordinary citizens was emphasized over their active engagement in intellectual discourse. The societies operated as an extra-parliamentary opposition outside the established political framework, increasing the fears among the elite that popular government had the potential to disrupt the American experiment, particularly after the Reign of Terror. Members of the societies believed that individual liberty was ineffectual without also having a voice in government, and they struggled against the rhetoric of their contemporaries with the intention of maintaining the radical strain of civic republicanism that inflamed their passions during the war with Britain. Indeed, they showed more devotion to the radical and dissenting Whig tradition, and their progressive ideas revealed their emancipation from traditional preconceptions that were still held by the Federalists. It is worth repeating that this moral and political endeavor had been in the making for generations, and the societies' activities did not reveal a sudden shift, for they were partaking in a home-grown activity that had been developing for a century and a half. However, it was revolution that provided the impetus for action. Supported by the Renaissance and the Enlightenment forces, the American Revolution taught the clubs that they could act in order to alter the social and political conditions of their society.

**Droux, Joelle**

Geneva University  
Switzerland

### **Advocating the Cause of the Child in a Globalized post-war Context: The International Union of Child Welfare, a Case-Study (1945-1955)**

This paper aims to discuss both the mounting role of NGOs as spokesmen for global civil society in the post-war context, and to study the genesis of contemporary youth policy. Long before the end of WW2, childhood and youth appeared as major social policy issues of post-war reconstruction. Trauma suffered by the younger generations were indeed a major preoccupation among belligerent nations : malnutrition, family separation, mass deportations, bombings, and all forms of violence were phenomena that generally affected the civilian populations, but whose effects on the younger generations arose particular concern. Even more than their physical impairment, it was mainly the loss of moral strength that seemed to threaten the future of Western societies, and jeopardize reconstruction projects. Anxious to manage this risk, political and moral authorities soon looked abroad in search of foreign experiences and information.

However, ordinary channels of transnational communication had been cut off by hostilities, depriving both civil servants and private charities of any form of expertise that international arena used to offer. Indeed, the international organizations' activities, as well as those of various networks that were associated with them, were brutally interrupted or considerably hampered by global war. Facing this sudden disintegration of cross-border circulations, progressive movements hitherto deeply interconnected thus lapsed into forced isolationism and parochialism. So that at the very time when the issues of child welfare and youth rehabilitation became major societal challenges, accessible information on foreign experiences dried up. Given these circumstances, the rebuilding of international channels of expertise and communication on both sides of the Atlantic soon took a new urgency at the end of war, with child and youth welfare models as a crucial issue to be discussed and compared. Through the case study of a pioneer organization,

the International Union of Child Welfare (former Save the Children International Union, founded in Geneva in 1920), I will attempt to identify how the cause of children and youth has been transformed during the decade following global conflict. The analysis of the organisation's records shows how geopolitical changes have affected the cause of children, along with the rise of the United States to global power status, the falling of the Iron Curtain, the emergence of development issues and the emergence of European integration. Faced with such a complex process of geopolitical reconfiguration, this non-governmental organization strove from its 1945 reorganisation to establish itself as a platform for dialogue and peace between nations at a global level.

Through the evolution of the IUCW, I will analyze how the issue of youth was discussed and affected during post-war context, and how this European based organisation managed to negotiate its presence among other competing NGO's in the United Nations environment. Finally, I will study the international debates fed by the IUCW in order to impose child welfare as a neutralized issue of transnational dialogue.

### **« Save the Children ! » The role of the International Save the Children Union in post-war moral disarmament (1919-1939)**

This contribution investigates the role played by the Save the Children International Union (SCIU), a non-governmental agency established in Geneva in 1920, in the resumption of transnational dialogue after the First World War. This federative organisation has been studied by a number of historical works, mostly focused on the initial period of the movement and on its creator, Egglantyne Jebb (1876-1928).

In fact, the creation, organisation and functioning of the international agency itself remains a side issue of the historical narratives dedicated to the Union. The present paper seeks to fill a much-needed gap leading to a better understanding of this organisation in the interwar context of a revived internationalism. Indeed, its importance in this historical setting can not be underestimated: not only was it a large organisation, which gathered a large amount of membership during the interwar period, spanning all continents through an extensive network of affiliated committees. But its activities also demonstrated a vast ambition: on the one hand, it sought to organize relief actions to assist children victims of natural or humanitarian disasters, by establishing a structure of mutual solidarity across borders. Secondly, from its earlier years of activity on, this federative network of national committees was dedicated to promote the cause of the child all over the world. In order to achieve its mandates, the centralizing role of the Geneva Headquarters was crucial, as shown by the success of its well-known first declaration of children's rights (1923). Abundant archives funds reflect this diversity of actions, which was primarily expressed through its function as assessor (permanent expert) within several technical sections of the League of Nations and of the International Labour Office. Finally, the influence of SCIU went far beyond its mandate of child welfare advocacy network: the Union had the ambition to contribute to international reconciliation in erecting childhood as a neutral object of international relations: through promotional campaigns for children's rights and the setting up of various transnational relief campaigns, the SCIU planned to unite volunteers from all nations and thereby to anchor the peace movement on concrete joint actions.

Based on a thorough exploitation of the SCIU and international organisations archives, the present paper will attempt to take the measure of these ambitions, and weigh the impact of its commitments in the forms of international cooperation implemented during the interwar period. Beyond the ultimate failure of the movement in favor moral disarmament which the outbreak of

WW2 was to signal , this contribution is an attempt to assess first the innovative position of this organisation in NGOs history; and second the cause of the child which it helped to legitimize, particularly with regards to child-centered programs later developed by UN organisations.

**Durán Cotón, Auxiliadora and Rubio Mayoral, Juan Luis**

University of Seville

Spain

### **The childhood image in the Spanish Civil War: research about attention to helpless children**

*Objeto* - Investigamos la acción médica, clínica y asistencial a la infancia desvalida durante la guerra civil española. Además de analizar la atención a los niños desplazados desde los frentes de guerra a medida que transcurría el desarrollo del conflicto, también estudiamos la situación posterior en la que algunos de los hogares de acogida a niños huérfanos e hijos de milicianos quedaron transformados en hogares del Auxilio Social, encargados de reeducar a la infancia republicana. Además, hacemos una revisión de la situación generada en los hospitales y asilos regentados por religiosos en la zona republicana tras el estallido del conflicto. En la investigación hemos afrontado la realidad de ambos bandos, pues no caben prejuicios en la búsqueda de la verdad de lo que sucedió.

*Método* - Los archivos gráficos inéditos sobre la guerra civil han sido el origen de la investigación. En ellos hallamos el testimonio de la existencia de actividades de enseñanza educativas y terapéuticas. Una realidad que es preciso integrar es la investigación sobre educación y pedagogía hospitalaria. Estas fuentes inéditas permitieron contrastar la hipótesis sobre la existencia de acciones asistenciales y educativas sobre la infancia hospitalizada o con necesidades educativas durante los años del conflicto. Otros documentos y fuentes originales procedentes de archivos históricos nos han permitido completar la investigación empírica.

A las imágenes originales se unen los informes, estudios, testimonios y opiniones publicados en prensa escrita, las obras biográficas y narraciones de diferentes tipos. Los testimonios gráficos que acompañan la descripción de esa parte de la historia, completan la información sobre una realidad de la que debemos dar cuenta desde la historia de la educación.

*Conclusiones* - Las principales víctimas de la contienda fueron los niños, huérfanos, desplazados, enfermos y heridos de distinta consideración. En la zona republicana se advierte un progresivo aumento del problema de la infancia desvalida en paralelo al progreso de la guerra. La pérdida de territorios por parte de las fuerzas republicanas generó fuertes desplazamientos de población que era necesario atender. Antes se había protegido a la infancia trasladándola desde las zonas de frente hacia la retaguardia creándose diversas instituciones, colonias escolares, o centros de acogida en países extranjeros. La intolerancia política también generó problemas de desatención a la infancia, a los que se unieron los propios de la contienda.

### **The image of the child in the Spanish Civil War: research on exiled children**

*Aim:* to research the medical, clinical and care provision for vulnerable children during the Spanish Civil War. As well as analysing the provision for children displaced from the war front, we also look at the subsequent situation in which some of the refuges for orphan children and members of the fighting force's children were transformed into homes of social assistance, responsible for re-educating republican children. Furthermore, we review the situation in

hospitals and refuges managed by the priests in the republican area after the beginning of the strife. Throughout the research, we have examined the realities of both sides in order to be as balanced as possible in pursuit of truth.

*Method:* unpublished graphic files about the Civil War are the starting point of our research. This evidence has helped us find out about the existence of hospitals and refuges for wounded and ill children. These pictures also show how educational and therapeutic activities were being carried out on behalf of those children. Therefore, it has been considered convenient for this research to bring together education and hospital pedagogy. These unpublished sources allow us to explore the hypothesis about the existence of teaching interventions for hospitalised children or those with educational needs throughout the years the conflict lasted. Other documents and original sources from historical files allowed us to complete the empirical research. In addition to the original pictures, there are reports, studies, testimonies and opinions published in the written press, biographical works and different kinds of narrations. The graphic testimonies cast light on a reality that can be revealed through the history of education.

*Conclusions:* the main victims of the Civil War were children, orphans, misfit, ill and wounded children. In the republican area, we found a steady increase in the problem of displaced children as the war progressed. The loss of territories by Republican forces forced strong displacement of population, which it was necessary to deal with. Before this conflict, children had been protected by moving them from the war front to rearguard areas and creating institutions, school camps or refuges in foreign countries. Besides the usual war problems, political intolerance did also generate problems of neglect of children during this conflict.

## **Durst, Anne**

University of Wisconsin-Whitewater  
United States

### **Eagleswood School and the “emancipationist circle” in the mid-nineteenth-century United States**

In his study of World War I, Adam Hochschild asks: “What should any human being be most loyal to?” Alongside that question we can pose several others: How do individuals figure that out for themselves, how do social networks help them act on their answers, and what role does education play in this individual and collective process? The moment in history to which I apply these questions is the midpoint of the nineteenth century in the United States, when and where the central moral issue, which no American could escape, was one’s position on slavery.

In the 1850s, members of what one contemporary called the “Northern emancipationist circle” created a school that a newspaper article of the time described as “certainly one of the best educational establishments in the world.” Abolitionists Theodore Weld, Angelina Grimke Weld, and Sarah Grimke, having started a school at their farm in Belleville, New Jersey, were recruited to run the experimental Eagleswood School, housed in the short-lived Raritan Bay Union utopian community established in New Jersey by Marcus and Rebecca Spring.

Eagleswood was truly unusual for its time – a boarding school, it was coeducational and racially integrated. All students took part in a curriculum that included classical studies, physical activity, and manual training. The Belleville and Eagleswood schools attracted the interest and support of luminaries of American social reform – students included children related to Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, Gerrit Smith, and Robert and Harriet Forten Purvis, and among the

teachers, visitors, and lecturers were public figures such as Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, Henry David Thoreau, and Ralph Waldo Emerson.

My project looks at Eagleswood School as one center of this network of antislavery and women's rights activists whose loyalties were to equal rights for all. A number of archival collections contain letters and materials from teachers, students, and parents, serving as the foundation for a portrait of life at the school one contemporary described as "that busy, bright, and cheery palace of true education." Using the methods of social and intellectual history, I outline what it was like to teach and study at the school, and will place this educational innovation in the context of nineteenth century American social protest. The Raritan Bay Union aimed to attract those hoping for "a freer, larger, more harmonious form of human existence." To what extent did the school embody this utopian promise? Further, how did the school community grapple with the moral questions of the age - questions about equality and justice and how education, rightly done, could make a difference in a flawed but improvable world.

### **Dussel, Inés**

Departamento de Investigaciones Educativas CINVESTAV  
Mexico

### **Learning the Legacies of State Terrorism Through School Rituals in Post-Dictatorship Argentina. Historiographical arguments and aesthetic plays in the performance of memory in schools**

The teaching of the legacies of the military dictatorship in Argentina (1976-1983) has gone through different phases since the advent of democratically elected governments in 1983. As with the Holocaust in post-war Germany, it took several years for the topic to be included in the official curriculum, and the debates around whose memory and which form it takes have abounded (Huyssen 1995; Jelin & Lorenz 2004). Recent research (Pereyra 2008; Zysman 2011) shows that the subject is now included both in school programs and textbooks in ample ways, but that students' perceptions are generally limited to a moral condemnation of the dictatorship. Higuera Rubio (2009) points to the role played by school rituals in students' learnings, particularly those that are organized every March 24th in the anniversary of the military coup d'état, which are remembered with more intensity than classroom lessons. In this paper, I would like to present an analysis of a selection of school rituals observed in five primary and secondary schools in the years 2010-2013. Conceptualizing rituals as liminal spaces that provide a texture for memory and that convey particular dispositions of the body and a sense of community (Grumet 1997), I will discuss their historical narratives and aesthetic forms, confronting them with current textbooks as analysed by Zysman (2011) and with qualitative studies of school rituals (Amuchástegui 2002). Compared to the more sophisticated arguments provided by textbooks, school rituals are generally organized by militant memories and tend to emphasize a moral argument about the recent past. As performances, they include music and theatrical plays, taken from a limited pool of protest songs, stereotypical characters, and simple plots. Yet the participation of teachers and students in their preparation and the musical and play components, which mobilize affections, seem to produce a strong effect, particularly in the students. I will conclude discussing the affective quality of learning, and the possibilities and limits that school rituals as 'dispositions of the sensible' (Rancière 2011) are showing to promote a more complex teaching and learning of the recent past.



**Ellis, Heather**

Liverpool Hope University  
United Kingdom

### **British Science at War: The British Association and Scientific Masculinity 1914-1919**

“One of the most striking facts which has been brought home to the country as the war has proceeded is, that it is very largely a struggle of scientists and engineers” (BAAS internal memo, 1915) By the early years of the twentieth century, the British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS) had rather lost its way. Ridiculed by some for being little more than a society organizing lavish and expensive social activities for scientists, its golden years in the early-to-mid nineteenth century, when major scientific discoveries were announced at its meetings were seen by many as being long over. However, as this paper will show, leading figures within the BAAS viewed the First World War as a welcome opportunity to prove their usefulness to both nation and empire and to vindicate the collective masculinity of ‘men of science’. It will investigate the various ways in which the BAAS attempted to make itself vital to the war effort. Much of this focused on proposals for maximizing the natural resources of different parts of the British Empire and trying to mobilize them in the war against Germany; such activities, I will suggest, provide a classic example of what Gillian Rose has termed ‘scientific masculinity’ or the subordination of (a figuratively female) nature to human will; however, the BAAS were also interested in defining and measuring the physical manliness of the nation through the collection, retention and analysis of thousands of statistics collected by the War Office on the physical well-being or ‘manhood’ of British males during the First World War. It also sought to make itself ideologically useful to the state, fighting communism in schools through its influential position in primary and secondary education, in particular, its promotion of a particular notion of manly citizenship, based on its views of the ideal scientist. The paper will also look briefly at the impact of the Association’s raised profile during the War on its position after the cessation of hostilities. It will argue that the war years were of vital ideological importance, in terms of maintaining a high public presence for both the BAAS and for science in general.

**Ellis, Jason**

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Canada

### **Young People with Disabilities, Schools, and the Canadian WWII effort**

People have long associated war and disability, mostly negatively. It is still common to hear about the “crippling” effects of war, not just on veterans but also on societies. Disabled civilians fare badly in wartime as well, with Nazi death camps counting disabled people amongst their victims. In education as well, war and disability are associated. After World War II, G.I. bills made education crucial to returning soldiers’ rehabilitation. Education, disability, and war are further associated when we hear about “combatting” the effects of particular illnesses, say polio, through special education programs; or in 1960s education policies that made “war” on poverty’s “handicapping” effects.

The actual experiences of people with disabilities during wartime – including educational experiences – get lost amidst mostly negative associations and representations of disability, war,

and education. When we do examine disabled people's war experiences, the story becomes more complex. Gelb shows how so-called "mental deficient" who escaped institutions to serve in the armed forces during World War II proved to experts that they had mental capacity and educational potential, helping to change experts' views about intellectual disability.

My paper examines wartime educational experiences, conditions, and opportunities for pupils who attended Toronto's special schools for adolescent girls labelled "subnormal." I show how these girls conquered new vocational education challenges during World War II, convincing educators they were capable of being trained in the new skills that would allow the girls to contribute to the war effort by working in day nurseries looking after war workers' children. Special education was supposed to discipline these youngsters, changing their supposedly "deficient" minds, morals, and bodies into something more acceptable to "normal" Canadians. Yet it was the young women who, through their wartime service, ended up changing the minds of the educators who had defined narrowly their abilities and opportunities. Adolescent girls with disabilities - like Canadian women and disabled adult Canadians - helped to win the war. But also like these groups, adolescent girls ultimately lost the peace, when negative views of disability returned after the war to limit opportunities.

**Esteves Serra, Áurea**

UNESP / Araraquara - FATEB / Birigui  
Brazil

### **La Expansion de las Escuelas Primarias Rurales de Birigui/Sp en el contexto de la Segunda Guerra Mundial**

El objetivo de este estudio es visualizar el panorama educacional campesino del municipio de Birigui/SP durante la II Guerra Mundial. La década de 1940 estuvo marcada por conflictos internacionales entre los países del eje-Alemania, Japón e Italia- y los países aliados, entre ellos Brasil, que declaró la guerra tras el hundimiento de su flota por las fuerzas del eje. Millares de soldados brasileños embarcaron hacia Italia y lucharon junto a los aliados. En la ciudad de Birigui no fue distinto, diez combatientes fueron enviados al frente y la ciudad acompañó el movimiento de la guerra por medio de las noticias que llegaban de varios periódicos repartidos por la ciudad. En el periódico de la ciudad *El Biriguyense*, entre los años de 1938 y 1945, se constata en las ediciones, un total de 45 artículos acerca de la II Guerra Mundial en los cuales se confirman los nombres de los soldados enviados al frente. Respecto a la expansión de la enseñanza primaria rural en ese período, en razón de la política intervencionista del gobierno, es sabido que Getúlio Vargas fue presidente de Brasil en dos períodos, siendo de 1930 hasta 1945, que se divide en tres fases: de 1930 hasta 1934, como jefe del Gobierno Provisional; de 1934 hasta 1937, comandó como Presidente de la República Constitucional, habiendo sido elegido por la Asamblea Nacional Constituyente de 1934; de 1937 hasta 1945, implantó el Estado Nuevo después del golpe de estado. En el segundo período, en que fue sido elegido por voto directo, Getulio gobernó Brasil como Presidente de la República por tres años y medio: de 31/01/1951 hasta 24/08/1954 y fue en este el período en que se produjo la expansión de la enseñanza primaria rural en Birigui. El periódico *El Biriguyense*, publicado el día 30/10/1938, informa que Birigui en esa ocasión tenía 8.500 habitantes en la ciudad; 3.200 habitantes en los distritos; y 37.500 en el campo, totalizando 49.200 habitantes. Así, si comparamos con el número de escuelas en la zona urbana se concluye que la zona rural poseía el mayor número de escuelas, ya que la población estaba en el campo.

Según Serra (2007), en el año de 1940, Birigui tenía seis escuelas urbanas y 21 rurales y, en el año de 1957, nueve urbanas y 48 rurales. Se concluye que el período educacional en Birigui en la Era Vargas, incluso con la II Guerra Mundial, fue significativo para el posterior desarrollo de este área. Así, teniendo en cuenta los datos mencionados, se presenta una investigación que pretende contribuir tanto a la producción de una historia de las escuelas rurales de Birigui, desde el punto de vista propuesto, como contribuir a la comprensión de cómo ocurrió esa expansión de la enseñanza rural en la Provincia de São Paulo, ofreciendo así una contribución para pensar y repensar acerca de ese tipo de enseñanza, a partir de la comprensión histórica de ese fenómeno, ya que, como afirma Michel de Certeau (1994), “el lugar es lo que permite y lo que prohíbe” (p.78) el tipo de discurso en el que se encuadran las operaciones cognitivas.

### **The Expansion of Primary Schools in the Rural Municipality of Birigui/SP Brazil in the context of World War Two**

The present work aims to visualize the educational landscape of the rural municipality of Birigui/SP during World War II. The 1940s was marked by international conflict between the axis countries - Germany, Japan and Italy - and the allied countries, including Brazil, declaring war after their ships were sunk by Axis forces. Thousands of Brazilian soldiers embarked to Italy and fought alongside the Allies. The city of Birigui was no different. Ten soldiers were sent to the front and the town followed with close attention the direction of war in the news that arrived from the various newspapers distributed in the city.

This paper aims to contribute to the production of a history of rural schools in Birigui, and how this expansion of rural education happened in Sao Paulo state. The expansion of rural primary education in this period was due to the interventionist policy of the government. According to Serra (2007), in 1940, Birigui had six urban and 21 rural schools, and in 1957 nine urban and 48 rural. This paper concludes that the educational period in Birigui, even with World War II, was significant for the further development of this area. It also offers a contribution for thinking and rethinking about this type of education, in which, as Michel de Certeau (1994, p.78) argues “the place is what permits and prohibits”, and in which discourse frames cognitive development.

#### **Exalto, John**

Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam  
Netherlands

### **War, Peace, and Democracy: The Dutch Scholar Philipp Abraham Kohnstamm (1875-1951) and his Change from Physics to Pedagogy**

Philipp Abraham Kohnstamm (1875-1951) was born as a German Jew and grew up in Amsterdam, the Netherlands. He was trained in the natural sciences at the University of Amsterdam and specialized in thermodynamics. For some decades, he worked in this field at the same university and became highly interested in philosophical topics as the foundation of knowledge. In 1918, he made a remarkable change as he accepted a chair as professor in education at the University of Amsterdam. As one of the first professors in this field, Kohnstamm belonged to the founders of Dutch educational studies. As a pedagogue, he was strongly inspired by his philosophical interest as well as by his dealing with the questions of the day in public society.

The career change of Kohnstamm was caused by a complex of factors: the big influence of the theory of relativity of Albert Einstein on Kohnstamm's work as a natural scientist, his conversion to Christianity, and his activity in Dutch politics. Since 1905, Kohnstamm joined the political party 'Free-thinking Democratic League' (*Vrijzinnig Democratische Bond*) for he was gravely concerned about the weak state of democracy in Western Europe. The 'Free-thinking Democratic League' wanted to give citizens more influence in politics and in this way to overcome the crisis in democracy. Between 1914 and 1922, Kohnstamm initiated a series of brochures named 'Synthesis' (*Synthese*) in which he attacked the antithesis in society and developed a holistic vision on the living together of people of different racial backgrounds and religious convictions.

In this paper I will discuss the impact of the Great War on Kohnstamm's life, career switch and his endeavour to revive the democratic political system. We have to study Kohnstamm's life and work in general and his plea for democratic values in particular against the background of war, crisis and fascism in the early 20th century. Kohnstamm was an active participant in the League of Nations and in the World Council of Churches. In his own country he was simultaneously heavily interested in education in democratic values for the cause of a peaceful world; for Kohnstamm, these values must be rooted in religious-philosophical beliefs. These topics were to him of such an urgent matter that he decided not to complete his philosophical magnum opus, but spent his time and work on the burning questions of his time.

**Farré, Sébastien**

University of Geneva  
Switzerland

### **Saving the children from hunger after World War I: from the American Relief Administration to the International Save the Children Union (1918-1923)**

Childhood threatened by the inhumanity of the enemy was used as a patriotic symbol during the First World War. At the end of the conflict, it became an international cause. Relief efforts for childhood, symbol of the innocent victim, facilitated the mobilization of the civil society to take part in philanthropic initiatives. Food relief was seen as a tool to develop the ideals of altruism and progress, to reverse the negative impact of the conflict, to support European countries in achieving progress, prosperity and peace, and to fight communism. In this paper, we propose to compare different initiatives conducted by philanthropic organisations for children after the war in Europe (American Relief Administration, International Save the Children Union, American Friends Service Committee), to consider the development of humanitarian practices targeting children and to analyze the political implications of these actions.

**Faucher, Charlotte**

Queen Mary, University of London  
United Kingdom

### **The schooling of Belgian refugees at the London French lycee during the First World War**

At the end of 1915, there were around 250,000 refugees in England, 95 % of whom were from Belgium, a striking figure compared to the 4,794 Belgians living in Britain in 1911. Women,

men and children had come from Europe to escape from Germany's invasion and were welcome as 'hosts of the nation' by Britain. This sudden demographic change in the context of the war triggered the creation of numerous charities and war relief associations targeted at refugees, a feature which has been well studied by historians. On the contrary, studies of childhood during the First World War are limited in number and scope, and 'refugee schooling clearly forms part of this unwritten educational history of the excluded and the marginalized.'(K. Myers) This paper seeks to fill part of this historiographic gap by analysing the schooling of refugees, notably from Belgium at the French lycée in London.

Aside from the vital help needed by the refugees – lodging, food and clothes, education soon became one of the key issues for Britain and the refugees. If most Belgian children first attended local schools, parents and the wider refugee community grew concerned with the impact of the British educative system on the formation of Belgian children, especially as the hope of a short war vanished.

The question of identity – be it national, religious, linguistic – is at the centre of the proposed paper which will investigate more in depth one of the solutions offered to the Belgian refugees: the creation of a French lycée as part of the French cultural institute in London (created in 1910). Although the London French community had been calling for the creation of a French lycée modelled on the French educative system since the late nineteenth century, it was only with the waves of refugees coming from Belgium that the French lycée opened. It schooled francophones from the age of 4 until the *baccalauréat* and embodies a fine example of cultural transfer as the lycée aimed at solving some of the issues faced by refugee families, notably language, religion and the post war integration into a non-British/Belgian educative system.

### **Felgueiras, Margarida Louro**

University of Porto, Faculty of Psychology and Educational Sciences  
Portugal

### **Peace Education and the contradictions of Portuguese *Escola Nova* in the inter-wars period**

In 1902, the pedagogue César Porto presented the following address “Will the war not end? War and its evolutionary extinction”, at the 7th. Conference of the Portuguese League for Peace his contemporary, Alice Pestana (1898), makes an appeal to the Portuguese mothers on “Women and Peace”.

But could education either at the system level or of its end-actors, have the autonomy to express, propose and implement teaching practices or guidelines that oppose the ruling governments in a given historical moment? This is a preliminary question that should be asked when questioning the role of the school in a period dominated by the affirmation of militarism. The Education for Peace is one of those key issues that challenges educators and the educational system as to their contribution to promote awareness and active responsibility of citizens in favor of peaceful solutions. The article aims to examine how teacher education in Portugal raised the issue of peace in the period between the two world wars. The analysis covers the republican and democratic period and then analyzes the period of the establishment of the dictatorship. The sources will be some manuals used in teacher education at the Normal School, in particular in Porto. This will be compared with the positions presented by primary school teachers at conferences and any opinions expressed in newspaper articles. Simultaneously, we intend to

compare the proposals aired by the movement *Escola Nova* (the New School) with the practices undertaken by some national and international leaders regarding the arrest of educators in Portugal, during the initial period of the dictatorship. The position of Adolphe Ferrière during his visit to Portugal in 1930 will be analyzed in detail.

Could the *Escola Nova* Movement be an antidote to intolerance, under the dictatorship? The child-centered pedagogical discourse would, by itself, be a means to create an awareness of humanity and respect for the other? Could this group develop a peace education content? Or, as other movements, did it accommodate and serve the dominant thinking? Would this Portuguese case be a singular instance in the European scene?

As we question the ability of education to contribute to peace we are reflecting and questioning the fundamentals of the teaching practice. The analysis of textbooks used in Pedagogical training schools allows us to conclude that the training of primary school teachers in Portugal rarely touched the problem of peace. Similarly, Ferrière did not show any solidarity with Álvaro Vina de Lemos, incarcerated as a political prisoner at the time stuck. Teachers Ferrière met were or became sympathizers of the dictatorship. Although the regime had adopted an active neutrality during World War II, internally it was based on repression of any organization or citizen who objected.

### **Félix, Inês**

University of Lisbon  
Portugal

### **Ideas on Democracy and Education between two world wars through the writings of Faria de Vasconcelos**

After concluding his Law studies in Coimbra, Faria de Vasconcelos (1880-1939) went to the New University of Brussels, where he became a professor and a researcher after his PhD on Social Sciences. Working on the fields of psychology and pedagogy, soon he founded the Bierges-les-Wavre school to pursue his need to experiment with the emerging theories on education. Only two years later, by August 1914, within the breaking of the First World War, he moved to Switzerland, working there as an assistant professor at the Jean-Jacques Rousseau Institute, as an assistant of the Experimental Psychology Laboratory (directed by Claparèd), and as secretary of the Bureau International des Écoles Nouvelles. However, one year later he moved again, first to Cuba (1915-1917) and after that to Bolivia (1917-1920) before returning to his homeland in 1921. Because of his international ‘career’ and acknowledgment – present on Adolphe Ferrière’s words: “on m’a souvent demandé en quoi consistait à proprement parler une École nouvelle, ce qui la caractérisait. La définition que j’en ai donnée jadis n’a suffi à écarter les malentendus. Désormais je n’aurai qu’à renvoyer à l’ouvrage de mon collègue M. Faria de Vasconcelos. Son école de Bierges-les-Wavre en Belgique (...) était une École nouvelle type” (Ferrière, 1915: 17) – , Faria de Vasconcelos was “desired by the Portuguese pedagogical elite” as he had “what the Portuguese institutions of education needed: scientific culture, knowledge of the pedagogical practice and the necessary administrative experience to reform the national education” (Nóvoa, 2003: 867).

While in Portugal he wrote several articles, most of them published in *Seara Nova*, a doctrinal and critical journal with educational and political purposes, presented numerous papers and published some books. Through his writings, imbued with the ideals of the New Education, one can find strong ideas concerning the role of education for democratic purposes and also on the

democracy of schooling. Ideas in which he deeply believed, supported by an enlightened way of reasoning about the science of education and the art of teaching.

Taking as a starting point that “a society which makes provision for participation in its good of all its members on equal terms and which secures flexible readjustment of its institutions through interaction of the different forms of associated life is in so far democratic. Such a society must have a type of education which gives individuals a personal interest in social relationships and control, and the habits of mind which secure social changes without introducing disorder.” (Dewey, 1916, 99) I will seek to bring to light – through the writings of Faria de Vasconcelos – a set of concerns on education and democracy worldwide shared among pedagogues within the period 1918-1939.

### **Fernandez-Fontecha Rumeu, Leticia**

University of Greenwich  
United Kingdom

### **Children in Pain: Photography and the Performance of Pain in the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939)**

Recent works in visual anthropology (Edwards, 2012) and photographic theory (Azoulay, 2008) have pointed out the relevance of the study of sensory engagement with photographs, as well as bodily performances and relationships embedded into photographic acts. This perspective leads to an analysis of photography beyond the visual that focuses on the performative consequences of photographic acts.

This is a particularly interesting framework to approach the experiences of pain from people in the past. If the act of translating pain into images converts isolated misery into tangible suffering (Bourke, 2012), the analysis of photographic practices provides access not only to eventual expressions of pain, but also to the question on how this experience is constructed and felt in inter-personal interactions. This is especially important in cases of people who have a lack of verbal dexterity such as children. With this aim in mind, I will examine photographs of children taken in Auxilio Social (1936-1939), during the Spanish Civil War. Auxilio Social was the main welfare institution in Franco’s Spain in which poor women and children were assisted. The imagery of children in pain of these photographs would come to signify broader social and political meanings. Yet they also help us to tap into children’s experiences of suffering, and consequently serve as helpful tool in unraveling the complex meaning of pain.

### **Ferreira Junior, Amarilio and Bittar, Marisa**

Federal University of São Carlos  
Brazil

### **The National Union of Teachers (NUT) in the Cold War: the International Peace Conference between teachers from the East and West**

In the historical context marked by the Cold War and the socioeconomic reforms implemented during the first government of Margaret Thatcher, the NUT held an International Conference on Peace between East and West. After having passed resolutions against the arms race and to promote education for peace in their Annual Conferences (Jersey, 1983 and Blackpool, 1984), teachers in England and Wales, organized by the NUT, received representatives of teachers’

unions of the United States, the Soviet Union, Finland, the German Democratic Republic and Bulgaria at Stoke Rochford Hall in March 1984, to discuss nuclear disarmament and establish an educational agenda that promoted world peace.

Pressured by a national industrial action by miners, the British political establishment attacked the NUT's international pacifism against the arms race-based nuclear warheads. The Education Secretary, Sir Keith Joseph, charged that the NUT's campaign in favour of peace education was accomplished through doctrinal speeches made by teachers to their pupils and highlighted the danger that the slogan "one-sided disarmament" posed to national security. However, the NUT counterattacked: "[we] deplore the effects of the arms race on the educational life of the country and defend that the financial resources spent on nuclear weapons be transferred to education." Further, the NUT charged that 200 million children had no schools in the world and called for the construction of more schools in the third world, instead of nuclear weapons.

Friendship, understanding and peace were the issues discussed at the international meeting of teachers organized by the NUT. Among the practical proposals to promote peace and international understanding agreed by the leaders of the teachers' unions gathered at Stoke Rochford Hall, were:

- "The setting up of exchange visits by students and teachers;
- The organisation of international summer schools;
- The encouragement of twinning between schools;
- The building up of a greater exchange of information and classroom materials between teachers' organisations;
- The improvement of contacts between teachers internationally by the attendance of non-members at their respective conferences;
- The exchange of children's art on peace and pictures of children and their schools;
- The organisation of a meeting - possibly in Helsinki - of European teachers' organisations, together with those of Canada and the US."

The NUT's initiative, of convening an international meeting for peace, broke the impasse of the Cold War that had frozen relations between the teachers of East and West following the installation of new nuclear weapons in Europe and the crisis of Afghanistan in 1979.

### **Fielding, Michael**

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United Kingdom

### **Radical democratic education as a response to the lived reality of two World Wars – the pioneering work of Alex Bloom**

A key contributor to the 1948 New Education Fellowship 'The Teacher and World Peace' submission to the UNESCO, Alex Bloom is one of the most remarkable pioneers of radical democratic education of the 20th century. In many important respects Bloom's internationally renowned work from 1945-55 at St George-in-the-East Secondary Modern School in the East End of London can be seen as an iconic example of education for peace. Wounded in World War 1, a teacher and then head teacher between the two World Wars and during World War 2, this paper explores the nature and origins of his commitment to a form of democratic education that was both a response to two great conflagrations of the 20th century and a contribution to the possibility of less destructive ways of living and learning together in the future.



**Fine-Meyer, Rose**  
University of Toronto  
Canada

## **“We cannot fight this war if we don’t eat”: The invisibility of war work in history textbooks in schools in Ontario, Canada**

Accounts of non-combat-based war work are omitted or marginalized within Canadian textbooks. Textbooks have historically presented the study of war within narrow chronological frameworks that support traditional military narratives focused on soldiers, battles and weapons. Military narratives are supported with a range of maps, charts and visuals that make linkages to state notions of good citizenship and service to country. The Ministry of Education in the province of Ontario, Canada finances textbooks to all students, thus demonstrating its importance in directing state notions of Canadian history, nationalism and patriotism. Key victories, strategic battles and heroic feats become the primary narratives explored in schools. The importance of history textbooks in shaping understandings of war, or what Christopher Leahey calls the “myth of war,” has been widely documented. Recent publications have challenged the limited framework in which war is explored in traditional school studies. Margaret MacMillan (*The War That Ended Peace*, 2013) for example, challenges the position that the First World War was inevitable, reflecting on the complexity of personalities and rivalries. Debates about the role of war narratives in history teaching in Canada, and internationally, are part of broader discussions about what history to teach and why (Tony Taylor’s book *History Wars and the Classroom*, 2012). Supporting or rejecting stories that challenge national unity and progress are often at the core of these debates. Ian McKay and Jamie Swift in their book, *Warrior Nation: Rebranding Canada in an Age of Anxiety* (2012:15) warn of glorifying the heroes who fought wars in order to strengthen notions of national identity. This paper will argue that critical thinking pedagogy (Roland Case, Richard Paul) is much needed in the study of war in schools; to broaden what defines and counts as war and to invite students to think deeply about its consequences. Critical thinking pedagogy argues for teachers to lessen the focus on content consumption and support students in their ability to question and argue. Incorporating the methodology for critical thinking presented by Roland Case, which focuses on the use of intellectual resources as tools for critically examining evidence, this paper will explore the importance of war production in the maintaining of the First World War and will suggest that this method can provide a broader and more honest study of the war.

Incorporating critical thinking pedagogy provides greater opportunities to explore the dimensions of the war work and thus broaden the lens in which we teach war. This paper includes a study of a wide range of Canadian history textbooks and incorporates a set of oral histories with history educators, to argue that without considerable thought about critical thinking pedagogical approaches, teachers may inadvertently be presenting an ever-more unrealistic portrayal of war; one that loses the opportunity to explore how war work affects the lives of all citizens.

**Firer, Ruth**

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Israel

### **Obedience Education: The Israeli Jewish secular national Middle and High School History Curricula**

This article analyzes and compares the history curricula (HC\*) of middle and high Jewish secular schools that are used today. It is focused on the difference between ‘Teaching History’ and ‘History Education.’ Whilst ‘History Teaching’ is based on autonomy and critical attitudes and thinking, ‘History Education’ is based on authoritative attitudes and thinking. This article demonstrates that the Israeli State HC is a political manifesto that aims for Obedience Education. It analyzes and evaluates: 1. The leading explicit devices within the verbal text and proto text. 2. The implicit devices within the verbal text and proto text. 3. The “Black holes” of missing information, in the declarative parts and the syllabi and didactics of the HC. After a prologue of a personal nature, the short introduction foregrounds basic relevant definitions of curricula, emphasizing the history curriculum (HC) followed by highlights of the evolution of the HC in Israel from the 1930s onwards. It is followed by a methodological section that invites the audience to share with the researcher the methods of analysis and evaluation. While quantitative methods are considered, hermeneutic qualitative methods dominate the research. Representative translated quotations demonstrate the chosen research methods and core argument, referring to relevant themes, such as the Israeli Palestinian conflict, rifts within the Jewish and the Israeli nation, and gender. The main interest of this research is to read critically the topics that were neglected in the HC research, while it refers briefly to the ones that were widely discussed. The conclusion addresses the central research questions: Does the HC represent ‘History Teaching’ or ‘History Education?’ and ‘is the Israeli Jewish, Secular State History Curriculum (HC) a state strategy of ‘soft indoctrination’ (RF\*) that aims for ‘Obedience education?’ The epilogue shares with the audience some reflections on the implications of such an orientation. \*Abbreviations: HC- History curricula, RF - Firer’s idiomatic. This research was partially represented in: The 15th World conference in Education: “Education for Peace and Harmony with the Earth and Ourselves.” (27.12.12 - 03.01.13 2013, Kaohsiung, Taiwan).

**Fizel, Natasa**

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### **Die Wirkung des den ersten Weltkrieg beendenden Friedensvertrags auf die Struktur der ungarischen Hochschulbildung**

Infolge der Entscheidung von Trianon, die dem ersten Weltkrieg folgte, verlor Ungarn als einer der Kriegsverlierer zwei Drittel seiner Gebiete und die Bevölkerungszahl verringerte sich von 21 auf 7,6 Millionen. 30,2% der in den abgetrennten Gebieten Lebenden waren ungarischer Nationalität. Die Leidtragenden dieser Niederlage waren die Gesellschaft, die Wirtschaft, die Infrastruktur und das Bildungssystem.

Aufgrund des Friedensvertrags wurde auch die Struktur des ungarischen Bildungswesens grundsätzlich verändert.

In den abgetrennten Gebieten verblieben zwei Drittel der Volksschulen, mehr als die Hälfte der Mittelschulen, von den vier Universitäten verblieben zwei, nämlich die Klausenburger und Pressburger Universität, die während der Friedensverhandlungen bereits an die besetzten Länder angeschlossen wurden – Klausenburg 1920 an Rumänien, Pressburg an die Tschechoslowakei. Dadurch wurde die Situation immer angespannter und ein Großteil der Professoren flüchtete in die ungarische Hauptstadt Budapest. Schließlich nahm die Universität Klausenburg 1921 ihre Arbeit in Szeged und die Universität Pressburg 1923 in Pécs auf. Diese Übersiedlung ging allerdings mit zahlreichen Problemen einher.

Im Fall Klausenburg/Szeged wurden Professoren aus einer entschieden reformierten bzw. evangelischen Stadt in eine überzeugte katholische Stadt, sogar einen Bischofssitz, umgesiedelt – und das in einer Zeit, in der sich die Lehrerausbildung in unserer Heimat v.a. in konfessionellem Rahmen bewegte. Mein Vortrag basiert in erster Linie auf Primärquellen (Universitätschroniken, Matrikel, Briefe, Protokolle), daneben auf Sekundärquellen wie z.B. Németh András und Pukánszky Béla: *Erziehungsgeschichte*, Ignác Romsics: *Die Geschichte Ungarns im 20. Jh.*, Andor Ladányi: *Die Hochschulpolitik von Kuno Klebelsberg* sowie zeitgenössische Artikel und Erinnerungen wie z.B. G.H. Becker: *Kuno Graf Klebelsberg* (*Ungarische Jahrbücher* 1932), B. Hankó: *Graf Kuno von Klebelsberg* (*Rivista di Biologia*. Vol. XV. 1933. XI). In meiner Forschung suchte ich Antworten auf die Fragen, wie der Trianoner Friedensvertrag das Hochschulbildungswesen beeinflusste und wie die Abtrennung großer Teile Ungarns auf die Zusammensetzung der Studenten und Lehrenden an einer umgesiedelten Universität wirkte.

Meine Forschungsmethode ist in erster Linie die Analyse von Primärquellen und in zweiter Linie eine empirische, geschichtlich-soziologische Vorgehensweise mit quantitativen Methoden. Dazu verwandte ich Matrikel aus den Jahren 1928-1933.

Aus diesen insgesamt 397 untersuchten Matrikeln wurde eine SPSS-Datenbasis geschaffen, die aus 397 Elementen (Studenten) und 143 Variablen (z.B. Geburtsdaten, Wohnort, vorherige Studien der Studenten, Schulabschluss der Eltern, absolvierte Fächer, Zensurergebnisse, Lehrkräfte der Fächer, etc.) besteht. Auf diese Weise beinhaltet die Datenbank derzeit rund 55.000 Daten. Das Ergebnis meiner Forschung zeigt, dass ein Verlust gleichzeitig auch ein Gewinn sein kann, wenn man entsprechend damit umgeht. Es gab durchaus auch Argumente für die Schließung der Universitäten, da diese für das wirtschaftlich geschwächte Land (und dazu im Verhältnis zu seiner Größe und Einwohnerzahl) eine große Belastung waren.

Kuno Klebelsberg, der damalige Bildungsminister (1922-1931) jedoch stand für die Universitäten ein, denn nach seiner Vorstellung „spornt die wahre Bildung das Wirtschaftsleben an und begründet so den Reichtum“. Zwar hatte Ungarn den Krieg verloren, aber bezüglich der Hochschulbildung richtete sich das kleine Land nicht nach seiner Größe, sodass der Hochschulbildung größere Ressourcen als früher zur Verfügung standen und zwei ungarische Städte eigene Universitäten und damit neue Möglichkeiten erhielten.

### **The Influence of the Paris Peace Treaty 1920 on the Structure of Hungarian Higher Education**

Under the terms of the decisions made in Paris (Trianon, 1920), Hungary, as a defeated country after the First World War, lost two-thirds of its territory and its population declined from 21 million to 7.6 million inhabitants. Consequently, Hungarian nationals constituted 30.2% of those living in areas allocated to neighbouring countries. The society, economy, infrastructure and school system were all affected by these dramatic changes. The structure of Hungarian education was fundamentally altered as a consequence of the Peace Treaty. Two-thirds of folk schools, more

than half of high schools and two out of the four universities of Historic Hungary were located in territories not assigned to Hungary. In 1920, The University of Cluj was ceded to Romania and the University of Bratislava to Czechoslovakia. These universities faced severe difficulties from 1919 and the majority of professors escaped to Budapest, the capital of Hungary. Teaching at the University of Cluj eventually started in 1921 in Szeged, while the University of Bratislava re-launched in 1923 in Pécs. These relocations triggered a further set of problems. The University of Cluj-Szeged took a fundamentally Calvinist institution in an Evangelist city, and moved it to a predominantly Catholic city at the time when, for instance, teacher training was organised primarily around denominations.

This presentation engages with the work of András Németh and Béla Pukánszky (Neveléstörténet, on the history of education), Ignác Romsics' history of Hungary in the 20th century, the writing of Andor Ladányi on higher educational policy in addition to articles and reminiscences such as those of G.H. Becker's 'Kuno Graf Klebelsberg' (Ungarische Jahrbücher 1932) and B. Hankó's 'Graf Kuno von Klebelsberg' (*Rivista di Biologia*. Vol. XV. 1933. XI.). Research findings are based upon the analysis of primary sources including university registers, correspondence and records. In particular, I examined how the system of higher education was influenced by the Treaty of Trianon although a detailed study of changes in the composition of students and teachers was beyond the scope of this study. In addition to the analysis of primary sources, quantitative historical sociological methods were employed to analyse data from 397 students registered at the University of Ferenc József in Szeged. The database included the date of birth, place of habitation, qualification of parents, previous study-related information on the students as well as the courses taken up by students, the grades achieved and even the names of tutors which are systematically recorded from semester to semester. With 143 potential variables for each student, the database now consists of 55,000 items of information.

The results of this study reveal that the experience of loss was skilfully managed in Hungary. There were certainly reasons for closing the universities, which were a big burden for an economically weakened which had been planned for a much bigger Historic Hungary prior to the Treaty of Trianon. Kuno Klebelsberg, the prominent Minister of Religion and Education, robustly argued that universities should continue to operate because, 'True education revives economic life and stimulates the economy'. Even though the country lost the war, higher education did not adjust in proportion to the size of the post-Trianon Hungary. As a result, more resources were devoted to higher education than previously and two universities were given to two cities.

### **Flores, Aymara and Acevedo, Ariadna**

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### **Dissident Students and the Authoritarian State: The Use of Violence to Keep Peace in Cold War Mexico City (1950-1956)**

Recent historiography on social movements has challenged received views of the "Mexican Miracle", a period of economic growth and a supposedly stable political consensus covering the years 1940-1968. Interest in the study of the coercive practices of Mexico's authoritarianism (an authoritarianism never officially recognised by the government, in contrast to South America's military regimes' explicit embrace of dictatorship) is leading to a more nuanced analysis of the

exercise of violence by State agents, challenging the idea of a rational State fully in control of a successful combination of “moderate” repression with the generation of consensus through a measure of social and political inclusion.

Our paper will contribute to this debate by focusing on the political protests, demonstrations and strikes of technical education students at the *Instituto Politécnico Nacional (IPN)* during 1950-56, which culminated in the intervention of the military and the closing down of student halls of residence. Using documentation from the Mexican intelligence agency, letters to the president, educational authorities’ correspondence, and written documents produced by students (letters to authorities, petitions, flyers and magazines), we examine two aspects of the conflict: a) how the combination of students’ political assertiveness and the authorities’ incompetence and defence of “order”, barred dialogue and peaceful negotiation, leading to the use of police and even military forces; and b) the arguments given by government agents and public opinion to justify violence against students.

We argue that student discontent emerged in the 1940s and continued in the 1950s because of a) legal and administrative ambiguity regarding the IPN’s designation of authorities, student representation and the status (professional or not) of technical studies; and b) uncertainty over the future of technical education due to budget cuts, which suggested to students that the country’s economic growth did not necessarily benefit them.

We explore the government’s justification of violence throughout the 1940s and 50s and ask whether the cultural and political conditions in 1950-56 were more conducive to it than those in the 1940s. With this end we examine two features of the government’s discourse and public opinion in 1940-56: a) a nationalist and anti-communist discourse de-legitimizing protest and explaining student politics as the result of manipulation of the young by internal and external enemies, which threatened Mexican “democracy”, and b) ordinary citizens’ endorsement of the government’s imposition of order by force as expressed in letters to the president.

In the 1950s we have evidence of: a) new student distrust and criticism of the president and b) greater State monitoring of student activities (including for the first time the infiltration of cultural and sports events). We ask how the international Cold War context, the emerging youth culture, and student and national politics might have combined to polarise positions and arguments, culminating in the escalation of violence against students in 1956.

### **Fontaine, Alexandre**

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### ***Si vis pacem, para libertatem*: The Swiss congresses of the International League for peace and liberty (1867-1870)**

The Congresses of the International League for peace and liberty, held in Geneva, Bern and Lausanne in the late 1860s, were born during the spring of 1867, when Napoleon III turned to attach Luxembourg to France. Some French Republicans (Edgar Quinet, Victor Versigny, Ferdinand Buisson, the Reclus brothers and Jules Barni) who went into exile in Switzerland due to the Coup d’état of December 1851, wrote a Manifesto and called upon the European Republican intelligentsia to meet in Geneva in 1867.

The proclaimed aim of these international conferences was to lay the foundation for a vast Confederation to link the emancipated peoples of Europe, in order to achieve the Constitution

of the United States of Europe. However, education was everywhere, discussed at each meeting and clearly presented as the only remedy against human barbarity. The leitmotif was gradually taking shape: to educate the people is to make it impossible, in the immediate future, to have war outside and tyranny inside. To educate the people is to make Republicans.

The aim of this communication is twofold. Firstly, to study the construction of the discourse on peace and analyze the various currents that feed it and secondly to rebuild, from the Journal of the League *The United States of Europe* and the various reports, the structuring process of the dialectic “education and peace“, seen primarily as a powerful tool in influencing public opinion on the continent.

### **Frasier, Amanda**

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### **War and Teacher Quality: How WWII impacted the definition of teacher quality in the United States as reflected in a practitioner publication**

The current policy debate in American education is largely centred on accountability. At the forefront of this are concerns over teacher evaluation. The issue of evaluating teachers is often presented to the public as a new and long overdue policy action, often obscuring the fact that teachers have always been held accountable by someone for something. What has changed is the way in which teachers have been evaluated (technical aspects and infrastructure) and what aspects of teachers’ work is evaluated. While many researchers have delved into the first aspect of these changes, few have explored the change in what teachers have been evaluated on. This project is interested in that second component of teacher evaluation, namely in understanding how the definition of “good” quality teaching has been shaped by changing values in education and how these values have in turn been shaped by historical events.

This research looks at archived issues from a practitioner publication, *Educational Leadership*, to develop an understanding of how teacher quality has been defined in the United States. *Educational Leadership* was first published in 1943. The first few volumes reveal the influence World War II had on the values that define good teaching and how the period’s definition of teacher quality was shaped. The long-term goal of this project is to trace how the definition of teaching quality in the United States shifts across time, but current analysis offers a perspective on how World War II directly influenced such definitions. In the United States, WWII placed constraints on the American public and the American workforce. This included producing a shortage in the American teaching workforce. This shortage led to the viewing of teaching as a patriotic duty for those who could not fulfill patriotic obligation elsewhere by serving in the military or working in munitions factories. This produced a surge of individuals who entered American classrooms that would not be considered traditional components of the teaching workforce. The war also produced changes in curriculum which were meant to be reflected in the morals of the teacher. For instance, a love of democracy and patriotism was meant to be coupled with a call for global competitiveness with other countries. The later focus gained increasing importance as the United States transitioned from post-WWII recovery and later entered the Cold War Era. The publication also reveals changes in how America’s teaching force was viewed by turning the lens on the educational systems of other countries after the war. This focus specifically addressed the importance of teaching democracy and addressing the issue of what to do with teachers who had been hired during the shortage.

**Freathy, Rob**

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**Parker, Stephen**

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### **Mary Whitehouse, Religious Education and the Cold War: Cultural revolution and moral rearmament in England, 1975-1977**

Memories of Mary Whitehouse and her indomitable campaigns remain vivid in UK popular culture. It was in 1964, while she was working as a school teacher, and in opposition to the so-called 'permissive society' and 'new morality' (Whitehouse, 1993: 9), that Whitehouse launched the 'Clean-up TV' campaign (renamed the National Viewers' and Listeners' Association in 1965). Through this, she sought to combat the subversive 'propaganda of disbelief, doubt and dirt' on radio and television (The Daily Telegraph, 2001). Despite gaining widespread support, she was ridiculed by left-wing liberal progressives, partly because of the evangelical Christian beliefs which underpinned her puritanical moral crusade (Brown, 2006: 249-250). In popular discourse today, and in the existing historiography, one aspect of Whitehouse's career is conspicuously ignored, that is, her nation-wide campaign, launched in January 1976, to 'Save Religious Education in State Schools' (SRESS).

This paper addresses this gap in historical knowledge by providing a critical analysis of the roots, aims and results of SRESS. In doing so, it draws upon previously unutilised archival material from the National Viewers' and Listeners' Association (NVLA) Collection (University of Essex) which was gathered as part of the 'hidden history of curriculum change in Religious Education' project funded by the British Academy (Ref. SG-54151). First, the paper summarises the provocative curriculum developments, theoretical innovations and policy proposals in Religious Education to which SRESS reacted. Second, it discusses the connections, perceived by the campaigners, between Christianity, British national identity and morality on the one hand, and Humanism, Communism and immorality on the other. One NVLA source argued, for example, that '[t]he [British Humanist Association] is affiliated to and works closely with left-wing organisations who see the destruction of the bastion of Christian morality as essential to the success of their communist strategy' and that 'the present attack on Christian education ... could well decide the future history of our country and whether our children grow up as full men and women, at liberty to accept or reject the Christian faith or in a society subservient to world Communism which will allow no personal choice in that as in so many other matters' (NVLA, n.d.). Third, it contextualises SRESS with regard to other examples of cultural restorationism and political and religious conservatism at the time, which later influenced the greatly contested religious clauses of the UK's Education Reform Act (1988). Lastly, it highlights the new insights which have been gleaned from this research into what is arguably the most significant period in the development of multi-faith Religious Education in the UK.

**Frey, Christopher**

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### **Some Anglo American Roots of Japanese Colonial Education in Meiji-era Hokkaido**

This paper analyzes the Anglo-American roots of Japanese colonial education through three Meiji-era schools: the Tokyo Hokkaido Colonization Office Provisional School (1869-1874); the Hakodate Ainu Training School (1889-1904), and the Abuta (Hokkaido) Industrial School (1901-1911). Though short-lived, the institutional structures, goals, curriculum and management of these schools all reflect important trends in Anglo-American colonial, missionary and minority education found in later colonial education policies. The Tokyo Provisional School enrolled 24 Ainu young adults and about one hundred Japanese men and women, with the goal of preparing a colonial cohort to develop Hokkaido. Though the boarding experiment failed, the school sparked a pragmatic turn in Japanese minority education that was reflected later in Hokkaido, Taiwan, and Korea. The Hakodate school, established by the Church Missionary Society, taught Ainu, English and Japanese, and influenced several important Ainu cultural and literary figures, including Kannari Matsu (1875-1961) and Chiri Yukie (1903-1922). Official consternation over Christian education among the Ainu in the 1890s helped convince the government to establish a system of public Ainu schooling in 1901. The Abuta Industrial School, founded by Oyabe Jen'ichirō (1867-1941) in 1901 as part of the new public system, was modeled after the Hampton Industrial School for African-Americans in Virginia. Abuta incorporated many features of Hampton, including a tradition of ethnographic research maintained by a teacher, Yoshida Iwao (1882-1963). The pragmatic, state-controlled, industrial model of Ainu education in place by 1901 is clearly reflected in the 1911 Choseon Education Ordinance, which instituted a Hampton-like curriculum and curtailed Christian schooling in Korea.

**Frizzo de Almeida, Natália**

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### **The Second World War as a pedagogical experience: the work of Janusz Korczak at progressive Jewish schools in Brazil**

Janusz Korczak (1878-1942) graduated in medicine and spent many years working as the director of an orphanage. During the Second World War when the institution was sent from the Ghetto to Treblinka extermination camp, he accompanied the children and passed through this traumatic experience. This Polish-Jewish author is recognized in the area of pedagogy for his ideas about the potentialities of democratic participation for children, which he developed in the practices he used to carry out at the orphanage. His work currently appears in discussions over children's rights. In the present article, we intend to demonstrate how the work of Janusz Korczak were appropriated and developed by a specific cultural policy project in the city of São Paulo, at the "*Escola Israelita Brasileira Scholem Aleichem*" (Brazilian Israelite School Scholem Aleichem), which was founded in 1949. Janusz Korczak was brought up by Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe, who emphasized the importance of teaching Yiddish and also took part in intensive



political activism against repressive governments in Brazil. They were part of the progressive Jewish Yiddish Cultur Farband (IKUF) established in 1937, after the First International Congress of Jewish Culture in Paris.

The Israelite School Brazilian Sholem Aleichem was part of a cultural community institution founded in 1946 as the result of a tribute to the six million Jews who were victims of the Holocaust: the “People’s House”. Notwithstanding, the Jewish community did not want the institution to be only a static memorial for contemplation; instead, they pursued it as a center for cultural production. The effort to restore the vitality of the Yiddish language through artistic expressions was linked to the comprehension that the war had not only destroyed thousands of lives, but also jeopardized a way of experiencing the world. When preparing its political and pedagogical project associated with culture, the School aimed to disseminate anti-fascist ideals and the most progressive Brazilian social scenes. It stood out as being very innovative both for its methodology and its curricular choices. Moreover, they used to have a secular reading of Jewish culture, and many community members did not identify with religious practices at all. That, combined with their particular understanding of the war, had led the “People’s House” to organize several celebrations of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising (1943), highlighting the importance of an active and combative memory. The recollection of the heroes who fought even when knowing it was a lost war should not be a mourning remembering moment, but the reaffirmation of the strength to keep working and being socially engaged, especially during the 1950s and 1960s in Brazil, in the context of a military dictatorship.

Based on published works by and about Janusz Korczak, we intend to comprehend how these Brazilian progressives Jews have appropriated the ideas of Korczak for a secular reading of the Jewish tradition. Through interviews with the institution’s former teachers and students, we understand that the experience of the Second World War was re-appropriated as a driving force for them to continue their work, promote cultural dissemination and develop their educational institutes.

### **Fruhstuck, Sabine**

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### **Trinketizing Children, Infantilizing War in Early Twentieth Century East Asia**

The frequency with which children have appeared in close proximity to soldiers is perhaps one of the most striking features of the visualization and textualization of war in the twentieth century. Such pictures and narratives become almost insignificant in their mass visibility at certain moments. In East Asia and around the world, such textual and visual configurations seem to iterate a pronounced intimacy, similarity, and natural connection between children and soldiers, innocence and war making. Whether Japanese Imperial Army soldiers are shown handing out caramels to Chinese children in the territories they had just conquered in the 1940s or U.S. soldiers appear chatting and laughing with Iraqi and Afghani children in the early 2000s, such depictions feed into the modern ideology of the inevitability, humanity, and naturalization of war. Adopting John Hutnyk’s term “trinketization” by which he means that children are turned into decorative trinkets, I will suggest that pictures and stories of children with soldiers work to inspire sympathy, romanticize children, and trinketize childhoods. They are collectively utilized to transmute war into an aesthetic

and rhetoric of rescue, peace, and comforting order. The context of war is manipulated. The exact nature of the relationship between soldiers of one nation and the children of another as well as the circumstances of their encounters are concealed. There is always a grateful, smiling child on hand to gaze up at a soldier, creating a fiction of facts that will form the basis of my analysis in this paper.

### **Fuchs, Eckhardt**

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### **The League of Nations and International Textbook Revision**

Originally, education was not included in the League's Covenant; nevertheless, it found its way into the work of the League through various committees and commissions. The League as a new international governmental reflected the transfer from informal to formal educational networks and became the most important actor in international educational politics. Taking the educational politics of the League of Nations as a point of departure, the paper will investigate in which way the LN contributed to the debates on history instruction and textbooks that had already started before World War I. The main focus will be the analysis of the inner structure of the LN regarding this area and the link between the LN and other transnational organizations devoted to history textbook revision. The overall aim is to sketch the rise of an international network of textbook revision as part of a new "multilateral system of education" at this time, but also to investigate the shortcomings of the attempts to promote non-nationalistic textbooks and history instruction that would promote peace and understanding.

### **Fujimoto, Kazuhisa**

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### **A Turning Point of the Idea of Type Study and the Appearance of Project in 1910s: C.A. McMurry's Last Chance to Revisit to Germany before World War I**

C.A. McMurry was a key thinker of American Herbartianism in 1890s. He discussed many kinds of curriculum reform ideas such as Concentration, five formal steps and so forth. However, his works later than 1900 have not been paid much attention to by most historians of curriculum development. As a matter of fact, he created the idea of Project (Method) before W. Kilpatrick proposed the framework in 1918. In this paper, by using a lot of unpublished manuscripts written by McMurry that few preceding researchers have not dealt with, I discuss how Type Study, which as a sub-concept he used to explain the main concepts at the height of the movement, had been transformed in 1910s and caused to create the concept of teaching by projects. Preceding researches don't pay much attention to McMurry's revisit to Germany on his sabbatical in 1913, but it's hard to miss the effects it had on his later thinking, and it may even have been one of the reasons for his decision to transfer from a normal school to a teachers college. He got the big impact from the German teacher training level practically and academically at that time. He noted a lot of memoranda about teacher education ideas there. For example, McMurry left a small note with the title "Contribution of Endowed Teachers College", which was most probably written in 1913 because at its end is written "In Jena". This view of teacher training in 1914, which was to appear repeatedly in his later writings, must have originated from his study in Germany

in 1913. Of special note is his argument in 1914 that teachers should have the experience of developing units for themselves and teachers' expertise lies in selecting appropriate contents and organizing selected materials around central contents in a structured way. He also argued that teachers needed to look at, not the "parts," but the "whole" of the course of study with a wider perspective and that they should be given more discretionary powers. Partly because WWI occurred, it can be thought that he could not but modify the way of teacher training and in the US own context of curriculum development he could successfully enhance the idea of Type Study with teacher education theory embedded within it, which could be functioned as a project method. This means we can say that after the mid-1910s the type study was the project method.

**Gabriel, Amakievi and Jones, Jaja**

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### **Secondary School Educational Challenges in Africa during the Second World War: 1939-1945**

Secondary education is critical to the development of manpower in any nation. It is essential for higher education where people specialize in different disciplines. For Africa, secondary school education was much sought after in the 1930s and 1940s basically for preparing Africans to man their affairs as they expected to gain independence from colonial rule. This discourse therefore set out to examine the challenges that confronted the development of secondary school in this period. It was discovered that economic down-turn affected the establishment of more schools up to 1942 but this trend changed three years after as more Africans yearned for secondary school education. Communities and individuals contributed to establish schools. There was need for industrial education at this level but this demand was not met and education largely remained literary in the whole of Africa. This defect contributed to the set back in technological advancement of Africa. However, these secondary school leavers formed bulk of middle manpower that the political ferment engendered by the period gave them the leverage to participate in the struggle for independence in British, French, Spanish and Lusophone Africa. There were the challenges of quality education, quality assurance, inadequacy of teachers, text books, access to schools and many Africans remained without secondary school education. The language and assimilation policies of France and Portugal made secondary school education elitist in their African colonies. It was a major challenge. Similarly, Spain had the highest level of illiteracy in Africa. The apartheid policy in South Africa undermined secondary school education for the natives most of whom remained illiterates during this period. Secondary sources were used to reconstruct this historical episode that every revealing of educational antecedents.

**Gabrielli, Gianluca**

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Italy

### **La guerre de conquête de l'Éthiopie (1935-36) dans les écoles italiennes**

Le parcours de nationalisation de l'enfance par sa militarisation traverse l'école italienne depuis l'Unité, mais ses formes et son intensité changèrent considérablement dans le temps. Ce fut avec

la victoire du fascisme que se vérifia un profond changement . Le fascisme en effet adopta les tranchées de la Première guerre mondiale comme propre mythe fondateur dans une optique expansionniste et il renversa beaucoup des propres énergies dans l'éducation belliciste de jeunes générations. L'action du fascisme se développa dans deux directions: l'école et l'association de l'Opera Nazionale Balilla (ONB). L'école fut impliquée à travers l'introduction progressive dans les programmes scolaires d'éléments d'exaltation de la guerre et du caractère belliqueux et par l'introduction de matières telle que la «culture militaire». La préparation physique en formes pré-militaires, l'éducation à la vie de caserne et la programmation du loisir furent confiées par contre à l'organisation de l'ONB.

La guerre de conquête de l'Éthiopie fut la première preuve générale de cette nouvelle identité belliciste de la jeunesse italienne construite à l'école, et, en même temps, elle devint un exercice intense de nouvelles formes de mobilisation. Déjà pendant la seconde partie de l'année scolaire 1934-35 l'attention des écoles fut tournée vers les départs des troupes et vers les négociations internationales sur le contentieux de guerre. Toutefois ce fut pendant l'année scolaire suivante que l'apogée fut atteinte. Les opérations militaires en effet coïncidèrent avec le calendrier scolaire et tout le développement de la conquête fut suivi des écoles de manière continue et insistante. Le régime transforma cette année scolaire dans une exaltation continue de la guerre.

Dans les écoles, le conflit fut présenté soit comme une action de défense en réponse aux menaces d'un ennemi présenté comme traître, soit comme une action de civilisation vers les Éthiopiens (définis comme des barbares de race inférieure). Aussi les sanctions décidées par la SDN contre le fascisme furent utilisées par le régime comme prétexte pour appeler le front intérieur à la mobilisation et impliquer femmes, enfants et familles dans l'effort national. La réponse du monde scolaire fut considérable et articulée.

Même s'il est trompeur de parler de consentement dans un régime dictatorial, l'adhésion dans les écoles atteignit des niveaux inédits; elle produisit une prolifération d'activités didactiques militantes construites en suivant les schémas de la propagande. Les formes de mobilisation et de zèle furent nombreuses; elles reprenaient souvent des formules déjà expérimentés pendant la Première guerre mondiale, avec des rites publics en honneurs des morts de guerre, des parades en style militaire, des récoltes de matériels pour l'effort de guerre, des correspondances avec les soldats au front... Les premiers exercices de *protection aérienne* et l'arrivée des dotations de masques anti-gaz introduisirent l'idée que dans les nouvelles formes de guerre les citoyens seraient devenus des objectifs potentiels des ennemis, en particulier de l'arme aérienne. En général, le front intérieur, et en particulier les écoles, vécurent intensément l'expérience totalisante d'une guerre d'expansion raciste qui anticipait - même si presque exclusivement dans les aspects victorieux - la mobilisation totalitaire de la Second guerre mondiale.

### **The Italo-Ethiopian war (1935-36) in Italian schools**

The nationalization of childhood through militarization runs through Italian schools ever since Unification, though the methods and intensity changed considerably over time. But it was with the rise of fascism that real change came. In fact, fascism took the trenches of WWI as a foundation myth in its expansionist view and invested all of its energy in war-mongering education of younger generations. Fascism's action worked in two directions: in school; and through association with ONB (Opera Nazionale Balilla). School had gradually been involved by introducing exaltation of war and war-mongering, and subjects such as "military culture". The tasks of pre-military physical preparation, on the other hand, education in barrack-room life and free-time activities were allocated to ONB.

The Italo-Ethiopian war was the first general test of this new warmongering identity of young Italians that fascism encouraged at school, and in the meantime became an intense testing ground for new forms of mobilization. As from the second part of the 1934/35 school-year, schools paid attention to troop departures and contentious international negotiations. It was during the following school-year that the apogee of war was reached. In fact the military operations coincided with the school-year calendar, and the whole conquest was followed by the schools continuously and persistently.

In school the conflict was presented whether as defensive action with reference to the enemy's threats presented as a traitor, or as a campaign of civilizing Ethiopians (defined as barbarians and inferior race). Also the sanctions imposed against Italy by the League of Nations were used by the Fascists as a pretext for mobilization, involving women, children and families in the national effort. The schools' answers were important and articulated. Even if it could be misleading to talk about "consent" in a dictatorial regime, the adherence of schools was widespread and much of the curriculum was based on fascist propaganda. There were many forms of mobilization and zeal, very often developing the formulas experienced during the WWI: public ceremonies to honour the war dead, parades in military style, collecting materials for the war effort, correspondence between soldiers and schools... Early exercises in air-raid defence and the arrival of anti-gas masks introduced the idea that in the new warfare citizens would become potential targets, especially for airborne weapons. In general terms, the home front (and particularly schools) felt the totalitarian experience of a racist war of expansion, that anticipated the totalitarian mobilization of WWII, if only in its victorious aspects.

### **Gaertner, Niko**

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Germany

### **Evacuation made visible – Images of Children, Parents and Teachers from WWII Evacuations in Germany**

This panel will debate comparative readings of contemporary visual representation of three wartime mass evacuations: the British *Government Evacuation Scheme*, the German *Erweiterte Kinderlandverschickung*, and the Japanese *Gakudō Shūdan Sokai*. The Nazi regime only contemplated mass-evacuation of children once British bombing campaigns hit Hamburg, Berlin and the cities of the Ruhr in August 1940. Officially, the evacuation was to be a voluntary adventure holiday provided by a caring government – and for the first years the *erweiterte Kinderlandverschickung* (KLV) did not seem to affect urban life much. School records show that some children disappeared into the KLV camps, but on the whole the cities and schools continued with their business as usual. Only from the autumn of 1943 onwards were schools closed and children coerced to join their age-appropriate form of evacuation: Hitlerjugend-run camps for the older, family billets for the younger. Only a year later the lack of safe reception areas meant that the KLV became increasingly pointless. The regime's collapse had catastrophic consequences for both evacuees and children left in the cities. Evacuated children fled from the camps and attempted to return home in the chaos of war, while the ones left behind fought desperate and deadly battles against the advancing Allied forces.

Afterwards, the KLV camps became symbolic of the regime's youth policy that attempted to exercise total power over German children. Reliable numbers for the nationwide scheme remain

contested. However, earlier claims that millions of children stayed in KLV camps have now been revised to an approximate 850,000 children (who stayed in over 6,000 KLV camps) and a further 2.3 million younger children evacuated into billets with or without their mothers. There seems to be no doubt that the KLV's legend is bigger than its actual size. Of all German children, only about 2% lived in KLV camps - the vast majority of urban evacuees relied on their parents' private arrangements or were sent into family billets.

The point of departure for my contribution is the scarcity of visual sources from the KLV. I will show some official photographs (of happy days in camp), some press clippings, and some samples of the posters designed for the KLV. On the whole, though, Goebbels was deliberately keeping the KLV out of the public's eye for fear of appearing defeatist - and the *gleichgeschaltete* press followed suit to a fault. There will be clips from a short film produced to appear alongside newsreels in cinemas, the 1941 *'Ausser Gefahr'*, that permits analysis of German propaganda tools at the time.

### **Garcés, Luis Javier**

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Argentina

### **La educación después del Estado Nación**

En las últimas décadas del siglo XX, las sociedades occidentales han asistido a profundas mutaciones de su estructura organizacional, particularmente en lo referente al rol de sus Estados, los que han sufrido variados mecanismos de reformas. La concepción del moderno Estado/Nación, el ejercicio ciudadano en el marco de la democracia liberal y los mecanismos regulatorios de las relaciones Estado/mercado han sufrido el impacto, habiendo mutado sus formas en las que nacieron desde las bases teóricas del liberalismo a fines del siglo XVIII, como aquellas que - fuertes transformaciones mediante- produjeron su consolidación durante la primera mitad del siglo XX, guiadas por la aplicación de los principios keynesianos. La crisis del *welfare state*, manifiesta durante los años 70, y que hiciera eclosión en los '80, si bien en algunos aspectos constituye una vuelta atrás, en el sentido de recuperación del liberalismo ortodoxo, presenta más notas novedosas que, caracterizadas desde muchos análisis como "neoliberalismo", viene planteando una nueva concepción del Estado, cuyo eje parece anclar en el montaje de nuevas formas de Estado, alejadas del esquema Estado/Nación.

Estas nuevas formas de Estado, que otorgan primacía a lo que muchos análisis han denominado "Estados subnacionales" y en algunos casos "Estados supranacionales", están teniendo un fuerte impacto en los subsistemas sociales, que tanto en tiempos del liberalismo smithiano, como en épocas del predominio keynesiano estuvieron a cargo del Estado. Entre ellos nos interesa particularmente el sistema de educación, por ser precisamente uno de los dispositivos centrales con que contaron los Estados/Nación para su conformación y consolidación, a través de la distribución de las nuevas nociones de ciudadanía que exigía el esquema de la democracia liberal.

Desde una perspectiva histórica, repasamos algunas de las notas salientes de ese transcurso, en un estudio comparativo entre España y Argentina, en lo que pretende ser una contribución a la explicación de un estado actual en el que la tendencia parece ser hacia una situación de post-Estado/Nación. El trabajo que nos ocupa recoge y actualiza constructos teóricos sobre el Estado Nación, y el funcionamiento histórico de su aparato educativo estatal, inserto en el marco global de las políticas de descentralización de los Estados, presentando una cartografía educativa

diferenciada y fragmentada en que la tendencia parece ser la radicación del poder educativo en Estados subnacionales y/o supranacionales. Esta nueva cartografía – que arraiga en procesos históricos de larga data- presenta a la educación fuera del Estado Nación, y en algunos casos hasta fuera de todo tipo de Estado, con tendencias a su administración por parte del mercado.

Pensar la educación del siglo XXI supone reconocer estos nuevos escenarios a partir de su genealogía, para desde allí, intentar nuevas formas contenedoras de las necesidades educativas de los sujetos sociales que habitan nuestros países. El texto que presentamos, fruto de investigaciones llevadas a cabo en España y Argentina, recorriendo los principales hitos históricos de los siglos XIX y XX, en diálogo con los principales pensadores de cada época, pretende ser una contribución en ese sentido.

### **Education beyond the Nation State**

In the last decades of the twentieth century, western societies have experienced profound changes in their organisational structures, particularly those relating to the role of their states, which have undergone various types of reform. The Welfare crisis, which began during the 1970's, and then erupted in the 1980's, in some ways is like going backwards, in the sense of the recovery of orthodox liberalism. However it also strikes new chords, characterized in much analysis as “neoliberalism”. This change has raised a new conception of the State far away from the schema State / Nation. These new forms of State, that give priority to what many analysts have called ‘sub-states’, and sometimes ‘supranational States’, had a strong impact on social sub-systems, that in times of Smithian liberalism, as in times of Keynesian dominance, were in charge of the State. Among them we are particularly interested in the education system, which is one of the key devices by which the State / Nation sought to disseminate the new notions of citizenship that the liberal democratic system demanded.

From a historical perspective, we review some of the striking notes of that period, in a comparative study between Spain and Argentina. This work collects and updates theoretical constructs of the Nation State, and the historical function of its state educational system, positioned within the overall framework of decentralization policies presenting a differentiated and fragmented educational cartography, in which the tendency seems to be the establishment of educational power in sub-national governments and / or supranational. This new mapping, rooted in longstanding historical processes, presents education beyond the nation state and in some cases even outside of any type of state, which the market tended to administrate.

To think of education in the twenty first century involves recognizing the origins of these new scenarios in order to explore new ways to meet the educational needs of society. The work that we present, after investigations carried out in Spain and Argentina, including the main historical events in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in dialogue with leading thinkers of every age, attempts to be this kind of contribution.

**García Rodríguez, María Luisa**

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Spain

### **Guidismo en España: La Historia de una Educación Para la Paz**

Guidismo es el movimiento juvenil iniciado por Robert Baden-Powell y Agnes Baden-Powell, en la Inglaterra de 1909, para niñas y mujeres jóvenes. Posteriormente fue continuado por Olave

Saint Clair Soames, durante muchos años Jefa Guía Mundial. En sentido estricto, se considera 'Guidismo' al practicado por asociaciones lideradas por mujeres, cuyo programa educativo se dirige preferentemente al género femenino.

Hoy millones de personas siguen manteniendo vivo este movimiento que nació hace más de cien años gracias a unas jóvenes que formaron su propia patrulla y se presentaron ante un sorprendido Baden Powell como "Chicas Scouts". Sucedió en 1909 durante el primer desfile scout de patrullas en el Cristal Palace de Londres. El Guidismo llegó a España en 1929 gracias al empeño de una mujer extraordinaria: María Abrisqueta. Tras muchas vicisitudes, entre ellas la guerra civil, consiguió, durante la dictadura franquista, reunir las condiciones exigidas para que España entrara en el Guidismo mundial como País Miembro de pleno derecho.

Efectivamente, a la larga historia de intervenciones a favor de la educación para la paz vino a sumarse dicho movimiento juvenil trabajando en la prevención de conflictos. Algunas evidencias aparecen al analizar las publicaciones de la Asociación de Guías de España (AGE) durante el franquismo. En la década de los 60 resalta la llamada a intervenir, a edificar, a cambiar, a mantenerse alerta y activa para conseguir la paz. Se aprecia la forma en la que se insta a "hacer algo útil" para lograr la paz, ya sea una reforma radical de índole política y moral, ya vivir en el mundo luchando, construyendo y contribuyendo a un trabajo común con todos los hombres desarrollando varias dimensiones: personal, social...

En la década de los 70 se hallan alusiones concretas a la internacionalidad, algunas muy directas en su vinculación de ésta con la vía de la educación para la paz. Así "*Tenemos un compromiso con toda la humanidad que nos reclama y que exige de nosotras*" (Boletín A.G.E. nº 50, febrero 1975, p. 29), o el programa titulado muy expresivamente "*Guidismo Internacional: Un Camino hacia la Paz*".

### **Girl Scouts in Spain: the History of Peace Pedagogy**

Girl guides is the youth movement started by Robert Baden-Powell and Agnes Baden-Powell in Britain in 1909 for girls and young women. This task was later continued by Olave St Clair Soames, who for many years was the World Chief Guide. Strictly speaking, it is considered 'Guiding' the activity practised by the women-led associations, whose educational programme is directed preferentially to females. Today millions of people are keeping alive a movement which was born over a hundred years ago, in 1909, after a group of girls formed their own patrol and stood before a shocked Baden Powell as "Girl Scouts" during the first parade of scout patrols in the Crystal Palace in London.

Girl Guiding came to Spain in 1929 through the efforts of an extraordinary woman: María Abrisqueta. After many vicissitudes, including the Spanish Civil War, she managed, still under the Franco dictatorship, to fulfil the conditions for Spain to enter into the World Country Guiding as a full right member. Indeed, this youth movement on conflict prevention was added to the long history of interventions towards peace education. This evidence appears when we analyze the Spanish Guides Association's (AGE) publications under Franco.



**Gardin, Matias**

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### **Teachers at war: reflections on education, citizenship and national identity in Luxembourg from 1914 to 1918**

This paper examines the notion of ‘citizenship through education’ in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg during the First World War. Taking the teacher profession as my case study within this challenging background, the paper compares official government bulletins regarding teacher professionalisation in secondary education with professional interest group journals for teachers published independent of government regulations. More specifically, this paper analyses how the First World War became rendered in these two sometimes oppositional discourses.

In the voluminous cluster of literature on the relationship between war, peace and education in nineteenth and twentieth-century Europe, Luxembourg has often been portrayed as a special case, an unusual example amongst its European counterparts. Together with historically dynamic student mobility resulting from the lack of national university until 2003, it has usually been here that Luxembourg’s linguistic *Sonderweg* has been highlighted. Today, a small West European nation of just over 530 000 inhabitants that incorporates three different languages – Luxembourgish, German and French – into its public image of *Mischkultur* cosmopolitanism certainly appears extraordinary in its own right. Luxembourgish as a recognised national language has existed since 1984, yet even thereafter it has been utilised mostly only in tandem with German and French as the official languages of the Grand Duchy.

By evaluating government bulletins against interest group journals, this paper thereby goes to ask as on what basis a single national identity through education during WWI has been created for Luxembourg despite the remarkable linguistic diversity of the country. What is the complex interplay between education, citizenship and national consciousness in this context? Whereas the Second World War has dominated public debates, the aim of this paper is to show that WWI equally influenced the restructuring of the country’s education system. In this sense, the class room became an important microcosm of the Luxembourgish society: teachers were to show a competent example on how to manage national affairs at the time of deepening international crisis. Neutrality, circumspection and sangfroid in education were highlighted as desirable characteristics peculiar to Luxembourg as a nation state. By drawing on prominent educationalists in these conflictual discourses – whether Pierre Kieffer, Nicolas Pletschette or Mathias Mongenast – this paper argues that education played an active role in the promotion of Luxembourg’s cause in the war. Morale at home was fundamental for national survival: education fostered peace and glorified the nation against foreign intruders. By filling in gaps in literature, the approach provides unconventional ways of thinking about the history of education positioned against international quarrels. In this sense, the educational ideas introduced during 1914-1918 became in many ways anchored, instilled and cemented around the WWI ideological milieu. They were surrounded by battle-like international atmosphere which was also heavily projected on the forthcoming years of Luxembourg’s schooling evolution. It thus follows that during the war, the teacher profession formed a vital part of this long continuum, and became located in a high sphere of nation making.

**Garnier, Bruno**

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## **La première guerre mondiale et la démocratisation de l'école : la rhétorique de l'union sacrée au service de la réforme**

Il est banal d'affirmer que les guerres modernes ont souvent fourni des arguments aux réformateurs de l'école.

On peut songer à la guerre de Sept Ans (1756-1763), dont la France sortit affaiblie. La période qui suivit connut une explosion de projets de réforme (161 livres sur jusqu'en 1789). Pour beaucoup d'auteurs, la défaite était due à la mauvaise formation des cadres et au délitement du sentiment patriotique.

En 1945, la France avait subi autant les maux du dehors que la dégradation des institutions et la corruption des valeurs républicaines. L'égalité des chances, pensée avant la guerre, devenait un impératif de justice pour l'école et une condition de survie pour la société.

En apparence, la guerre de 1914-1918 ne fait pas figure d'exception. Au lendemain de la victoire, les Compagnons de *L'Université Nouvelle* ont vivement critiqué les deux ordres qui scolarisaient les enfants du peuple et ceux de la bourgeoisie dans des institutions socialement ségréguées. Ils donnèrent au projet de l'école unique un retentissement durable.

Pourtant, la Grande Guerre présente une série de spécificités : tout d'abord, c'est de la guerre elle-même que les réformateurs tiraient les valeurs qu'ils voulaient mettre au service de construction d'une « plus grande France » (Jules Corréard). En 1918, les Compagnons voulaient faire souffler l'union sacrée dans la paix pour bâtir une école démocratique. La solidarité, l'intérêt général et le patriotisme, bien que mis à mal par l'ampleur du massacre, paraissaient encore constituer des références.

Cependant, le projet de l'école unique n'est pas nouveau : Ferdinand Buisson avait tenté de l'inscrire au programme des radicaux en 1910, et on trouve dans les revues amicalistes d'avant 1914 des projets analogues. En outre, l'idée de fonder la réforme de l'éducation sur le thème de l'union sacrée n'est pas une invention de l'après-guerre. Au lendemain de la victoire de la Marne, le comité Michelet avait lancé cet appel : « Français de tous les partis, de toutes les croyances, si vous voulez que cette union soit durable et féconde, [...] aidez-nous à maintenir désormais et après la paix la concorde que la guerre a manifestée ». En pleine guerre, les représentants du comité Michelet réclamèrent l'accès gratuit de l'enseignement secondaire et supérieur à tous les enfants méritants.

Ce qu'il y a de nouveau dans *L'Université nouvelle*, c'est la « réforme totale ». Les Compagnons ont accrédité l'idée que l'égalité devant l'instruction était impossible sans une réforme de toutes les structures de l'Université.

## **World War I and the democratization of the school in France: the rhetoric of the “holy alliance” towards the reform**

It is usual to assert that modern wars have often given arguments to reformers of school. We can think of the Seven Years War (1756-1763), which weakened France. The following period saw a large increase of the number of projects of reform. For most authors, bad training of executives and disintegration of patriotic feelings explained the defeat. In 1945, France had suffered from outside damages as well as from inside breakdown of institutions and corruption of values of the republic. Equal opportunities, thought before the war, was becoming an imperative of justice for

school and a condition of survival for the society. 1914-1918 world war seems to be no exception. In the aftermath of the victory, the “Compagnons de l’Université Nouvelle” severely criticized those two orders which provided schooling to children from the people and to those of the bourgeoisie in socially segregated institutions. They gave to the project of the “unique school” a sustainable echo.

However, the Great War contains a series of particularities: first of all, it is from the war itself that reformers were taking those values which they wanted to use for the sake of a “larger/greater France” (Jules Corréard). In 1918, although severely damaged by the unprecedented massacre, the Companions wanted to get the wind of sacred union and patriotism blowing in peace to build a democratic school. Solidarity, general interest and patriotism seemed to constitute the references.

However, that project of a unique school is not new: Ferdinand Buisson had tried to introduce it into the radicals programme in 1910, and similar projects can be found in “amicalist” journals before 1914. Moreover, that idea to build the reform of education on the theme of sacred union was not born post-war. Just after the victory of the Marne, the Michelet committee had launched an appeal: “French people of all parties, of all faiths, if you want that union to be lasting and fruitful, [...] help us now and after peace to maintain that concord built in spite of war”. In full war, the representatives of the Michelet committee demanded the free access of the education secondary and upper to all the deserving children.

What is new in The New University is the « total reform ». The Companions have agreed upon the idea that classroom instruction equality was impossible without a reform of all structures at University.

### **Gatti Júnior, Décio and do Vale Gatti, Giseli Cristina**

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Brazil

### **What ideas about peace do Brazilian textbooks contain from the 1940s to the first decade of the 21st Century?**

This paper reports results of research in the sphere of the History of School Subjects, with a focus on contents related to promotion of pacifistic values among adolescents and youth which appear in the textbooks used in Brazilian schools. The historical period covered by the investigation was from the 1940s to the first decade of the 21st Century. Historical milestones at the beginning of this period were promulgation of the new Brazilian constitution (1946) followed by approval of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the United Nations (1948). At the end were promulgation of a new Brazilian constitution (1988), followed by the new National Education Law (1996) and by the National Curriculum Guidelines (published beginning in 1997). In the period referred to, a considerable number of school textbooks were published which, in the case of Brazil, centralize editorial production and are practically the only vehicles for cultural education of thousands of adolescents and youth in the schools. In the present analysis, the contents related to the Doctrine of Human Rights and to Education for Peace were observed as presented in twelve works or textbook collections of great circulation in the country, mainly including the school subject of “Moral and Civic Education”, but also other school subjects, namely “Social Studies”, “History” and “Social and Political Organization of Brazil”. From initial examination of these contents, it may be concluded that, in the 1940s to 1970s, on the one hand, they expressed adherence to dissemination of a Christian moral ideology, of a Catholic

nature, in which love and respect for one's neighbor are key concepts of moral formation in the school environment. On the other hand, however, in this same period, an adherence to a liberal lay ideology was also seen in some works, in which the presentation of ideas related to the doctrine of Human Rights, such as those contained in the Declaration of Independence of the United States (1776), in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen (1789) and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) were important resources in spreading an ideology related to preserving life, by means of peace. However, this content was disseminated with restrictions in view of the fact that, from 1964 to 1985, Brazilians lived under the aegis of a military government. In the following period, including the 1990s to the first decade of the 21st Century, there was an extension of adherence to the Doctrine of Human Rights and Education for Peace, more broadly taking in content related to civil rights, complementing social rights, which may be noted in government policy documents such as the new Brazilian National Education Law (1996), but, above all, as of 1997, in publication of the National Curriculum Guidelines. These legal innovations, together with greater freedom in textbook writing, had an effect on the content disseminated in Brazilian schools, which sought to combat prejudice and discrimination and also showed the advantage of diplomatic forms of conflict resolution among nations in favour of peace.

**Gerrard, Jessica**

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### **The 'sight' of homelessness and the pedagogies of work: self-help, self-work, protest and homeless street press**

The 'sight' of homelessness and destitution has long galvanised public and political concern over the well-being and inequality of cities, towns and citizens. Emerging from the post-World War II period many countries experienced what Eric Hobsbawm has described as a rediscovery of poverty (1994; see also Garton, 1990). This 'rediscovery' contributed to the political and social impetus for a range of welfare reforms, including, for instance, the touted 'war on poverty' by US President Johnson in 1964. As with generations prior, by the 1980s, corresponding with significant reforms in the welfare sector, 'visible' poverty – most often destitution and rough sleeping – were powerful symbolic markers for garnering public concern over inequality. At this time, across such countries as the US, UK and Australia, an emergent understanding of, and concern over, homelessness (as 'visible' poverty) generated a range of social and institutional attention, policy advocacy work, protest campaigns, and a proliferation of self-help initiatives, including homeless street press. In contrast to much of the public discourse, which focused on the possibilities for eradicating the 'sight' of homelessness, homeless street press sought to raise the visibility of, and public engagement with, homelessness in public space.

This paper examines the historical emergence, and diverse educative intents, of homeless street press in the early to mid 1990s as a response to 'visible' poverty and homelessness. Focusing in particular on the two cases of *Street Sheet* in San Francisco and *The Big Issue* in the UK and Australia, and analysing material from the street press, and interviews with personnel involved in their establishment, I explore the ways in which the work created through selling the magazine/newspaper aims to have both a public educative function, and an educative function for vendors themselves. Teasing out the complex, and at times contradictory, historical inter-relationships between protest, self-help and social enterprise, this paper considers the ways in which discourses of productivity, self-work, and participatory citizenship are brought to bear on work-based responses to homelessness.

**Giannakou, Maria**

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### **Education and war: the case of the educational problem in the town of Ioannina (Greece) during the years 1940-49**

The town of Ioannina lies in the North-western part of Greece and is well-known for its high educational standards since the Enlightenment. During the years 1940-44, the town was under the German occupation and experienced civil war from 1946-49. This paper examines the effects of World War II and the civil war on education in Ioannina. Under this cadre the inquiry is focused on the general function of the schools and especially the students' attendance and the implementation of curriculum. The main source is hitherto unpublished data from students' catalogues and the minutes of teachers' assemblies within schools, which reveal the dimensions of the problem. As many of the students from this time are still alive, their interviews proved to be a very important element in order to record and reconstruct the educational experiences of those years in Ioannina. The method of historical inquiry that is used is qualitative analysis within the framework of the micro-history of education where the data brings the history of a broader social context while adding a perception of the specified and personalized to the study of the past. The theoretical framework of the study is based on the theories of the philosopher Michael Walzer (1977) *Just and Unjust War*; the sociologist of education Andy Hargreaves (1978) *Coping Strategy* and the historian of education Marc Depaepe (2000) *Educationalization*. The study unveils the dimensions of an unjust war which reinforced the journey of a whole society in Ioannina towards economic decline. This situation was reproduced within schools and the teaching strategy used by teachers. The schools were not the educationalized component of society anymore, due to their malfunction.

The analysis proceeds in revealing that the effects were destructive on education and persistent over time: teaching was degraded, school-buildings were seriously damaged, children suffered from social exclusion and school failure and they attended fewer average years of education. To sum up, it is apparent that the unjust war in Ioannina destroyed the economy and infrastructure of the area, which successively affected the lives of the children then and adults in the course of time.

**Gill, Rebecca**

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### **Play-based education and its role in war and peace: the work of the Save the Children Fund in Britain, 1930-1945**

This paper looks at the educational work of Save the Children (UK) for nursery-aged children. It focuses on how SCF's model scheme of 'emergency open-air nurseries' in Britain during the 1930s was an attempt to build social peace through play-based education for working-class children (based on the teachings of Froebel). The hope was that children would be trained in responsible citizenship and the dignity of manual skill. During the Second World War the SCF ran residential nursery schools for evacuated pre-school children (which it very much viewed as an 'opportunity' to continue its earlier experiment). This paper examines the pedagogical models

that were used in the nurseries and how they were conceived as a chance to avoid social conflict and protect children from the dangers of war (and the infantile aggression it unleashed). In doing so it shows how, over the twentieth century, play was conceived both as a chance to influence behaviour, and as a form of ‘therapy’, and inquires into the place of war in these trends.

### **Go, Henri Louis and Riondet, Xavier**

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### **Célestin Freinet: from war to pacifism**

In continuation of the work we have presented at ISCHE 34 and 35, we propose a study of the changing positions of Célestin Freinet between the two Wars, and we will try to clarify its relation to pacifism. We work from the archives of Freinet funds in Nice (France), and unpublished private archives.

After his recovery, sickened by the slaughter of the Great War, he took a teaching post in January 1919 and joined the union: Members of the Federation of Lay Education. In January 1920, he was appointed to the village of Bar-sur-Loup (where he taught until 1928), and began writing a series of articles in journals *Clarity* and *School Emancipated*. So he first built himself in socialism and syndicalism: revolutionary teacher he declared he was, before thinking himself as a teacher in the context of the movement “no more war” slogan appeared in 1920 in Germany (*Nie wieder Krieg!*) in pacifist circles, and the United Kingdom the following year (*No more war!*) in the movement of the International War Resisters. Freinet made a trip to the USSR in August 1925, which helped him to radicalize in the New Education movement, his position as revolutionary teacher.

He thought the school of republican bourgeoisie, from the late nineteenth century, had prepared the people to assume new tasks imposed by the industry to improve its adaptation to “narrow part of its new economic destiny. (...) The people itself was apparently satisfied” (CF, 1945, Introduction). But soon “the spell was broken and the macabre scam 1914-1918 contributed to it greatly” (ibid., p.14). The socialist ideal of the survivors of this macabre scam made them activists of the Third International, and belonging to the proletariat made them activists for school people. Indeed, “the stupidity of the last great war did not she relentlessly condemns the eyes of the proletariat, the education system has permitted otherwise prepared?” (CF, 1929). A new pedagogy would inevitably call “demolition in the school conformism” (FF, 1977 p.33). But we will show that in the 1930s, the pacifism of Freinet evolved: he hesitated between his pacifist and internationalist convictions, and a resistance position against fascism and Nazism.

*SWG Teachers’ Critical Thinking*

### **Les deux créations de l’Institut Freinet de Vence (1965-2009): une expérience collective de pensée critique**

Dans la suite de ma proposition pour ISCHE 35, je voudrais revenir le processus de création de ce que j’appelle un collectif de pensée (Fleck, 2005). Freinet est connu pour ses nombreuses activités militantes, syndicales, politiques, et pédagogiques en marge de l’Éducation Nouvelle et comme créateur d’un grand mouvement international (L’imprimerie à l’École en 1927, puis L’institut Coopératif de l’École Moderne en 1947). Il est beaucoup moins connu comme créateur d’un Institut de formation : l’Institut Freinet de Vence en 1964-1965.

En m'appuyant sur les données disponibles aux Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes (Nice), je présenterai le contexte et les raisons de ce projet, que Freinet lui-même ne put mener à bien du fait de sa disparition en octobre 1966.

Puis, en m'appuyant sur ma propre expérience dans ce processus (Dewey, 1938), je présenterai les conditions dans lesquelles le projet de reconstitution d'un tel Institut a pu être envisagé à partir de 2002 et les étapes de sa création (jusqu'à sa déclaration officielle en 2009). J'esquisserai une analyse qui s'appuie sur les archives du collectif (depuis 2002) : entretiens, compte rendus de réunions, circulaires internes, documents institutionnels.

Je tenterai de caractériser l'Institut Freinet de Vence en tant qu'il produit un *style de pensée* (Fleck, 2005) critique : avec l'École Freinet, l'Institut Freinet de Vence sauvegarde et diffuse les pratiques spécifiques instituées par Élise et Célestin Freinet dans l'hétérotopie éducative de cette école alternative. Mais ce programme se trouve pris dans certaines controverses dont je présenterai le caractère politique mais aussi névrotique.

### **The two creations Freinet Institute Vence (1965-2009): collective experience of critical thinking**

In the wake of my proposal for ISCHE 35, I want to talk about the process of creating what I call a collective of thought (Fleck, 2005). Freinet is known for his many militant activities, trade union, political and educational sidelines of the New Education and as a creator of a great international movement (The Printing School in 1927, and the Cooperative Institute of Modern School in 1947). He is much less known as creator of a training institute : the Freinet Institute of Vence in 1964-1965. Based on data available at the Departmental Archives of the Alpes-Maritimes (Nice), I will present the background and reasons for the project, Freinet himself could not complete due to his death in October 1966. Then, based on my own experience in this process (Dewey, 1938), I present the conditions under which the reconstruction project of such an institute could be envisaged from 2002 and the stages of its creation (up 'in its official statement in 2009). I will sketch an analysis that relies on the collective archives (since 2002) : interviews, minutes of meetings, circulars, institutional documents.

I will try to characterize the Freinet Institute of Vence as it produces a critical style of thought (Fleck, 2005) : with the Freinet School, the Freinet Institute of Vence backup and disseminates specific practices established by Elise and Célestin Freinet in educational heterotopia of the alternative school. But this program is caught in some controversy which I will introduce of political but also neurotic character.

### **Gomez Rodriguez, Amparo, and Canales Sarrano, Antonio**

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### **Child Psychiatry and Psychology in Franco's side during the Spanish Civil War**

The Francoist side in the Spanish Civil War had in psychiatrists and psychologists notable allies for justifying its radical project of restructuring of Spanish society. These scientists offered to the rebels a set of supposedly scientific discourses that justified the ideological principles of the New Spain and its policies of rehabilitation of children educated in democratic times.

This paper aims to study these scientific discourses on children in Franco's side during the Spanish Civil War and the early postwar period. It will analyze the works of psychiatrists, psychologists and pedagogues as Antonio Vallejo Nágera, Juan José Lopez Ybor, Jesús Ercilla Ortega, Juan José Piquer y Jover and Francisco M. Palmés with two objectives. On one hand, to identify the ideological components hidden under supposedly scientific discourses. On the other hand, to establish to what extent these contributions correspond to a modernist radicalization according to racist and eugenic Fascist science or, on the contrary, they responded to Catholic traditionalism.

**González Delgado, Mariano**

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### **Resistencia y cambio: El tratamiento de la Guerra Civil Española en los libros de texto de Ciencias Sociales desde finales de los setenta hasta principios de los noventa**

El estudio de la Guerra Civil española a través de los libros de texto de Ciencias Sociales fue –y sigue siendo– el medio predominante en el aprendizaje de este pasaje histórico en las aulas españolas. La Guerra Civil ha sido uno de los periodos más conflictivos y trágicos de la historia de España en el siglo XX. Esta característica ha ocasionado que también sea un objeto de estudio complejo y difícil de abordar para los libros de texto. Este artículo analiza el mensaje explícito e implícito que tales libros de texto presentaron a sus lectores desde la transición a la democracia en España hasta el inicio de la LOGSE. Observamos las tres editoriales más importantes en España (Santillana, Anaya y SM). En primer lugar, exploramos las explicaciones que se dieron sobre el origen de la Guerra Civil, la representación que se hicieron de la II República y la forma de estudiar este periodo histórico. En segundo lugar, también examinamos las principales fuentes icónicas que exponen los libros de texto y observamos el tratamiento que reciben los diferentes grupos sociales en estas imágenes. La conclusión es que los libros de texto, a pesar de que han cambiado la visión parcial y manipulativa que el régimen franquista hizo de la Guerra Civil, también resisten a modifican en todos los aspectos las antiguas explicaciones. Ellos han estado sujetos a una serie de cambios y continuidades. En la tercera parte del trabajo, intentamos dar una explicación sobre por qué los libros de texto se debatieron continuamente entre el cambio y el mantenimiento de algunos aspectos conservadores.

### **Resistance and change: treatment of the Spanish Civil War in Spain in social sciences textbooks from late 1970s to early 1990s**

The study of the Spanish Civil War through social sciences textbooks was -and is still- the predominant medium for learning about this historic passage in the Spanish classrooms. The Civil War was one of the most controversial and tragic periods in the history of Spain in the Twentieth Century. This feature has meant that this topic is complex and difficult to portray for school textbooks. This paper analyses the overt and implicit messages that such textbooks present to its readers from the transition to democracy in Spain until the beginning of the Education Act 1990 (LOGSE). I study three major publishing houses in Spain: Santillana, Anaya, and SM. First, I explore the explanations given about the origins of the Civil War, the representation that was made about the Second Spanish Republic and the way in which textbooks studied this historical period. Second, I examine the main images and photographic sources in the textbooks and



observe the treatment received by different social groups in these images. The conclusion is that textbooks, although they have moved on from the partial and manipulative portrayal of the Civil War under Franco's regime, they resisted change in some aspects of the old explanations. In this period the textbooks have been subject to a series of changes and continuities. In the third part of this paper I try to give an explanation of why social sciences textbooks continuously moved between change and the conservative continuity.

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### **Entre la paz y la guerra. Maestras en tiempos difíciles**

A comienzos del siglo XX las mujeres españolas irrumpieron en el mundo científico. Esas pioneras, que poseían una formación intelectual más elevada que la media de mujeres, rompieron la tradicional invisibilidad cultural femenina. Algunas se afiliaron a sindicatos profesionales, aunque la vía de acceso más utilizada fue a través de las diferentes asociaciones de mujeres que existían en ese momento. De manera que entre la segunda y tercera década del siglo deslumbraron una generación de científicas que marcaron época. Profesoras universitarias, profesoras de Escuelas Normales, inspectoras de Enseñanza Primaria, maestras, médicas, entre otras, dejaron una importante huella en los espacios académicos. Un interesante grupo de docentes amplió su formación en el extranjero a través de las becas y ayudas de la Junta de Ampliación de Estudios con la intención de mejorar la investigación en las diferentes disciplinas académicas. Sin embargo, los destinos de estas españolas se frustraron con la guerra civil y la dictadura. El panorama adverso bloqueó sus horizontes, después del reconocimiento experimentado durante la Segunda República. Marginadas, represaliadas y sin expectativas, el camino del exilio fue la única alternativa vital. Hicieron una larga travesía para continuar en la brecha del saber, para ganar espacio a la ciencia. Una pléyade de mujeres inteligentes que también sufrieron la postergación familiar y de sus propios colegas.

Planteamos nuestro objetivo de estudio desde la perspectiva de la microhistoria. Pretendemos investigar la figura de la profesora española Regina Lago García y su proyección educativa. Una intelectual destacada que tras la guerra civil (1936-1939) se vio forzada al exilio. La referida profesional dejó una obra escrita interesante, reconocida en su momento, pero en muchos casos perdida durante la guerra civil, descatalogada y de difícil acceso. Para realizar este trabajo conjugamos la metodología de análisis histórico, utilizamos fuentes primarias y secundarias.

### **Between peace and war. Teachers in difficult times**

In the early Twentieth Century, Spanish women stormed the scientific world. These pioneers, broke free from the traditional female cultural invisibility. Some affiliated themselves to professional unions, although the most commonly used route of access was through the various women's associations that existed at that time. Therefore, between the second and third decades of the century, a generation of female scientists dazzled and shaped the era. University professors, teachers of Normal Schools, Primary Education inspectors, teachers, doctors, among others, left an important mark on academic spaces. An interesting group of teachers expanded their training abroad through scholarships and grants from the Board of Advanced Studies intended to enhance research in different academic disciplines.

However, the fate of these Spanish women was frustrated by the civil war and dictatorship. The adverse scenario blocked their horizons, after the recognition experienced during the Second Republic. Marginalized repressed and without hope, the exile was the only vital alternative. They made a long journey in order to contribute to gaps in knowledge and to gain new spaces for science.

We explore our subject from the perspective of micro-history. We intend to investigate the figure of the Spanish professor Regina Lago Garcia and her educational outreach. A prominent intellectual who after the Civil War (1936-1939) was forced into exile. The aforementioned professional left an interesting body of written work, recognized at the time, but in many cases lost during the civil war, out of print and hard to get hold of. In this work, we draw on primary and secondary sources using the methodology of historical analysis.

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## **El profesorado español ante el cambio político y cultural. La revolución tecnocrática y nuevos saberes académicos**

Los tecnócratas abordaron la modernización del Estado introduciendo los criterios de eficacia y racionalidad de la empresa privada en los organismos públicos. En el caso de España bajo un régimen dictatorial, la tecnocracia significaba la apertura frente a los sectores inmovilistas del régimen anclados en el tradicionalismo, el clericalismo, el ejército y la Falange. Los tecnócratas rechazaban el atraso y la paralización de la sociedad española provocado por la dictadura. Alcanzaron legitimidad dentro del gobierno con el objetivo de renovación, pero al fin bajo el poder irrefrenable del Caudillo. La opresión política puso fin a la lucha abierta a favor de la democracia en España, pero no anuló la voluntad democrática. A lo largo de décadas de sistemática represión, muchos docentes continuaron su lucha política desde el silencio o el exilio interior.

La promulgación de la Ley General de Educación (LGE) en 1970 representó un avance legislativo importante, situando a España entre los países modernos, considerando el contexto sociopolítico de entonces. Una ley que en sus orígenes no estuvo exenta de debates y polémicas desde diversos sectores. Para los reaccionarios fue una ley liberal, pero hipotecaron su aplicación al impedir una ley de financiación. La normativa trataba de preparar a la población, formarla para competir en el mercado laboral, y para acercar a España a los países del entorno. Se adelantaba a los tiempos e introdujo modificaciones respecto a la formación inicial de los maestros. El cambio fundamental fue incorporar la formación de profesores a la Universidad y las escuelas de magisterio se transforman en escuelas universitarias. Sustituyó las viejas escuelas profesionales por escuelas universitarias y denominó a los maestros profesores de Enseñanza General Básica. Junto con Finlandia fue uno de los primeros países europeos en formar a sus maestros en la Universidad.

El análisis de la evolución de la formación de profesores con la LGE pone de manifiesto algunas disyuntivas en la preparación de los profesores en un escenario complejo, en un

contexto centralista y autoritario. Las primeras promociones de Profesores de EGB tuvieron que adaptarse a situaciones sociales y políticas cambiantes. Cuando acabó de implantarse la EGB en el curso 1974-1975 se apreciaban indicios de un nuevo talante del profesorado y de la renovación cualitativa de la educación española. Nuestro objetivo es analizar las transformaciones de la identidad profesional y su proyección educativa. Para ello es necesario contestar los siguientes interrogantes: 1) ¿cómo se formaron los profesores en este marco social? y 2) ¿qué identidad construyeron? Para responder a estos interrogantes conjugamos la metodología de análisis histórico con el método etnográfico/biográfico.

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### **The Spanish teacher confronting political and cultural change. Technocratic revolution and new academic knowledge**

Technocrats addressed the modernization of the state introducing the criteria of efficiency and rationality of private enterprise in public bodies. In the case of Spain under a dictatorial regime, technocracy meant an opening against unmovable sections of the regime rooted in traditionalism, clericalism, the Army and the Falange. Technocrats rejected backwardness and stagnation of Spanish society caused by the dictatorship. They achieved legitimacy within government with the aim of reform but at last were overwhelmed by the power of the Caudillo. Political oppression ended the open struggle for democracy in Spain, but did not annul democratic will. Throughout decades of systematic repression, many teachers continued their political struggle from a position of silence or internal exile.

The enactment of the General Education Law (LGE) in 1970 represented a significant legislative advance, placing Spain among modern countries at the time, considering the socio-political context of the time. The law was introduced with some debate and controversy amongst various sectors. The fundamental change was to incorporate the training of teachers at the university with teacher's schools becoming colleges. Along with Finland, Spain was one of the first European countries to train their teachers in universities.

The analysis of the evolution of teacher training with LGE highlights some dilemmas in the preparation of teachers in a complex, centralist and authoritarian context. The first EGB teachers had to adapt to changing political and social situations. Once EGB had been implemented during 1974-1975, there was evidence of a new spirit amongst teachers and a qualitative renewal of Spanish education. Our goal is to analyze the transformation of professional identity and educational implications. This requires us to answer the following questions: 1) how teachers were trained in this social context? and 2) what identity was constructed? To answer these questions we combine the methodology of historical analysis with ethnographic / biographical method.

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**Fernández Terán, Rosario E.**

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### **Science and Education between Peace and War: the board for advanced studies and scientific research Spain, 1907-1939**

The *Junta para Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas* (*Board for Advance Studies and Scientific Research*) became, since its creation in 1907, a milestone in the Spanish educational scene. Its efforts towards a national regeneration in the Sciences as well as in the Humanities, along its thirty years of existence, would allow our most outstanding intellectuals to reach levels of international recognition very close to those achieved by the most important personalities in the World.

Inspired in its spirit, since its origins and until its final end, by the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza* (*Free Institution for Teachings*), the *Board* became the most important research and educational center in Spain, supported by the nation but completely independent from the remaining public institutions of Higher Education. Its autonomous nature allowed scientific research of the highest level, and conducted a complete pedagogical transformation in every discipline cultivated in its departments.

Although Spain remained neutral, at the outbreak of the Great War in 1914 the program of scholarships in Europe (a key feature for the *Board*) was severely affected. But it would be the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) which would put an end to the most significant effort towards Europeanization undertaken in Spain, although its activities (research and teachings), surprisingly, would be supported during the War by republican authorities.

Indeed, Spanish academics had manifested very different attitudes towards the two sides in conflict between July 1936 and March 1939, sometimes due to their personal convictions, others as results of their location across Spanish geography after the military plot. And also different would be the consequences of their particular compromises and/or disaffections.

Some of the *Board's* professors remained loyal to the Republic, as chemist Enrique Moles or mathematician José Barinaga, whose scientific activities were supported by the republican government along the War. Others joined Franco's newly organized institutions, as pharmacist José Casares Gil. Some tried to follow a discreet life in order to survive in nationalist Spain, waiting for an impossible republican victory, as physicist Miguel Catalán, while others adapted themselves to republican Spain while waiting for a predictable nationalist win, as mathematician Pedro Pineda. Some even worked as Franco's fifth-columnist in besieged Madrid, as physicist Julio Palacios, while a group of significant personalities, as philosophers José Ortega y Gasset and Xavier Zubiri, pedagogue Luis de Zulueta, philologists Ramón Menéndez Pidal and Américo Castro, historian Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, etc., decided to leave their country just as the Civil War began, constituting what became the unthinkable equidistant *Third Spain*.

This heterogeneity was a natural outgrowth of those different attitudes towards internal regeneration and external convergence with Europe developed at the *Free Institution* and the *Board* along the first decades of twentieth century; those years which run from the *1898 disaster*, when Spain lost the remains of its former colonial empire, to the encounter with the most advanced of our neighbouring nations after the advent of the Second Republic in 1931, and until the the end of the Civil War in 1939.

**Goodchild, Lester**

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**Harvard Goes to War: Undergraduate Education, Military Science, and Summer War Camps during the Great War, 1916 to 1919 – The Remarkable Student Diary of Rogers Bruce Johnson, Sr**

The paper's purpose is to describe how Harvard University cooperated with the U.S. government to educate officers for World War I. It discusses: (1) its new undergraduate curriculum under President Lowell, which became the model for the nation for the remainder of the century; (2) military education and field training at Harvard and in rural Massachusetts; and (3) the personal experiences of both in a 600 page unpublished diary of Rogers Bruce Johnson Sr. Little has been published about the Strategic Army Training Corp, Harvard's participation, and the type of military education that undergraduates experienced as the United States prepared and entered World War I. Primary sources at Harvard's archives, personal student diary and 30 pictures, along with some secondary sources interweave a new look at Education, War and Peace, ISCHE conference themes.

**Goodman, Joyce**

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**Internationalism, Empire and Peace: Women Teachers' Professional Organisations and Peace Education in England, 1920-1939**

Like many European teachers' organisations during the inter-war period, women teachers in England were concerned to redress the curriculum and develop approaches to citizenship education that would foster peace between nations. While sharing some common approaches, women teachers adopted different analyses of relations between peace, feminism, anti-fascism, and empire, which led their organisations to forge divergent alliances with internationalist, pacifist and anti-fascist organisations and to adopt strategies that differed. The paper focuses on the Association of Assistant Mistresses and the Association of Headmistresses, whose members taught in girls' secondary schools, and the feminist National Union of Women Teachers (NUWT), whose members taught in girls' and mixed elementary schools. It uses a transnational framework to map alliances between women teachers' organisations, international teachers' organisations, and international women's organisations and explores how these alliances played out in the face of rising militarism in Europe and in response to the plight of women teachers in Germany. It draws on the professional association records (meeting minutes, annual reports, and correspondence, from the Associations' archive), professional journals, flyers advertising anti-war events and school log books.

While all three women teachers' associations worked to foster the will to peace in schools by suggesting a range of curriculum initiatives and approaches, affiliated with the British League of Nations Union (LNU), increased the emphasis on citizenship education, engaged the members in disarmament activities, and worked to relieve the situation of German women teachers and refugees, their analyses of empire led them to hold different views and adopt different strategies. The Associations of Assistant Mistresses and Headmistress portrayed the British Commonwealth

as a Commonwealth of Nations and a model for the League of Nations that saw nations cooperating harmoniously for the good of the whole. This view obscured underlying relations of colonialism, and was consonant with the underlying premises of the liberal-internationalist, pacifist programme that the LNU adopted in order to avert war. In contrast, some feminist women teachers in the NUWT, saw empire as problematic, linked with militarism, antithetical to feminism and a root cause of war. This position led to lively debate in the NUWT and to some members opposing the celebration of empire day in schools as well as the practice of military drill for boys. Reflecting its members' position as teachers in the state sector of education, the NUWT adopted an economic analysis that linked investment in armaments with dramatic cuts to education budgets for children educated in state-maintained schools. Their concern to ameliorate the position of German women teachers, also strengthened the NUWT's vigilance for academic freedom in Britain itself.

### **Grab, Alexander**

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### **Secondary Schools in Napoleonic Italy (1802-1814)**

In February 1806, Napoleon stated at a meeting of the *Conseil d'État*, "Of all our institutions the most important is public education. Everything depends on it, the present and the future ..." The Emperor conceptualized school as a tool of the state, viewing government control of education, especially at the secondary level, as essential for the consolidation of state power and his rule. In France, Napoleon set up a national education system characterized by uniformity, a hierarchical structure, centralization, state control, and a standardized curriculum. The two most important institutions in that system were the secondary schools, the *lycées*, and the Imperial University, the central authority that ran educational policies. Through the centralization and development of the education system, the Emperor aimed at achieving two main goals. First, he wished to mold the minds of young Frenchmen, instilling in them patriotism, loyalty to his regime, and respect for property and social hierarchy. Secondly, through the *lycées*, the Emperor intended to prepare a select group of young men to become skilled and loyal administrators, in response to the growing needs of the French Empire. Significantly, the Napoleonic regime intended the *lycées* to be attended primarily by sons of notables, civil servants, and officers, thereby tie that elite to his regime.

Napoleon exported French reform programs to his satellite states and occupied lands in an effort to "frenchify" the rest of Europe. Educational reforms constituted an important part of those policies. This paper will discuss the establishment of secondary schools, *licei*, in the northern Italian state of the Republic and Kingdom of Italy (1802-1814), Napoleon's longest lasting satellite. The paper will explore educational decrees, which created the *licei*, beginning in 1802, and no less importantly how those decrees were implemented on the ground. The government established a *liceo* in the capital of each department. Some of them were boarding schools. The paper will elaborate on the *Direzione della Pubblica Istruzione*, the government institution that ran public education, and the top education officers' efforts to modernize public education in northern Italy. As time progressed, the authorities published more decrees, created more *licei* which served a growing number of students, and increasingly centralized and standardized public secondary education. The essay will elaborate on the various academic disciplines, teaching personnel, books, who the students were and their number, and a variety of

provisions designed to regulate daily operation of the schools and students' behavior. Examining all those issues will make it possible to assess the consequences of the educational reforms and answer the question how successful the Napoleonic authorities were in laying the foundations of a modern public secondary school system.

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### **La depuración franquista de los docentes en España. Estado de la cuestión**

Uno de los instrumentos más eficaces que utilizó la dictadura franquista para controlar la memoria y la historia fue la depuración profesional. Se aplicó a todo el funcionariado con el objetivo de garantizar su adhesión al régimen.

Los regímenes totalitarios han ejercido siempre un estricto control sobre los docentes para atender a su propia conservación. Los profesores, en todas las dictaduras, deben ayudar a consolidar las nuevas estructuras y a mantener el orden impuesto; para ello, se les obliga a reproducir la nueva ideología y se evita que difundan cualquier idea que pueda deslegitimizar al régimen. Pero es que, además, los gobiernos autoritarios que llegan al poder después de una guerra o de un golpe de estado, una de las primeras tareas que emprenden es el control de la memoria y de la historia. Afortunadamente, en la actualidad se ha conseguido romper en gran medida el muro de silencio que el régimen franquista levantó para ocultar hechos y actividades represivas de las que casi todos sabían, pero de los que nadie hablaba.

En este contexto, uno de los temas planteados desde hace casi dos décadas es la depuración de los docentes. Cuando se habla de la depuración del profesorado, suele pensarse que sólo se depuró a los sospechosos. No. *Sospechosos eran todos* y por tanto, todos debieron someterse a este proceso.

Quienes firmamos este trabajo tenemos una amplia experiencia en la investigación de ese hecho histórico. Cada uno ha sido el investigador principal, entre los años 2002 y 2008, de un proyectos I+D centrado en la incidencia que dicha acción represiva en el caso concreto de profesoras y profesores de enseñanza media: instituto y escuelas normales financiados por el Ministerio de Educación titulado. Por todo ello, creemos que estamos en condiciones de plantearnos ya como objetivo la aproximación a una valoración global de la repercusión de dicha depuración en los distintos estamentos docentes del sistema educativo: en principio contamos, partiendo de nuestra propia producción científica, con un conocimiento bastante preciso de lo sucedido en el caso del profesorado de instituto y escuelas Normales; también hay estudios bastante completos sobre la situación en el ámbito universitario y lo mismo sucede en el caso del magisterio, aunque en este caso todavía desconocemos la realidad de muchos de los aproximadamente 52.000 maestros que fueron depurados.

Este trabajo forma parte del proyecto de investigación “La depuración franquista del profesorado de Escuelas Normales” (EDU2010-19255) financiado por el MICINN (actualmente MINECO). Cuya investigadora principal es Carmen Sanchidrián Blanco, de la Universidad de Málaga y los investigadores son: Julio Ruiz Berrio, Universidad Complutense, Juan Manuel Fernández Soria y Carmen Agulló de la Universidad de Valencia, y Francisco Martín Zúñiga e Isabel Grana Gil de la Universidad de Málaga y Fátima Ortega Castillo como becaria de Investigación del Proyecto.

## **The Franco Purge of Teachers in Spain. The state of the question**

One of the most effective tools used by the Franco regime to control memory and history was the professional purge. It was applied to all civil servants in order to ensure their adherence to the regime.

Totalitarian regimes have always exercised strict control over teachers to ensure their own preservation. As in all dictatorships, teachers have to help consolidate the new structures and maintain the order imposed; for this purpose, teachers are required to reproduce the new ideology, and they are forbidden to diffuse any idea that might delegitimize the regime. In addition, one of the first tasks undertaken by totalitarian governments which achieve power after a war or a coup is to control memory and history. Fortunately, now it has become possible to break the wall of silence which the Franco regime put up in order to hide facts and repressive activities that almost everybody knew, but no one dared talk about it. In this context, one of the issues raised over the last two decades is the teacher purge. When we talk about teacher purge, we tend to think of those under particular suspicion. However, in fact, all teachers were suspect, so they were all subjected to this process.

In this paper, we have set out to offer an overall assessment of the impact of this purge on the teaching levels of teaching in the educational system: from our own research, we have a fairly clear understanding of what happened to the teachers of secondary and primary schools; there are also comprehensive studies of the situation in a university and primary school context. However, in these contexts, we have not yet investigated the reality of the experiences of the 52,000 teachers who were purged.

**Graves, Karen**

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## **Pivotal in His Absence: Lewis Powell's Influence on the Legal Status of Lesbian and Gay Teachers in Cold War America**

As the Cold War stretched into the 1980s, conservative forces in the United States and the United Kingdom looked to schools for political tinder to fuel emerging culture wars. Earlier periods of repression against gay and lesbian citizens, inscribed in the historical record by the conviction and subsequent suicide of Alan Turing in England and the State Department and school purges of homosexual employees in the US, were slowly eroding. Beginning in the 1960s individual states in the U.S. and, by 1982, all of England, Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland overturned criminal laws against same sex relations. As the gay rights movement challenged discriminatory edifices of Cold War ideology, backlash in the UK resulted in the 1988 passage of Section 28, a prohibition against teaching that supported acceptable views of homosexuality. In the US backlash took shape in legislation that barred gay and lesbian educators from teaching in public schools. This paper explores the role that a conservative Supreme Court Justice played in defining the legal status of gay and lesbian teachers in the US during this period. In other work I am examining the pivotal education decisions issued by U.S. Supreme Court Justice Lewis Powell during his years on the high court, 1972-1987. These cases set critical school policy regarding affirmative action, desegregation, funding, and gay rights. In this paper I explore two cases taken up by the Court in subsequent years: *Board of Education v. National Gay Task Force* (1985) and *Bowers v. Hardwick* (1986). Justice Powell provided, in a sense, the pivotal vote in each case, although his



absence in the 1985 case simply allowed a 4-4 tie to affirm the appellate court's decision. Thus, the discriminatory 1978 Oklahoma law that prohibited gay men and lesbians from working in public schools was struck down. However, in the 1986 case Justice Powell provided the crucial 5th vote that upheld a Georgia state law criminalizing same sex relations. This, in effect, allowed states to continue to ban gay men and lesbians from the education profession in regions where they were classified as statutory felons. In what was unfortunate timing for gay and lesbian teachers, Justice Powell admitted that his ruling in *Bowers* was a mistake not long after the opinion was delivered. My analysis of these cases draws upon queer theory to interrogate the rhetoric that drove anti-gay school policy in the latter stages of the Cold War in the US.

**Grillo Balassiano, Ana Luiza**

USP Brazil/ Université de Paris 13

Brazil

### **Les institutions scolaires au Brésil : les pratiques scolaires et l'état de guerre**

Nous cherchons dans ce document révéler comment l'état de guerre peut être perçu dans les établissements d'enseignement au Brésil, et en particulier dans le Lycée français à Rio. Ce dernier s'est constitué au coeur d'une stratégie de recherche d'alliés poursuivie par les actions de la politique culturelle française au Brésil dans la période de l'entre deux guerres . Ainsi, bien que le Brésil n'a pas été le terrain de combats réels, les échos de la guerre y ont été vécus d'une manière intense. Le processus de formation et de consolidation du Lycée français à Rio de Janeiro lui-même, fondée en 1915 est étroitement liée au contexte de la guerre. La constitution des écoles laïques fondées en Amérique Latine est liée à la politique culturelle extérieure française qui se constitue dans le période de l'entre deux guerres sur un programme de recherche de pays alliés. Les documents analysés révèlent le « lieu » de l'institution comme un élément de propagande française en Amérique du Sud, et en particulier à Rio de Janeiro, capitale fédérale. Les pratiques scolaires et leur rapport au temps de la guerre est un thème qui n'apparaît pas seulement dans les pratiques éducatives et culturelles, mais aussi dans le quotidien scolaire. L'analyse documentaire des dossiers internes de l'école et pour des échantillons à travailler dans cet article montrent que les cours « pratiques de tir » qui faisaient partie des activités parascolaires de l'école. Cette pratique a été autorisée pour les étudiants de plus de 18 ans, selon la documentation spécifique de chacun, comprenant le certificat de naissance prouvant l'âge et l'identité. Les sources de recherche renvoient à des documents internes de l'institution et qui font partie du Centre de documentation de la mémoire et du Brésil Liceu Franco. Cette Recherche suggère de réfléchir le lieu de l'éducation dans la préparation et la promotion de la guerre.

### **Educational Institutions in Brazil: school practices and the state of war**

This communication unveils how the state of war can be perceived in educational institutions in Brazil, and particularly in a Franco-Brazilian school in the city of Rio de Janeiro. This school was at the heart of a strategy for allied countries pursued by French cultural policy for Brazil. The process of formation and consolidation of the French School in Rio de Janeiro, founded in the year 1915 is closely related to contexts of war. Thus, the constitution of the secular high schools in Latin America relates to French foreign cultural policy programmes in the interwar period. Although Brazil did not witness actual combat, echoes of war were experienced with intensity.

Thus analysis of documents has revealed the place of the institution as an element of French propaganda in America and particularly in Rio de Janeiro, at that time the federal capital. School practices and their relationship to wartime is a theme unveiled not only in pedagogical and cultural practices, but also in the experiences of individuals (students or teachers) who came from Europe, especially from France during World War II. Thus, unlike other institutions the French school kept everyday life in greater proximity with the state of war. In documentary observation of internal files of the school and with intention to analyse in this paper, we include the practice of rifle-shooting that was part of the curriculum of the French school. This practice was authorized for students according to age, for which documentation such as the birth certificates of each student is included in the institution's archive. This research proposes reflection on the role of education in preparation for and promotion of war.

**Grosvenor, Ian and Roberts, Sian**

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**‘Every war, just or unjust, is a war against the child’: Birmingham children during the Great War and beyond**

Eglantyne Jebb, founder of the Save the Children commented that ‘Every war, just or unjust, is a war against the child’. Children’s experiences during the First World War was one of the themes explored by The Capital Cities at War 1914-1919 research project (1997; 2006) which demonstrated how the cultural history of childhood and education could be supplemented by a social history approach, attentive to the institutional and economic environment created by the war. It also testified to the critical role played by the urban in articulating the full experience of the child at war. This paper extends this approach to regional cities. When one reflects on how the war may have impacted on children it prompts a series of questions including among others - How did the experience of schooling change as a consequence of society’s ‘war culture’? What role was ascribed to children and youth in the context of national wartime mobilization? How did schools and youth movements support the war effort? What were the experiences of refugee children that were displaced into a new urban environment? To what extent was there a moral panic about girls falling into sexual delinquency and increased illegitimacy and how far did the absence of male authority figures contribute to the rise of criminal children and delinquency both in the period of the war and in the decade immediately afterwards? How did the local state and voluntary organizations respond to the increase of orphans and single parenthood? The two decades following the Great War were identified by contemporaries as promoting ‘new education, for a new era’. This period also saw the emergence of new ideas about child development, child psychology and child guidance. This paper will therefore do two things. Using a case study of one urban area - Birmingham - and a broad range of archival resources relating to this city, the paper will consider firstly how questions such as those identified above can be answered, and secondly, the extent to which the life experiences of children and young people during a period of total war shaped futures legacies relating to urban childhoods.

**Groves, Tamar**

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**Milito Barone, Cecilia**

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### **Fomenting peace and solidarity beyond the state: transnational social movements and education in the Spanish context**

The wave of the new social movements, starting at the end of the 1960s, had a clear international nature, a phenomenon that led specialists to talk about the increase of transnational social movements. These movements cross the borders of states and rely on collaboration among citizens of different countries united by a common cause. While transnational, these movements have local and national dimensions which interact with their international dynamics.

In this paper we explore the augmenting importance of education for peace and solidarity in the Spanish education system in the late 1970s and the 1980s. We argue that this process was facilitated not only by the recommendations of international bodies, and the gradual integration of Spain into the European system, but also by the interaction of local initiatives with international social movements. Firstly Spanish movements saw themselves as part of a global effort to change society and thus saw in peace and solidarity crucial factors for Spain's post-Franco education system. Secondly, they shared many of the new social movements' values that were integrated into educational legislation.

To trace the presence of peace and solidarity in Spanish education, we analyze textbooks, the official publications of the ministry of education, as well as documents published on the grassroots level by teachers. We maintain that while in official discourse these values are presented in a neutral and moderate tone, on the grassroots level, due to the contacts with transnational movements, they are presented in terms evoking strong feelings such as enthusiasm, sympathy and compassion.

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### **Representaciones de la Guerra en los libros infantiles relacionados con el Deporte: un análisis histórico-cultural**

Según el informe *Sport for Development and Peace: Towards achieving the millennium development goals* (United Nations, 2003) el deporte es un lenguaje universal que traspasa culturas, y que sirve como puente entre las divisiones sociales y étnicas de los pueblos, siendo, por ende, una poderosa herramienta para la consecución de muchos de los retos de desarrollo y paz en el mundo. En el mismo orden de ideas, se puede afirmar que la literatura infantil es otra herramienta más a presentar y difundir valores y cuestiones ético-morales. Como bien lo recuerda Hunt (1999, p. 1), directa o indirectamente los libros infantiles tuvieron y aún tienen influencias sociales, culturales e

históricas, teniendo gran importancia educacional. Su importancia presenta consecuencias más allá de la cultura: de la lengua a la política. Muchos adultos, y casi seguro la mayoría de los que ocupan posiciones de poder e influencia, han leído libros infantiles en la niñez, siendo inconcebible que las ideologías que permean estos libros no hayan tenido influencia en su desarrollo. A su vez, Chartier (1994), subraya que, “una vez escrito y salido de las prensas, el libro, sea el que sea, es susceptible de una multitud de usos. Está hecho para ser leído, desde luego, pero las modalidades del leer son múltiples, diferentes según las épocas, los lugares, los medios” (p. 127). Por tanto, y en base a lo expuesto, se plantean los siguientes interrogantes: ¿cuáles y cuántas son las obras de literatura infantil que difunden el tema de la guerra utilizando el Deporte?; ¿cuáles son las representaciones de la guerra en estos libros? Con el fin de dar respuesta a los interrogantes planteados, los objetivos de este texto son identificar y analizar las obras infantiles que difunden el tema de la guerra en libros infantiles con temática relacionada con el Deporte. Para llevar a cabo la investigación, se ha desarrollado un análisis de contenido. Se analizaron obras publicadas en editoriales con sede en Brasil y en España. Los resultados preliminares indican que los libros infantiles recuperados y analizados han sido publicados en un período que representa la última década del siglo XX y la primera del siglo XXI, tales como: *El niño, la guerra y el balón* (Cabaud & Bernard, 2009) y *Mi vida de portero* (Schwarcz, 1999). Las obras presentadas discuten los períodos de la Primera y Segunda Guerra Mundial, siempre relacionando estos períodos históricos con representaciones de los deportes como, por ejemplo, el fútbol y el propio balón como juguete.

### **Representations of war in children’s books dealing with Sport: a historic-cultural analysis**

According to the report *Sport for Development and Peace: Towards achieving the millennium development goals* (United Nations, 2003), sport is a universal language that crosses cultures, serving as a bridge between social and ethnic divisions and a powerful tool to meet the aims of development and peace in the world. In the same vein, it is possible to state that children’s literature is an additional tool that can present and also spread values and ethnic-moral questions. As Hunt (1999, p. 1) quite rightly points out, directly or indirectly children’s books had and still have social, cultural and historical influence, possessing great educational importance. Their importance extends beyond culture to language and politics. Many adults, almost certainly the majority of those occupying positions of power and influence, have read children’s books when they were young. It is inconceivable that the ideologies internalized in those books had no influence on their development. Chartier (1994), in turn, underlines that “once written and published, the book, no matter which one, can experience a lot of different uses. It was made to be read, of course, but people read in many different ways, according to times, places, means” (p. 127). Therefore, on the basis of what has been already considered, the questions to be answered are: which and how many children’s books disseminate the subject of war through Sport? What are the representations of war in these books? In order to answer these questions, the aims of this text are to identify and to analyse children’s books dealing with Sport that disseminate the subject of war. To conduct the investigation, a content analysis methodology was developed. Children’s books published in Brazil and Spain between the last decade of twentieth century and the first decade of twenty-first century, as for example: *The boy, the war and the ball* (Cabaud & Bernard, 2009) and *My life as goalkeeper* (Schwarcz, 1999) were analysed. The books presented discuss the periods of the First and the Second World War, always relating these historical periods with sport representations such as soccer and even the ball as a toy. Acknowledgement: The present article was sponsored by CNPq, National Council for Scientific and Technological Development – Brazil.

## **Gundlach-Graham, Abigail**

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### **Educated People: Education in Alaska Native Oral History**

This paper describes what Alaska Natives and non-Natives learned as a result of U.S. colonialism in Alaska between 1884 and 1910, considered through a broad educational lens. In an effort to recognize Native ownership of their histories, it highlights Native interpretations of education experiences under U.S. colonialism.

If education is understood to be the teaching and learning of knowledge, behavior, and identity, then it is assuredly not confined to schools. Drawing primarily on newly gathered oral histories, supplemented with previously recorded oral histories and documentary sources, the paper demonstrates that education has been a necessary and integral part of Native lives for centuries. The Inupiat author William A. Oquilluk (1973) explained, for example, that Natives survived human conflict and environmental catastrophe through adaptation, which he describes as educational because it relies on shared knowledge and collaborative learning. Oral tradition also includes narratives of technological development, complex planning, and place-based moral and social lessons. Moreover, maintaining a healthy balance among the human, environmental, and spiritual required nuanced understanding of each realm, which in turn required intentional education (Kawagley 2006).

Furthermore, Natives describe colonialism *itself* as educational for both Natives and non-Natives. Government policies, schooling, missionary work, disease, environmental circumstances, resource exploitation, and trade were complementary and overlapping educational processes central to colonialism in Alaska between 1884 and 1910 (e.g. Barnhardt & Kawagley 2010; Williams 2009). Natives describe members of their communities learning family, work, and consumer practices, for example. Their accounts also suggest that non-Natives learned from Natives principally through adopting Indigenous technologies and vocabulary in order to survive in environments for which they were unprepared (e.g. Axtell 1981; Haycox 2002; McGrath 2006; McGregor 2010).

## **Haenggeli-Jenni, Beatrice**

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### **New Education, a peace movement? The role of Geneva and its international organizations (1920-1930)**

After World War I, the claims of New Education promoters aroused a new phase of interest among those who want to build a new society, pacific and tolerant. Several groups dedicated to this cause were created all over the world. The educators who opened New schools from the turn of the 20th century were joined by a diversity of professionals – psychologists, medical doctors, philosophers, intellectuals – convinced by the need to reform school at an international scale. In 1921, they founded the New Education Fellowship whose ambition was to assemble all those who think that the “transformation of spirit” and new teaching methods “will guide the world towards more real brotherhood and happiness.” (Ferrière, 1922). Many members of this association were involved in other international organizations closely related to the League of Nations.

Through their work for the *International Bureau of Education (IBE)*, the *Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)* or for the *International Save the Children Union (ISCU)*, these persons contributed to the pacifist movement and to the diffusion of the New Education principles.

Through the analysis of key figures like Adolphe Ferrière (CH), Elisabeth Rotten (D), Beatrice Ensor (UK) and Helena Radlinska (PL), this paper proposes to question the role of international organizations based in Geneva in the diffusion of New Education's principles. The sources of our investigations are made of correspondence between these actors, reports of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom's Congresses, letters from and to the International Bureau of Education and articles published in the New Education Fellowship journals. Based on the work of historians of New Education (Brehony, 2004; Hameline, 2002; Oelkers, 2005), especially those studying the international networks (Fuchs, 2007; Lawn, 2008; Hofstetter & Schneuwly, 2004), this paper aims at a better understanding of the pacifist components of the New Education movement.

**Halstead, Claire**

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### **From British Shelters to Canadian Classrooms: The Educational Experiences of British Children Evacuated to Canada in the Second World War**

Upon the outbreak of the Second World War, hoards of British parents evacuated their children to the countryside. Yet for thousands, the threat of aerial bombardment and invasion was too great; the only acceptable safe haven was far from Europe in the British dominions. Between 1939 and 1940, Canada received over 5500 British child evacuees. Although fundamentally evacuation was to protect the children from the violence of war, many parents of overseas evacuees additionally saw their child's relocation to Canada as a way to ensure that their education would not be a casualty of war. Distanced from the danger zones, Canadian schools, unlike those in Britain, were largely undisrupted by the war and continued their programmes as the evacuees joined their classes.

This paper will consider the evacuee's educational experiences in Canadian schools during the Second World War. These experiences were by no means uniform as some evacuees entered state-run schools while others joined private schools. Like any child changing schools, these evacuees had to carve their own space in Canadian classrooms and amongst their new classmates. Using wartime evacuee letters to their parents demonstrates that the children claimed authority over forming their narrative of making friends, navigating their new schools, and adapting to different school subjects. Many evacuees recorded that they were "ahead" in subjects such as English grammar yet were automatically "behind" in subjects like French. Similarly, they found that lessons focused on Canadian history while Geography was known as "Natural Science". These different teaching pedagogies became a topic of concern for parents and correspondence between biological and foster parents was fraught with discussions over evacuees' education. Records from schools demonstrate how these children were perceived by educators and how behavioural issues were seen as a result of their unique emotional strains. Furthermore, many schools framed the evacuees as "Guest Children", utilising them as propaganda for the war effort, and as symbols of British strength and moral fiber.

This paper will contribute to debates over evacuees' education and the extent to which evacuation was traumatic or an enriching experience. Unlike evacuees in Britain, evacuees in Canada received consistent formal education. Many received university educations which may have been unavailable to them in Britain while others were permitted to stay in Canada after the war until they completed their academic course. The variation of these experiences consequently calls the definition of education into question. Many of these evacuees received a stable, formal school education in Canadian institutions yet through the experience of being evacuated and transplanted into a different country, these children also received a "cultural education". Memoirs and oral interviews show that while some former evacuees felt that their Canadian education was beneficial, others felt that their long-term education was ultimately stunted and led to failed careers. Therefore, former evacuees cast their educational experiences in wartime Canada as a lifelong legacy of the war.

**Han, Xueyuan**

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**Standing up for the Academic, Democracy and Peace: on the "Swinging Attitude" of Professor Society in National Southwest Association University during the December 1st Movement**

The December 1st Movement which happened on December 1st, 1945 in the Yunnan Province, was a significant movement in China during the Anti-Japanese War, in which intellectual groups strove for academic values, democracy and peace. This article reviews the tragic December 1st incident, as the peak of the December 1st Movement, then examines the main contents of nine professional conferences held during this movement. From this we can see two changes in the Professor Society's attitude, namely from "teacher-striking" and "school-closure" in support of students to using resignation to threaten students into resuming classes, then from threatening students into resuming classes to pressurising the government to punish the murders from the December 1st Movement. The changes of the Professor Society's attitude were mainly because of the influence of western liberal ideals; the Professor Society concentrated on academic research and longed to be detached from Party politics and the influence of the KMT in the National Southwest Associate University. The "swinging attitude" actually indicates the resolute position of Professor Society.

**Hattori, Masako**

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United States

**Labeling Time, Mapping the Future: American Educators and Their Visions of "Postwar Reconstruction" During World War II**

In August 1940, more than a year before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, a group of American educators convened at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey, to discuss "postwar" plans to help Germany construct a new educational system after the downfall of Hitlerism. Believing that there was no existing committee or agency devoted to planning reconstruction of Europe from an educational perspective, the scholars established the United States Committee on Educational Reconstruction. The discussion at the meeting was not focused

solely on European issues, however. Equally important to the educators was to discuss ways to advance their long-standing goal of “reconstructing” American society. Their discussions moved easily between immediate war-related concerns and social problems that had existed for decades, and between international and American issues. By the end of World War II, however, their temporal and spatial boundaries had become much less porous. “Postwar reconstruction” still signified the rebuilding of war-torn societies outside the United States, but plans to reform American society had been separated from the context.

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor is often used by U.S. historians as well as the American public as a marker that signifies the beginning of a new period of American history, that is, *the* watershed that divides the “prewar” or “interwar” period from the period of “World War II.” While the impact that the Pearl Harbor attack had on American society can never be dismissed – after all, it forced the nation to enter the war – the idea that the period between December 1941 and August 1945 can be separated from the years prior to and after it can only exist retrospectively. How did Americans at that time, who did not know how and when the war would end, understand the crisis they were witnessing, and what did their visions of the future look like? Did the U.S. entry into the war immediately change how Americans conceptualized their own moment? This paper tackles with these questions of periodization and historical understanding by examining contemporary discussions about postwar educational reconstruction. The paper also illuminates how American perceptions of the world and of the U.S. role in it changed as the Allies, especially the United States, gained ascendancy over the Axis powers.

### **Havancsák, Alexandra**

University of Pécs  
Hungary

### **The cause of changes in the moral education in Hungary during the First World War**

In the aftermath of the worldwide events of the First World War, the structure of the Hungarian society was transformed, and with it the contents of basic concepts, like morality. The types of changes initiated by the War were important to moral education, which needed re-interpretation in the period after the First World War. We can better understand this transformation by comparing the previous decades, beginning in the 1900s to the moral educations after in the post-war period. The content of moral education in the Second World War included not only law and religion, but also the conditions after the War. During the First World War, and at times of peace books and essays were produced in Hungary, which forged new paths for the presentation and interpretation of moral education aimed at different levels of the education system (Sarolta Geőcze, Elek Kiss, Ignác Rózsa). These documents discuss contemporary issues about the concept of morality, how to change its direction, and the purpose of moral education. The authors take international results into account but try to keep in mind the Hungarian circumstances. The presentation tries to answer the question as to whether we can speak of moral education that is typically Hungarian.

The historical method of analysis and the content analysis, raises the possibility that Hungary can gain a comprehensive understanding of the contemporary sources of moral education. An examination of the changes also suggests that a comparative analysis can be set up, in which it becomes possible to determine the impact of the First World War on moral education.



**Hegedűs, Judit and Baska, Gabriella**

Eötvös Loránd University of Hungary

### **Child protection in Hungary after World War II. – The question of juvenile delinquency**

Hungary, along side other countries in Europe after 1945, struggled with the aftermaths of war: poverty, orphans and children in need who had suffered during the war. Politically the period of 1945-1950 is a very troubled one in which new socialist values were built up. In this process juvenile delinquency gets a peculiar place and role in the field of child and youth protection.

In our research we intend to discover this special area by the help of sources found in Hungarian National Archives and the archives of the detention home in Aszód, focusing on the themes that can be defined as direct or indirect aftermaths of war.

The period between 1945 and 1950 is a very ambivalent one in terms of other types of historical sources. For example educational journals of the former period were not published any longer, so in the researched period there was no journal specializing in child protection. That is why our analysis is based instead on different publications, laws, and sporadic articles from newspapers. Reading newly founded educational papers and journals of law we hardly find any publications on juvenile delinquency. This can be explained by the fact, that criminology was defined as a 'bourgeois' pseudo-science. Besides it was considered, that in the process of building socialism and with the creation of the ideal socialist man, criminality, prostitution and vagrancy would disappear from the society. In our presentation we would like to highlight the question of criminality in postwar Hungary, concentrating on child and youth protection, focusing on young criminals.

**Herman, Frederik, Priem, Karin and Thyssen, Geert**

University of Luxembourg

Luxembourg

### **The Aesthetic, Ethic and Iconic in Children's Images Related to War and Peace: A Historical-Educational Take on the Magnum Photos Collection**

Our paper takes as its starting point the photography collection connected to *Magnum Photos*, an internationally oriented cooperative active since 1947. The collection at present contains some 4,000 photographs on 'children and war', upon which the paper concentrates. It does so by teasing out tensions between the aesthetic, ethics and iconic in imaginations of childhood related to war and peace that have an educational quality. The mutually connected imaginations we have thematically selected relate to (1) war and play (playing war, playing at war sites, engaging with war toys); (2) war and hurt (mental and/or physical trauma and related 'remedial' approaches); and (3) war and school (learning amidst war ruins, schools as spaces of civic education, refuge and indoctrination). Before zooming into these themes, we go deeper into the mentioned tensions in photography related to children, war and peace. Photography like art in general, while objectifying the destructiveness of war, tends to aestheticize it and give it a religious undertone, even, and perhaps especially, when children are involved. In so doing, if only by including children in the photographic frame in war contexts, it raises a series of ethical concerns: the questioning of childhood as a sheltered transient life phase, the glorification of violence as a commitment to children's better future, the stereotyping of children related to

class, gender and ethnicity in terms of good or evil, the potential sexualisation of children, the intrusion into children's intimacy, etc. The tensions inherent to such visual strategies build on icons of childhood connected to innocence, purity, nature, hope, inquisitiveness and vulnerability. They remain unresolved since a core quality of photography is that it at once fixes, frames and questions, in this case by allowing for conflicting images of childhood, adulthood, motherhood, injury, death, warfare, emotions, education, etc. From a theoretical perspective the paper brings into dialogue childhood studies with photography scholarship related to children and war in particular. In this frame, the epistemology underlying children's images related to war and peace is brought to the surface to obtain deeper understandings of what it means to perceive something like war, by its mere association with children. Methodologically, both serial image analysis and single image analysis are used to gain otherwise unobtainable understandings.

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*SWG: Teachers' Critical Thinking*

### **“Colaboracion” (1976-1983). Revista Freinet De Critica Y Renovacion Pedagogica En La Transicion Espanola Del Franquismo A La Democracia**

Antes de la guerra civil española (1936-1939) el maestro progresista francés, Celestín Freinet, había dejado en España una fecunda semilla de renovación pedagógica entre un amplio sector de maestros y pedagogos republicanos. Los maestros españoles seguidores de Freinet en 1935 comenzaron a publicar “Colaboración”, como órgano de expresión propio, pero impulsor de propuestas pedagógicas renovadoras y defensoras de la educación popular.

El triunfo del ejército rebelde de Franco en 1939, y la instauración de una prolongada y reaccionaria dictadura, eliminaron de la vida pública y de las escuelas españolas todas las expresiones de pedagogía progresista. Fue necesario esperar a los primeros años 70, en los epígonos del franquismo, para ver renacer en la clandestinidad expresiones pedagógicas alternativas como las de los seguidores del movimiento Freinet, entonces muy activo en Francia y en otras sociedades mediterráneas, incluso en América Latina.

Así, cuando desaparece el dictador a finales de 1975, el grupo español Freinet, con el nombre utilizado en la clandestinidad, Asociación para la Correspondencia y la Imprenta Escolar (ACIES), tiene una organización suficiente para comenzar a publicar una revista propia, que decide denominar COLABORACION, recuperando el mismo nombre adoptado 40 años atrás. Así comienza a publicarse en 1976 esta revista pedagógica de carácter crítico y pedagogía renovadora. Cuando en el Congreso de Salamanca de 1977 ACIES decide denominarse Movimiento Cooperativo de Escuela Popular (MCEP), también se acuerda mantener esta revista como órgano del grupo freinetiano español, entonces en plena expansión por todo el territorio español.

La revista COLABORACION (durante años editada en Granada) va a publicarse en España hasta finales de los años 80, cuando por dificultades económicas, y por el nuevo clima democrático de la sociedad y la educación española, se transforma en otra publicación denominada KIKIRIKI, con una orientación pedagógica más amplia que la de la pedagogía Freinet. La revista COLABORACION ofrece en las páginas de estos años un debate permanente a favor de la escuela pública y de políticas de igualdad educativa, muy crítico con

los reductos pedagógicos del nacionalcatolicismo franquista y con el modelo tecnocrático que el Banco Mundial deseaba imponer al sistema educativo español. Temas como los derechos de la escuela rural, la coeducación, la democracia interna del centro escolar, la escuela de calidad, la participación de los padres, los desiguales en la escuela, la igualdad ante el acceso a la educación, la expresión libre, entre otros, ocupan páginas extensas de muchos de los artículos publicados en esta revista.

Finalmente, lo que representa sus señas de identidad de una pedagogía crítica y renovadora es la difusión permanente de técnicas y pautas, de experiencias y reflexiones emanadas de la pedagogía Freinet. Nos referimos a la difusión del texto libre, de la correspondencia y la imprenta escolar, el periódico escolar, el huerto, la asamblea, el dibujo libre, los centros de interés, y otros. De esta forma, la revista COLABORACION debe ser considerada como uno de los puntales y apoyos principales en la difusión y defensa de una escuela popular alternativa en la España de esos años críticos (1976-1983), tan determinantes para la historia pedagógica posterior.

### **“Colaboracion” (1976-1983). Freinet journal of educational review and renewal in the Spanish transition from Franco to democracy**

Before the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) the French progressive teacher, Celestin Freinet, had left Spain with a fertile seed of pedagogical renewal among a wide range of Republican teachers and pedagogues. Spanish followers of Freinet, in 1935, began publishing “Colaboracion” (Collaboration) their own journal, as a forum for expression and a drive for pedagogic reform and popular education.

The victory of the rebel army of Franco in 1939, and the establishment of a long and reactionary dictatorship, removed from public life and Spanish schools all expressions of progressive pedagogy over subsequent decades. It was not until the early ‘70s, in the final years of Franco, that an underground alternative pedagogical movement following the ideas of Freinet was reborn. This movement was also active in France and other Mediterranean societies, including in Latin America. Thus, when the Spanish dictator disappeared in late 1975, the Freinet group, using the clandestine name, Association for School Correspondence and Printing (Asociación para la Correspondencia y la Imprenta Escolar, ACIES ) had sufficient organization to begin publishing its own magazine of critical and innovative pedagogy. It was called “Colaboracion”, adopting the same name used 40 years earlier. “Colaboración” journal (edited for years in Granada) was published in Spain until the late 80s. Due to the economic hardship, and the new democratic climate of Spanish society and education, it became part of another publication called KIKIRIKI with wider circulation than the Freinet pedagogy orientation.

We are interested in studying this period of transition from dictatorship to democracy in Spain through the “Colaboracion” journal and the central historical question we ask ourselves is concerned with the meaning of this journal, Colaboración in terms of educational policy and progressive pedagogical renewal during this period of transition. The 40 copies (1976-1983) available to analyze allow us to draw some major conclusions. First, this journal is part of a group of pedagogical renewal magazines which proposed alternatives to the official pedagogy of Franco (which were represented mainly by “Revista Española de Pedagogía”, “Revista de Educación” and “Bordón” (Pilgrim’s staff - journal of educational guidance), or the Catholic Church’s “Educadores” (Educators), “Revista de Ciencias de la Educación” (Journal of Educational Science), “Razón y Fe” (Reason and Faith). Amongst this group of progressive journals we notice particularly the initial and subsequently influential “Cuadernos de Pedagogía” (Notebooks of Pedagogy) (published in Barcelona from 1975), and we mention others such as “Reforma de la

Escuela” (School Reform), “Guix” (Chalk), “Perspectiva Escolar” (School Viewpoint), “Acción Educativa” (Educational Action), among the most widespread and influential.

If we consider that free trade unions were forbidden in Spain until 1977, including unions of teachers, over the years “Colaboración” had a role between a ‘presindical’ era and encouraging the birth of progressive teaching unions. The magazine “Colaboracion” offers in the pages of these years (1976-1983) a very pedagogical critique of national Catholicism under Franco, the technocratic model that the World Bank sought to impose on the Spanish educational system, and the ongoing debate about state school educational equality policies. The articles cover issues such as the rights of the rural school, coeducation, internal democracy of the school, school quality, parent involvement, unequal school, equal access to education and freedom of expression.

### **Educación para la paz en la prensa masónica depositada en el Archivo de la Guerra Civil española**

En un archivo nacional que se crea en 1938, en plena Guerra Civil de España, para depositar y ordenar con fines policiales y militares los documentos incautados por el ejército vencedor a los enemigos de Franco (demócratas de todo tipo, anarquistas, socialistas, comunistas, republicanos, judíos, masones, rotarios, practicantes del esperanto y otras sociedades secretas), y que hoy desempeña un formidable oportunidad para los historiadores en general, y de la educación en particular, encontramos una extraordinaria colección de periódicos y revistas pertenecientes a la masonería, anterior a 1939.

En el Archivo de la Guerra Civil, sito en Salamanca, que hoy forma parte del Centro Nacional Documental de la Memoria Histórica, se conservan decenas de colecciones de prensa de masonería, además de una impresionante colección de objetos pertenecientes a muy diferentes logias masónicas (entre otras oportunidades, han permitido recomponer una logia museo con fines culturales de difusión, pero con materiales originales). Todos estos documentos históricos de masonería, los impresos, los fotográficos y los estrictamente materiales, conforman un rico elenco de recursos para el investigador de la historia de la educación y de la educación para la paz en particular.

La razón no es otra que observamos una estrecha vinculación que se observa con facilidad entre masonería y educación para la paz. Los ideales masónicos, orientados a un mundo armónico y cosmopolita, asentado en la razón, la libertad, la igualdad y la fraternidad, encuentran un espacio permanente en los materiales de difusión y en las revistas de formación elaboradas por los masones durante años y siglos. Muchos de estos materiales de prensa masónica, hoy perfectamente ordenados y catalogados, ubicados en el Archivo de la Guerra Civil, contienen numerosos trabajos y artículos que se orientan hacia una educación para la paz. Son especialmente numerosos los que se sitúan en el contorno histórico de la I Guerra Mundial, pero también lo son aquellos que advierten del clima de enfrentamiento que vive la sociedad española en la II República, en los preludios de la Guerra Civil de España.

La selección y estudio detenido de varias de estas revistas se erigen en una línea de investigación fecunda y prometedora que hemos emprendido dentro de nuestro Grupo de Investigación Reconocido “Hemera Paideia. Memoria y Proyecto de la Educación”, en la Universidad de Salamanca.

### **Education for Peace in the Masonic press located in the file of the Civil War in Spain**

This paper explores the close relationship between Freemasonry and education for peace, based on the extensive Archive of the Civil War based in Salamanca. Masonic ideals aimed for a harmonious and cosmopolitan world, based on reason, liberty, equality and fraternity. These

ideals are reflected in the propaganda and magazines produced by the Masons for years and centuries. Many of these, now fully sorted and cataloged Masonic press materials contain papers and articles that are geared towards education for peace. Especially numerous are those which are concerned with the historical outline of the First World War, but also those which warn of the climate of confrontation experienced by Spanish society in the Second Republic, in the prelude to the Civil War in Spain.

The selection and careful study of several of these magazines are put forward as a fruitful and promising line of research which we have undertaken in our Recognized Research Group “ Hemera Paideia . Memory and Education Project “ at the University of Salamanca.

### **Herrera Restrepo, Sandra Milena**

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### **La Guerra como pretexto para la creación y regulación de sentimientos patrióticos y nacionalistas en contextos escolares. Prusia y el Virreinato de Nueva Granada**

Los movimientos de independencia americanos, el caso del Virreinato de Nueva Granada en particular, así como las diferentes disputas europeas en el proceso de creación de los nuevos estados modernos, el caso de Prusia, son dos momentos de efervescencia colectiva, en los cuales la meta de construcción de nuevos órdenes nacionales trajo consigo la pregunta sobre la conducción de emociones de los nuevos ciudadanos, así como de las nuevas y futuras generaciones que serían parte de las naciones que se estaban instaurando. Ambas constelaciones afrontaron procesos de reorganización geográfica, política y cultural durante la primera mitad del siglo XIX, en los cuales la modelación y conducción de emociones jugó un papel preponderante.

En el caso de la Nueva Granada, la *desafección* del régimen colonial, ya fuera por las diferencias culturales y raciales entre los nacidos en América y sus antepasados peninsulares, las regulaciones comerciales establecidas desde la monarquía o la limitación de las expresiones de representación política de los criollos, dio lugar a una de las principales rebeliones populares del siglo XIX. Los recientes gobernantes tenían ante sí la responsabilidad de formar una Nación y para ello le otorgarían a la instrucción pública un gran protagonismo en la tarea de conducir esos sentimientos patrióticos, ya no con reverencia hacia los símbolos españoles o a la representación del anterior régimen, sino a la exaltación de las figuras de la guerra y a la figura de la patria y el patriota, como meta de formación de las nuevas juventudes.

Por su parte, durante ese mismo período, Europa atravesó también una fase de profundos cambios relacionados con procesos de agitación social, que dieron lugar a la formación de nuevas naciones. Particularmente la nación alemana como unidad nacional y social comienza a formarse a inicios de este siglo. Después de la disolución del Sacro Imperio Germánico por las guerras napoleónicas en 1806 los intentos de unificación de la nación Alemana estuvieron acompañados no solo por el desconcierto y las protestas contra los nuevos ordenes territoriales. La victoria de Prusia en 1813 impulsó no solo ese deseo de unificación de la nación, sino el rechazo hacia lo diferente - no alemán-, trayendo consigo la pregunta sobre la condición política de los alemanes, por eso que era alemán, ¿una lengua, una cultura, un sentimiento, una mentalidad?

La ponencia abordará el problema general de creación y regulación de sentimientos patrióticos y nacionalistas a través de la educación después de los movimientos de independencia en el

Virreinato de la Nueva Granada y las guerras en Prusia. También se analizará el fomento de los mencionados sentimientos mediante el análisis de la política de la educación durante la primera mitad del siglo xix. La fuente histórica utilizada para ese trabajo será la prensa diaria, resaltando además la revolución de la imprenta que siguió a la independencia política en el Virreinato de la Nueva Granada y a la diversidad de escritos que fueron publicados en periódicos a propósito de los intentos de unificación de la nación Alemania.

### **The War as a Pretext for the Creation and Regulation of Patriotic and Nationalistic Sentiments in School Contexts. Prussia and the Viceroyalty of New Granada**

Two time periods where the goal of building a new order raised the question of how to regulate the emotions of the new citizens and future generations can be identified. The first, the Latin American Wars of Independence, specifically the case of the Viceroyalty of New Granada. The second, various European disputes during the process of creating modern states, specifically the case of Prussia. Both, the Viceroyalty of New Granada and Prussia, faced processes of geographic, political and cultural reorganization during the first half of the 19th century, where modeling and regulating emotions played a major role.

In the case of the Viceroyalty of New Granada, many events led to a major rebellions of the people in the 19th century. The disaffection of the colonial regime by those born in America from their mainland Spaniards ancestors due to cultural and racial differences, trade regulations established by the monarchy, racial differences between the Criollos and those born in Spain, or limiting expressions of political representation of the Criollos.

In the meantime, Europe also went through profound changes provoked by processes of deep social unrest, which in turn led to the formation of new nations. Particularly, how the German nation as a national and social unity begins to form at the beginning of 19th century. In 1806 after the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire during the Napoleonic wars, attempts to unify the German nation resulted in confusion and protests against the new territorial mandates. The victory of Prussia in 1813 drove the desire to unify the nation, but also the rejection of all that was different, non-German. Which in turn rose questions regarding the political status of the Germans. What meant to be German? a language, a culture, a feeling, a mentality? This idea of instilling patriotic and nationalistic sentiments through education, particularly through institutionalized education, pervaded school rituals and educational discourses at that time.

The paper will deal with the general problem of creating and regulating patriotic and nationalistic sentiments through education during the selected time periods. It will also present evidence on the fostering of sentiments by analysing the politics of schooling during the first half of the 19th century. This paper will use mainly two historical sources. For the period of the political independence of the Viceroyalty of New Granada, it will focus on the daily-press highlighting the printing revolution that followed. For the attempts of unification of the German nation, references of different published writings.

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**‘Elementary Schoolteachers, Athleticism and the Great War’**

The role played in the Great War by those educated in the public school system and who had received an ‘Oxbridge’ education has been extensively covered. There was, however, another significant group of men who fought in the war and who had received a tertiary education, but whose contribution has hitherto received little attention. These were elementary school teachers who had been educated in the nation’s teacher training colleges. This essay considers the relationship between education and war from the perspective of soldiers who taught in elementary schools and fought in the trenches. What were their ideological beliefs? Why did they enlist? What did they do in the war? Although the exploits of certain individuals who were decorated for gallantry have received attention there has been little attempt to contextualise these events against a backdrop of the elementary school profession fighting at the front an omission that is rectified here. It is relatively little known or commented upon that there were approximately 25,000 elementary school teachers who fought in the war of whom 23,000 were members of the National Union of Teachers. Of this number 1492 were killed and 482 were awarded medals for gallantry including three who won the Victoria Cross. The article explores the views and experiences of these men and compares it with others who had enjoyed a university education. It demonstrates that the experiences of elementary schoolteachers in war and peace were influential in shaping new thinking about education culminating both in the 1918 Education Act and the Board of Education’s Syllabus of Instruction in Physical Training for Colleges in 1920.

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**The U.S. Kaiser [Shipbuilding] Child Care Centers in World War II**

The story of the creation of the Kaiser Child Care Centers exemplifies a process used to create U.S. federal government sponsored and supported child care programs based on the need for women in general, and mothers in particular, to staff factories producing implements of war for use in battle. In this case, the need for round-the-clock shifts in the Kaiser Oregonship and Swan Island shipyards led to the opening of two large Child Service Centers to provide care for the children of the women producing military ships for the war effort. The U.S. Maritime Commission built the buildings, each containing fifteen rooms capable of housing twenty-five children. Upon finding a dearth of early years programs near the new housing built for his workers, who came to the West Coast from all over the U.S., Edgar Kaiser decided to open his own model early years programs, and employed Drs. Lois Meek Stolz and James L. Hymes, Jr. to run them. In addition to degreed, certified teachers, they hired medical nurses, family social workers and a nutritionist. The Kaiser Centers became model Lanham Act programs. They were open twenty-four hours a day, held regularly scheduled classes, and provided drop-in care

when needed. An infirmary, a rental library of children's books, a store, a mending service, and a "home food service," where meals could be ordered two days in advance and picked up at the end of a shift to deliver a complete ready-to-eat family meal, provided additional support for mothers struggling to work and raise their children alone while their husbands were fighting overseas. Bathtubs were among the facilities included in both centers, because children often were in the centers for long hours, and changed clothes from pyjamas to daytime play clothes, and vice versa on a daily basis. Together with members of the staff, Dr. Hymes developed a series of teacher training materials that were distributed nationally to assist teachers without early years training in preparing developmentally appropriate lessons and activities for the young children in their care. The curriculum developed during this project assisted the professional staff in providing the best possible care. The anthropological, sociological, psychological, historical, and curricular aspects of the Kaiser Centers will be examined in this paper. Threads demonstrating the relationship of this paper to the other two papers in the panel will be highlighted to show the impact World War II had on young children, their parents and teachers in the United States, both during the hostilities, and long after they ended.

### **Hofmann, Michèle**

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#### **"Little soldiers" – Transfer of the Concept of Medical Examinations from Military to School in Switzerland**

This paper shows how the medical examinations of recruits were transferred to school and into what the concept evolved in this new context. Since 1874 every male citizen at the age of 20 to 44 (nowadays: 18 to 30) has to attend military training school and serve in the Swiss army for several days a year – provided that he is able-bodied. To examine fitness for military service the federal government introduced recruitment exams in 1875. These examinations were comprised of a medical as well as a pedagogical part. In terms of the medical examinations, the recruits' general state of health was recorded, the visual acuity as well as the hearing capacity were tested. In addition, the body height, the circumferences of the chest and (since 1887) of the right upper arm were measured.

The medical examinations can be linked to the concept of the 'scientification of the social'. In the 19th century Pauperism became an ubiquitous topos that influenced the public dialogue as well as the military. Science started to deal with social phenomena, what Lutz Raphael calls the 'scientification of the social'. The medical examinations of recruits can be seen as part of this process. They were embedded in the hygiene movement in general and in the reform discourse about rational nutrition in particular.

Besides military, school became the second social sphere that was of interest to the supporters of the hygiene movement in the 19th century (not least due to the enforcement of compulsory education). Doctors discovered the significance of public schools as a scientific experimental ground. Since the 1860s numerous physical examinations of thousands and thousands of schoolchildren were conducted throughout Europe. These studies were supposed to corroborate the hypothesis that school attendance was harmful to children's health and led to the demand for health surveillance at school. First, medical examinations for the children entering school were implemented. These examinations were based on the concept of the military exams and fulfilled the same function. Just like the recruits, the schoolchildren were supposed to be differentiated



into two categories: able-bodied and unfit. The results of these examinations decided whether a child met the health requirements to attend regular school or should be sent to a special school. Noteworthy is the vocabulary used in this context: The children were referred to as “school recruits” and “little soldiers”.

Unlike the military, the examinations conducted in school were developed further. Over time, the exams were extended to additional grades from kindergarten to high school and new medical tests were introduced. Altogether this led to a comprehensive health surveillance at school and added on a grand scale to the medicalization of society.

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**Dis-agreement between international institutions working for agreement among people through education**

On June 1 1945, the director of the International Bureau of Education (IBE) in Geneva Jean Piaget officially declared his entire satisfaction about resumption of IICI's (International ...) in Paris. The same Piaget, in 1932, denounced that IICI was active in education; he doubted that such a delicate question as teaching could be “treated objectively by an institution such as the IICI that ineluctably was submitted to political influences”, the more so as it was established in a great country that therefore necessarily had “ambitions for a cultural hegemony”. Between the interwar period, the concurrence between pacifist institutions was tough as show the tumultuous relationships between IBE and IICI, institutions that both aimed at agreement between people and nations through education. The instruments they pursued were partially the same: federating associations and institutions pursuing the same causes, seeking for local and national instances that could collect data in all regions of the planet, studying them, through methods of comparison, in order to elaborate educational recommendations that could contribute to peace in the world. Such twinning intrigues the historian. How did the two institutions dispatch their dossiers, questions, themes and how did they interact officially and unofficially? What were the similarities and differences concerning the pacifist theses they defended and the way they proposed to work? What are the internal “wars” that took place between institutions engaged for peace in the world?

In plunging into the rich archives, we will observe the evolution of the relationships between these two institutions in function of the international context in the interwar period but also in function of their own history. We will contrast the official documents with the negotiations that took place in the backstage: officially, they constantly announce their rapprochement and cooperation – as shows the resolution of January 1935 that publicly engages them for collaboration; in the backstage, many letters show major conflicts of interest between them. The IICI (created in 1926) invested more and more of its activity into the question of education and teaching (1932) and disturbed, in doing this, the so called “monopoly” of the IBE that claimed to be the legitimate independent instance for federating the internationalist pacifist institutions and initiatives in education.

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### **‘Breaking down the old barriers of nationality’: The International Scout Organisations between Peace-Education and International Cooperation (1920-1939)**

As Helen McCarthy has recently noted, youth organisations perceived themselves as part of an ‘emerging international civil society’ after the First World War and developed an internationalist agenda. This is especially true for the Scout movement, i.e. Boy Scouting and Girl Guiding: Established in 1907, Scouting became the largest and most popular youth organization in the interwar period. After 1920 Scouting gained a global appeal that manifested itself particularly in international gatherings like jamborees and conferences which brought together young and juvenile Scouts as well as adult functionaries from all over the world. Although criticism of the movement for being militaristic continued throughout the interwar-years, Scouting’s educational program was widely regarded as a contribution to peace by fostering a ‘worldwide sister’ or respectively ‘brotherhood’ among guide and scouts. Besides the founder of the movement and “Chief Scout of the World” Robert Baden-Powell the main actors in establishing this narrative were the transnational bodies of the movement – the ‘World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts’ (WAGGGS) and the ‘Boy Scouts International Bureau’ (BSIB) – which comprised national associations from over 50 countries across all continents. Beyond that both the BSIB and the WAGGGS participated in international and pacifist networks and established close relations to the League of Nations. League officials, among them Nitobe Inazō, Under-Secretary General of the League and Director of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, participated in the International Jamborees and Conferences. As a result of these interactions and the movement’s international character, the Boy Scouts were referred to as ‘Junior League of Nations’ both within and outside the movement. In case of the Girl Guides, the first Director of the WAGGGS, Dame Katherine Furse, even participated in the Advisory Committee on the Welfare of Children and Young people to the League of Nations.

In contrast to the inherent global nature of the topic, historical research on youth movements like the Scout Movement was hitherto limited to a mere national perspective. Focusing on the WAGGGS and the BSIB, this paper will examine the transnational implications of the Scout Movement. Applying an entangled history approach, this paper seeks to determine the participation of the Scout Movement in internationalist and pacifist networks and their peace-education-concept.

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### **Schooling as political education in the context of the Napoleonic wars**

In European historiography, the history of modern schooling starts as a rule in the time period between 1830 and 1850. This starting point is due to the legislation processes of the different nation states in Europe, which established their public elementary schools in this time period. Less discussed is the period before, the time of Napoleonic reign and the Restoration. This

lack of interest in the time between 1800 and 1830 is rather surprising, because this was exactly the time when all the school reformers and policy makers of the different school legislations after 1830 were educated and trained. In Europe, the first years of the 19th century were heavily affected by Napoleon and the Napoleonic wars, not only concerning military actions, but concerning a great variety of events. Napoleon reorganized the greater part of Continental Europe in terms of political and geographical structures; the Continental Blockade influenced trade across the continent, shifted the economic power, but also opened up new opportunities as a powerful competitor was blocked. The rebuilding of the nation states after the Congress of Vienna in 1815 forced the political authorities to focus on their populations within their newly established states; schooling as political education and implementation of the identity as citizen was of great interest (cf. Tröhler/Popkewitz/Labaree, 2011). One model, how to implement public schools in the new established nation states was seen in Pestalozzi's method, developed in numerous publications since the late 18th century and field-tested in his institutes in Burgdorf, Münchenbuchsee and Yverdon (Horlacher, 2012). In this paper I would like to focus on Prussia, Württemberg and parts of Switzerland, for in these three political entities different ways of dealing with the challenges of establishing an elementary school as mode of creating new citizens are detectable. The sources to deal with these questions are the works and correspondence of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, the different official correspondences from the government to Pestalozzi and the official statements and reports about his institutes and the usefulness of his method for public education.

### **Hovland, BritMarie**

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### **The Retreat of the Nordic Antagonist: The Norwegian Grand Narrative and Inter-War Textbook Revisions**

The empirical basis of the paper is twofold:

1) Changes and revisions of the Norwegian official Grand Narrative in Norwegian primary school history textbooks 1889-1940. The textbook corpus reveals narrative and historiographical changes supporting a hypothesis of a development from a Narrative of Suffering towards a Narrative of Growth.

2) The refiguration of the Norwegian Grand Narrative plot is illuminated by the world's first history textbook revision conducted by the Association Norden's (Foreningen Norden) from 1919.[1] The revision aimed at removal of an antagonistic enemy image of the Nordic others in the Grand Narrative of Norway. The Association Norden was established in 1919 to promote a regional "Nordicism". This was a political call to change the traditionalist national narrative in order to promote a different political future within Norden and the international context replacing the nationalistic era and its antagonistic arch enemies (Hovland 2013). The revision endeavor was part of a post-WWI zeitgeist pointing at patriotic nationalism as a major cause of the war. The Norwegian and Nordic pioneering revision model referred to by League of Nations, UNESCO and even in today's peace efforts in post-conflict areas.

The context of the textbook revision is essential: Norway had for centuries been in the weaker part of unions with Denmark 1380-1814, succeeded by Sweden 1814-1905 (Dahl 1990). The union experience powerfully inflicted a traditionalist historicists' Norwegian Grand Narrative with

a plot of an ongoing liberation struggle for autonomy. This narrative plot was heavily influenced by its political framing and historians as national ideologues. The red cord through Norwegian history was molded through stories of otherness and opposition delimited to the union partners – the Nordic others. The construction of common myths and history is the foundation of separatist ethnic nationalisms like the Norwegian (Smith 1986, 1991), and the resulting traditionalist history narrative fits a general pattern: a Myth of a Golden Age, a Myth of Decline and a Myth of Rebirth (simplified version, Smith 1995, p.192). This is the historical, ideological and symbolic context of the antagonistic enemy images of the Nordic others. The Swedish antagonist was important part of the Norwegian history plot explaining a fallible and weak Norwegian protagonist in the decisive union period representing the plot of Decline between The Golden Saga Era in the Middle Ages and the ongoing national Rebirth from 19th century on (Hovland 2013). The post-WW1 political call for removal of the narrative antagonist therefore, implied a dramatic configuration and refiguration of the plot, history and collective memory (Ricoeur 2005, 1994, 1992; Duffy 2009; Wertsch 2008). The Nordic inter-war example illuminates general problems when a national narrative containing enemy images of former enemies and the antagonistic others, has to be refigured as a prerequisite to a more peaceful future co-existence. Textbook revisions show a narrative road to the history of peace.

[1] The Association Norden was established in 1919 by Sweden, Denmark and Norway, joined by Iceland in 1922 and Finland in 1924. The region Norden : Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Iceland, Finland and its associated territories. “Nordicism” was based on a perceived common cultural identity and heritage in this region.

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**The Language of Education in post-colonial Congo.**

**The case of College Imara**

Colonial education was an integral part of the Belgian colonial undertaking in Congo. The colonial school was clamped between two contradictory objectives: to train Congolese people to become useful and employable auxiliaries in the colonial administration, but at the same time to patronize them and to ensure the persistence of Belgian colonialism by maintaining the hierarchy between colonizers and colonized. Very generally spoken, the use of local languages as language of instruction was one element of colonial educational policy. According to colonial logic, there was no need to instruct a Congolese majority in the French language, as this would only uproot them and create an alienated and frustrated group of people. But eventually, first as an unforeseen side effect, and since the Second World War as an intended but patronized educational goal, the emergence of a French speaking elite clearly showed that education could be transformed into an emancipating tool. Being able to speak French was one of the conditions to ‘evolve’ and to gain access to the privileged status of ‘évolué’. It is no surprise, then, that the independent Congo immediately opted for French as language of instruction from primary education on. Despite the sharp contrast with ‘Africanising’ educational reform and Mobutu’s

authenticity campaign promoting a return to the roots, French is the official Congolese language of instruction up to the present day.

From the perspective of postcolonial theory and the importance of a 'mental decolonisation', this paper seeks to gain insight in the issue of the language of instruction in the first decennia in postcolonial Congo. What arguments were used pro and contra French as language of instruction? In what ways did authenticity influence this educational policy? How was the everyday school reality in French, experienced by pupils and teachers? What importance did the French courses have? Were they in any way 'Africanised'? To attain a diversified historical approach, different sources (educational policy documents, journals, theses) are combined. Our research on cultural identity of the postcolonial Congolese elite and related archival and oral history research conducted at College Imara in Lubumbashi allows to verify former pupils' and teachers' opinions and experiences with French as the language of instruction after independence. I will argue that, despite a post-colonial call for 'Africanisation', the continuing reality of unequal cultural hierarchy promoted the continued use of French as language of instruction.

**Hutcheson, Philo**

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### **War, Democracy, Peace: The Uses of Rhetoric**

As World War II approached its end, the United States saw itself in a new light, an extension of its previous self as a world power; now the nation saw itself as a leading world power. The leaders and citizens had put their efforts and the nation's extensive resources to the uses of war, with success. Yet at the same time the nation's leaders were increasingly concerned that the totalitarian regimes of the Axis powers were being replaced by an equally totalitarian and powerful state, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. In addition, the United States was experiencing rising expectations for democracy for all in political, economic, and social arenas; the fight to make the world safe for democracy had its internal dimensions.

One solution in the ongoing war for democratic principles externally and internally was formal education, and President Harry Truman in recognition of the need to examine the nation's potential for educating its citizens, appointed in July 1946 the President's Commission on Higher Education, the first ever federal commission for higher education. The Commission issued its report in 1947, titled *Higher Education for American Democracy*. The report had eight volumes, each addressing different issues in United States higher education, and the language to this day remains rich and engaging. Authors of various volumes argued for a better world, a world whose inhabitants understand not only the dangers of modern weapons but also the potential for humans to live in peace and understanding, to harness the great scientific and technological forces unleashed during the war, and to educate each person to his or her fullest potential.

In a manner not previously shaped in arguments for higher education or for extending opportunity for higher education, the Commission members crafted a rhetoric to convince the nation that higher education was the central means for ensuring democracy for all in the United States and creating opportunities for peoples across the globe. The possibilities were several: general education in order to understand other people, adult education for those who had not benefitted from higher education, expanding higher education through such institutions as community colleges, federal financial aid so that access was not a matter of personal finances,

increasing access to professional education especially in the medical fields, increasing the pedagogical training of college professors all received enthusiastic attention. Higher education had become the means to ensuring democracy.

This paper examines the rhetoric of higher education for American democracy from the President's Commission on Higher Education through the Cold War, including the response to Sputnik and the ensuing legislation, the National Defense Education Act, and then through a transition to include another war, the War on Poverty articulated by President Lyndon Baines Johnson in the mid-1960s. How and what war is articulated in what context, and how higher education locates at the center of such articulation, leads then to an understanding of what educational and political leaders see as peace in the United States.

### **Huxford, Grace**

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### **'Freedom of opinion amongst free men': active citizenship, experience and subjectivity in early Cold War British military education**

The 1950s were a crucial period in Army education: not only had the Army to deal with significant illiteracy amongst conscripts due to the educational disruptions of the Second World War, but it had to strengthen its emphasis on active 'citizen-soldiers' in the face of a Communist enemy. Field Marshall Lord Wavell had noted in the *Journal of the Army Education Corps* in 1948 that 'the soldier is also a citizen and must be encouraged to take an intelligent interest in the problems of the day. Our type of democracy can only survive if freedom of opinion amongst free men is maintained.' This paper will make use of published teaching material (such as the teaching guides produced by the Army Bureau of Current Affairs) and under-researched material from the archives of the Army Education Corps to explore the changing nature of military education in the early Cold War. In line with the work of historian Stephen Mackenzie, this paper also situates itself within the wider context of adult education in mid-twentieth century Britain. It then examines how the educational developments of this period might in turn influence the recollections of war by soldiers themselves. This paper therefore balances the study of educational materials with a wide range of life-writing material to reflect on the *experience* of such formal education from amongst servicemen themselves, including letters, diaries and oral history interviews. This paper will conclude by exploring a short case study, of British prisoners of war in the Korean War (1950-1953), where such Cold War democratic education was arguably put to the test. In this conflict, the Chinese People's Volunteers (CPV) were intent upon making their Western prisoners 'thinking soldiers' and forced them to reappraise their actions and self-perception as active citizens through a range of enforced life-writing narratives. Overall therefore this paper examines the aims and consequences of soldierly education in the early Cold War period and its wider consequences in Britain in the 1950s.

**Hyland, Christopher**

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### **English-Canadian Academia's Involvement in International Peace and Community Development during the Cold War, 1945-1957**

Between 1945-1957, before large organizations such as the Canadian University Service Overseas and the Canadian International Development Agency were established, Canadians served in many international forums, often holding crucial posts in United Nations (UN) affiliated agencies. During the early years of the Cold War, Canadians saw cooperation with the UN and other global assemblies as an opportunity to extend Canada's influence abroad, assert its independence on the world stage, and redefine Canada's social and cultural identity as less overtly British and more sovereign and cosmopolitan. Historically, universities in Canada were integral to the social, cultural, and intellectual promotion of community and state formation. Numerous English-Canadian academics chose to join the federal government's work with the UN and other international agencies. University academics were at the forefront of Canadian initiatives to promote international peace through development and reconstruction at a time before official peacekeeping policies were developed in the late 1950s.

This paper assesses the relationship between universities and the state by examining the internationalization of English-Canadian academia, as Canada emerged from the Second World War and was facing domestic and foreign challenges caused by the heightened tensions of the Cold War. The connection between English-Canadian academics – professors, researchers, and administrators – and Canadian involvement in international organizations has been under-explored in studies of postwar Canadian foreign affairs and universities. This paper centres on such international activities at four universities: McGill University (McGill), the University of Toronto (UofT), Queen's University (Queen's), and the University of British Columbia (UBC). Recognizing the expertise of many university personnel, McGill, UofT, Queen's, and UBC developed special links with Canada's Department of External Affairs (DEA). The DEA handpicked people from these universities to fill critical roles in UN organizations. English-Canadian academics were particularly prominent in the Canadian Council for Reconstruction through UNESCO (CCRU), the UN Technical Assistance Program (UNTAP), and the Canadian Institute of International Affairs (CIIA). The CCRU and UNTAP represented the practical side of post-war reconstruction, as Canadian academics offered their administrative skills, fundraising abilities, university curricula, and research and technical skills to UN member nations. Academic members of the CIIA gave the DEA ideas, motivation, guidance, advice, and justification for Canada's role within the UN.

Study is needed in the ways university professors shaped Canadian identity abroad and campus cultures at home through their international commitments, how and why Canadian academics assisted UN member nations, and how academics influenced government policy regarding Canada's involvement in global forums. Overall, a closer look at Canada's international role during the early Cold War will offer new perspectives on English-Canadian academia's desire to achieve peace through development. Professors, and university researchers and administrators helped to awaken a sense of Canadian purpose and pride in a national destiny replete with a crystallizing sense of importance, purpose, and direction in government policy and government participation in international affairs, peacekeeping, and foreign development projects. Through their actions abroad academics fundamentally galvanized debates over negotiated meanings of Canadian nationhood and identity that still resonate today.

**Iliadou-Tachou, Sofia**

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**Orfanou, Alexia**

National and Kapodistrian University of Athens  
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### **From Tsarist Russia to Soviet Union: the effects of the civil war on Greek-speaking education**

This study focuses on the Greek-speaking education of the Tsarist Empire which was encouraged by Catherine the Great. The provision of Greek-speaking education was part of a process whereby land and privileges were granted to the Greek-orthodox populations of the Ottoman Empire within the legislative context of “ukases”, which created the conditions for their resettlement in the South Russia. After the revolution of 1905 Greek-speaking education was organized within the recognized Greek-orthodox urban communities and worked as a vehicle of the new-modern nationalism. The structures and ideological operation of the Greek-speaking education are examined from a comparative perspective in various civil and social contexts: a) in Russia up to 1917, b) in the Soviet Union (1917-1928) taking into account the civil war but also the first period of the government of Lenin. The international historiography concerns mainly the comparison of the Tsarist educational system with the Soviet one (Audrey L. Altstadt, 1989). The literature examines either the content of national educational policy, which is considered constant, since the framework is considered as changing (Altstad, 1989); or notional definitions of permanent educational problems (Patrick L. Alston, 1976); or an educational operation, such as that of national assimilation (C. L. Sharma, 1989); or the integration of education in the general strategic evolution of the Soviet period (Francis W. Rushing & Catherine P. Ailes, 1982) or else education is taken as an operation of society and not as a mechanism which is used differently by the dominant social class. The Greek historiography, apart from some attempts at using modern approaches (Exerzoglou, 1999 & 2010), usually does not take into consideration differences within the Tsarist or Soviet context. The present comparative research examines the impact of the civil war in Russia on on Greek-speaking education. Features considered in this paper include: a) problems of terminology, b) problems regarding the hierarchy of the educational targets in each period, since they had different value systems, c) the role of social class in the design of educational policies. The importance of the present study lies: a) in the multi-level comparative approach defined above which concern the history of the Greek-speaking education in two different political-social contexts, b) the use of foreign historiography for gauging the effects of the civil war in Russia, which places the phenomena of Greek-speaking education in its changing historical/political context (Tsarist-Soviet), c) the attempt of interpretation the choices of which in the field of education and its operation. This historical research is based on the study of primary sources, specifically the newspapers of the Tsarist period *Kosmos of Odissos* (1908-1912) and *Argonaftis* (1910-1912), the Greek-speaking newspapers of the soviet period, such as *Kokkinos Kapnas* and Communist newspapers were studied.



**Iliadou-Tachou, Sofia and Pougaridou, Paraskevi**

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### **Fascist youth's education and anti-fascist policy in the Second World War's context: the contradiction of the Greek case-study (1936-1940)**

The dictatorship established by Ioannis Metaxas on August 4th, 1936 was characterized by a crucial contradiction: on the one hand it was a totalitarian regime which was oriented towards fascist standards that dominated Europe; on the other hand Ioannis Metaxas joined the Entente Forces, promoting an anti-fascist agenda in the historical context of the Second World War. The existing bibliography has so far dealt with the education policy, with the means of political manipulation of the people and especially of the youth, as well as with the components of the "fascist" discourse implemented by the representatives of Metaxas' regime. Specifically there are bibliographical references related to Metaxas' regime which are applied to the fields of a) History of Education, b) Social and Political Sciences, and c) The regime's institutional history. Considering the interaction between the superstructure (ideology) and the social structures (education) as being of primary importance, we believe that Metaxas' ideology constitutes a unique example of the juxtaposition between the dominant ideology imposed on education and the diplomatic - political context in which it was integrated. Specifically: a) Did Metaxas prepare a fascist education in order to create a fascist society? b) Why didn't he join the fascist forces in order to complete his plan? c) How did he perceive the goals of a fascist education and why did he ultimately disconnect them from intervening in the broader international, political and military conditions? A historical interpretive method was chosen as a methodological research tool, combined with qualitative discourse analysis.

**Inokuchi, Junzo**

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### **War and peace in textbooks of J.A.Comenius**

John Amos Comenius (1592-1670) was strongly influenced by the Thirty Years' War. He was a bishop of the Unity of Brethren and was forced to spend his life in exile, because Moravia had been ruled by a Hapsburg monarch. He was suppressed by the powerful ruler. Under such circumstances, he wished for peace and he conceived designs for a new international organization for peace. Consequently there are many previous studies about ideas and activities for peace by Comenius. For example Albert Schweitzer, Jan Masaryk and Jean Piaget wrote about Comenius' thoughts for peace. But I have some questions about his ideas and activities for peace.

Comenius devoted himself to the reconstruction of his devastated country. He placed his hopes on the education of the younger generation. He tackled the reform of educational methods and he wrote many textbooks. The book *Orbis sensualium pictus (the Visible World by the Senses)* by John Amos Comenius(1592-1670) was initially printed in the year 1658. It is well known as the first textbook in the world to be published with many illustrations. And it was indeed the first teaching aid which allowed for touching and handling by pupils. It is remarkable in the history of teaching material.

Then we can find five chapters about war in the book *Orbis sensualium pictus* : chapter 139 the soldier, chapter 140 the camps, chapter 141 the army and battle, the chapter 142 sea warfare, chapter 143 besieging a city. Why did Comenius describe war in detail? Though his homeland has no coastline, he discussed maritime wars.

I believe the reason Comenius focused on war lies in his life experience. He was financially supported by Louis de Geer, a wealthy Dutch-born industrialist who was deeply involved in various ecumenical and educational projects throughout Europe. De Geer was a merchant of arms. War between England and Holland continued. When English and Dutch ambassadors met in Breda to attempt to reach agreement, Comenius felt it his duty to contribute towards a successful outcome of peace negotiations. He wrote *Angelus pacis* (*The angel of peace*) and distributed copies of his book, supported by de Geer. Why had Comenius been supported by Louis de Geer, although Comenius had already known about his source of money? Why did Comenius explain in detail about war in his textbooks? Should we consider his explanation in relation to the support he received from an arms merchant? The purpose of this presentation is to discuss this problem.

### **Irish, Tomás**

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### **Fractured Families: Educated Elites and the Challenge of the Great War in Britain and France**

This paper will look at two networks of intellectual elites during the First World War. It will compare the experiences of the students and alumni of the *École Normale Supérieure* in Paris with the Cambridge Apostles, using a sociological definition of the family to argue that these intellectual elites understood themselves as families. Shared dwelling spaces, experiences and rites led to this intimate group identity; however, it was also largely premised upon their self-understanding as scholars. As such, there are many similarities within the comparison.

The outbreak of war in 1914 simultaneously threatened the integrity of these intellectual families, and showed the strength of their ties. In both Paris and Cambridge, the communities were dispersed across many fighting fronts as large numbers of men enlisted or were conscripted into the armed forces. For those at both front and rear, the dispersal of the group and the rupture in ordinary scholarly life fundamentally undermined their identity as scholars. At both the front and the rear, scholars were deeply troubled by their inability to concentrate on intellectual matters, seeing it as commensurate with their very identities. Taken with the heightened instance of death and disablement experienced by these elites (who were generally mobilized as junior officers), it seemed as if every aspect of the family identity was under threat, and with it an entire way of life that was premised, traditionally, upon intellect, intimacy, and influence.

The war assailed the university family not only by causing the death of so many men, but by the associated loss of intellect and modes of thought. These intellectual elites fought valiantly against this; in the post-war period, war memorials proliferated in universities and colleges to ensure that the names were not forgotten, and, at the same time, books, journals, letters and diaries were published to ensure that the knowledge – a key component of the group identity – was also perpetuated. The Great War was a caesura in the life of these elites and the university landscape in both Paris and Cambridge in the 1920s was changed. While they retained their

traditional influence, something of the intellect and the intimacy was lost, and this remained palpable on campus for future generations of scholars.

This paper will analyse the diary entries and correspondence of these intellectual elites, of men such as Bertrand Russell, John Maynard Keynes, Emile Durkheim, Marcel Mauss, and others, to explore the theme of family; as such, the paper will, at the same time reflect upon the importance of these intellectual elites within their home institutions and the nation more generally, as well as making a contribution to the history of intimacy in wartime.

### **Ito, Toshiko**

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### **Torn between Pacifism and Imperial Expansion: Inazo Nitobe as a Christian Educator and Ideologue of Wartime Imperial Japan**

Japan, having prevailed in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), precipitously emerged on Asia's geo-political stage after more than two centuries of international isolation under the shogunate (1639-1853). It was Inazo Nitobe (1862-1933) whose book *Bushido: The Soul of Japan* (1900), authored in English, introduced Japan to a world that had previously taken scant notice of the country's existence. Nitobe, who in his own country was considered a leading authority on the West, assumed high office in international bodies after World War I; he became Under-Secretary General of the League of Nations (1920), founding director of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (a forerunner of UNESCO), as well as chairman of the Japan Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations (1929). In Japan, Nitobe was an influential educator who promoted the British public school ethos as a model. He served as the head of the First Higher School in Tokyo (1906-1913), and as the first professor of colonial policy at Tokyo Imperial University (1909-1920).

An observant Quaker, Nitobe opposed the Chino-Japanese War, in line with the Society of Friends' dominant strain of pacifism. Yet at the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War, he hailed the conflict as a just war. This paper focuses on Nitobe's efforts as an educator in wartime, during which he indoctrinated the young amongst the country's elite with the tenets and principles of imperial expansion policy. In this work, he needed to reconcile a Quaker's deeply held pacifist convictions with a Japanese subject's loyalty to the Emperor and the policies promulgated in the Emperor's name. This double bind was a predicament commonly experienced amongst a large number of Christian educators in Imperial Japan. While many of them founded their own private schools in the spirit of New Education, Nitobe was, and remained throughout his career, a representative of imperial institutions: Tokyo Imperial University and its preparatory division, the First Higher School in Tokyo, were committed to educating the country's leading civil servants. Conforming to this institutional remit, Nitobe chose to subordinate his Christian idealism to imperial policy by sublimating it into a romantic national mysticism. As an ideologue and educator, Nitobe left a lasting mark on the upper echelons of the country's bureaucracy. Even today, his creed of Japan's quasi-divine calling as Asia's foremost civilization still resonates, across the political spectrum, as justification for Japan's imperialist wars of aggression. Yet if Nitobe as an educator epitomized the expansionist ideology of Imperial Japan, he had arrived at this ideology in a struggle with his commitment to Quaker pacifism.

### **Jayeola-Omoyeni, Moses Sunday**

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### **Omoyeni, Jayeola Oladele and Obafemi Awolowo**

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## **Contribution of Western Education in the Making of Modern Nigeria During and After the End of the 1st World War: an analysis**

What is now known as Nigeria consisted of two distinct geographical, cultural and educational divides in the course of state formation, migration and ethnic development scenarios. There existed before 1914 the Northern and Southern Protectorates of Nigeria. The Northern protectorate was predominantly dominated by the Hausa/Fulani and Kanuri speaking people, who had for over a thousand years (700-1914) been wrapped with Islamic religion. The people were strictly dedicated and committed to Muslim and Arabic education, tradition and culture. They rejected the Christian form of education when it was introduced to the area in 1845. The Southern protectorate was predominantly dominated by the Yoruba and Igbo speaking people who for many centuries had developed along the indigenous form of traditional education and culture, and who barely seventy two years 1842-1914 imbibed the European form of education regarded as formal or “Western Education”. This type of education was brought about by the Christian missionary groups. The missionaries established schools and people became literates in the Roman script. The above scenario was the case of the country before the outbreak of the 1st World War in 1914. This article shows how the outbreak of the 1st World War aided the coming together of these two protectorates without any re-course to war or civil disorder, to protest for or against the sudden amalgamation of the protectorates by Lord Frederic Lugard. The article in addition, showcases the impact of the unification or amalgamation on the educational development of the country and analyses how the amalgamation, led to the establishment in 1922, of an acceptable western form of education which was hitherto rejected by the Northern Protectorate before 1914. The paper also analyses how the acceptance of such school education fostered the making of Nigeria as a modern Nation after the end of the 1st world war.

### **Jehle, May**

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## **„Der Friede muss bewaffnet sein“ – Erziehung zu Vaterlandsliebe und Landesverteidigung im Staatsbürgerkundeunterricht der DDR**

Bereits in den fünfziger Jahren wurde in der DDR das Erziehungsziel des patriotischen Engagements für Frieden und Vaterland mit dem des Hasses gegen den Imperialismus verknüpft. Empirische Befunde legten zwar in regelmäßigen Abständen nahe, dass dieses Ziel nie im erwünschten Ausmaß erreicht wurde; dennoch wurde an diesem Erziehungsziel im Wesentlichen ungebrochen festgehalten (vgl. Geißler/ Wiegmann 1997). Es galt als Prinzip für alle Bildungsbereiche, vor allem für die „traditionell gesinnungsbildenden“ (ebd.: 107) Fächer Deutsch, Geschichte, Heimatkunde und Staatsbürgerkunde. Der 1978 eigens eingeführte Wehrunterricht konnte allerdings als Fachunterricht kaum Profil gewinnen.

Dem Staatsbürgerkundeunterricht kam die Aufgabe zu, den Schüler\_innen das Recht und die Pflicht zum Schutz und zur Verteidigung des sozialistischen Vaterlandes nahezubringen. Unter Bezugnahme auf aktuelle Ereignisse wie den Nato-Doppelbeschluss 1979 und Zustimmung des Bundestags zur Stationierung von US-Mittelstreckenraketen in der Bundesrepublik 1983 galt es den Zusammenhang zwischen den gegensätzlichen Macht- und Eigentumsverhältnisse in der Bundesrepublik und der DDR einerseits und der aggressiven Politik des Imperialismus und der auf Sicherung des Friedens gerichteten sozialistischen Politik zu vermitteln. Gesetzt wurde dabei auf eine Einheit von der Erarbeitung von Erkenntnissen und der Entwicklung einer den Vorstellungen entsprechenden klassenmäßigen Haltung (vgl. z.B. Piontkowski 1984).

Konnten diese Erziehungsziele und Vermittlungsaufgaben bisher vor allem auf der Grundlage schriftlicher Dokumente wie z.B. Lehrplänen und Unterrichtshilfen rekonstruiert werden (vgl. z.B. Grammes/ Schluß/ Vogler 2006), steht mit den in digitalisierter Form zugänglichen Videoaufzeichnungen von Unterricht einer der Akademie der Pädagogischen Wissenschaften der DDR zugeordneten Ost-Berliner Forschungsschule eine neue Quellengattung für die Historische Bildungsforschung zur Verfügung (vgl. Schluß/ Jehle 2013). Anhand verschiedener Aufzeichnungen aus dem Staatsbürgerkundeunterricht aus dem Zeitraum 1978 bis 1986 soll in exemplarischen Analysen untersucht werden, wie diese Thematik in der Unterrichtspraxis vermittelt wurde. Wenn auch auf dieser Grundlage kaum auf innere Haltungen und Überzeugungen der Schüler\_innen geschlossen werden kann, so kann doch mittels Analysen des Unterrichtsgesprächs herausgearbeitet werden, ob die Vermittlung des beschriebenen Argumentationszusammenhanges so gelingt, dass er auch von der Schüler\_innen wiedergegeben werden kann. Dabei zeigen Friktionen im Unterrichtsverlauf, dass sowohl in Unterrichtseinheiten, in denen diese Thematik explizit behandelt wird, als auch in Unterrichteinheiten, in denen diese in anderen Zusammenhängen thematisch wird, eine Vermittlung des beschriebenen Argumentationszusammenhanges nur schwer gelingt. Es ist also anzunehmen, dass die Erziehung zu gewünschten Einstellungen in der Einheit mit der Erarbeitung von Erkenntnissen nicht erst daran scheiterte, dass diese Einheit nicht hergestellt werden konnte, sondern bereits die zu erarbeitenden Erkenntnisse den Schüler\_innen nicht einsichtig vermittelt werden konnten.

### **‘Peace must be armed’ – education for patriotism and national defence in civics courses in East Germany in the 1950s**

In the early 1950s, in East Germany, the objective of education for patriotism, peace and the fatherland was connected to a concept of education in which hatred of imperialism was central. Even though empirical findings periodically revealed that this objective was never fully achieved, education policy persisted with the aim (Geißler/ Wiegmann 1997). It was considered a basic principle in all fields of education, especially in the subjects German, History and Civics. In 1978, military education (Wehrerziehung) was implemented as new subject although it did not gain substance. Civics Courses illustrated the contradictory ownership structures and balances of power in East and West Germany as well as the aggressive policy of imperialism alongside the the peacekeeping policy of socialism. These were demonstrated by reference to contemporary events such as the NATO Double-Track Decision in 1979 and the agreement of the German Bundestag to deploy US Intermediate-Range Missiles in 1983. Underpinning these courses, there was an assumed unity between acquiring knowledge and adopting the required attitude (Piontkowski 1984).

Historical educational research usually examines written sources such as curricula and teaching aids to reconstruct objectives and learning experiences (see Grammes/ Schluß/ Vogler 2006). However, my research introduces video recordings of classroom interactions from a

research school in East Berlin (see Schluß/Jehle 2013). Based on recordings of Civics Classes between 1978 and 1986, I will analyse how the instruction on these topics was organized in practice. Although it is not possible to draw conclusions from these recordings about the students' opinions and beliefs, I assess class communication and consider how far students were able to argue in their own words. Analysis of lessons which explicitly dealt with patriotism and peace, and of those in which the topic came up in other contexts, reveals frictions in the process of teaching which suggest that imparting a particular line in Civics Courses was not successful. I argue that education in terms of producing required attitudes not only failed because of the impossibility of unifying knowledge with particular attitudes but also because the core argument was not fully comprehended by students.

### **Johnson, Greg**

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Japan

### **Expanding the Space of Modern Education: Militarism, Patriotism and Cultural Edification in the Emergence of School Travel in Japan**

Japan's modern school system required the systematic imposition of new single-purpose edifices in place of the widespread but contingent and unstructured local schools. Schooling did not remain solely within the confines of school buildings, however. Individual travel for educational purposes was practiced in the Edo Period (1603-1868), but extramural group activities such as short excursions (*ensoku*) and longer class field trips (*shūgaku ryokō*) were innovative additions to Meiji Period (1868-1912) educational practice. The *ensoku* started in the 1880s in conjunction with sports festivals, annual intramural events consisting of athletic and callisthenic activities. When a local school had no field suitable for a sports festival, students would march en masse to an available ground. The origin of *shūgaku ryokō* class trips has been traced to the Ministry of Education's encouragement of military-style drill and school activities such as visiting shrines and famous sites, in order to increase physical fitness, group spirit, patriotism, and respect for the sovereign. Starting with Tokyo Higher Normal (teacher training) School, the practice spread down to compulsory primary institutions. Physical exertion itself was originally a primary goal of these extramural activities and the importance of this aspect increased during the 1930s to the end of WWII. However, teachers also infused the events with the objective of cultural edification and the development of a modern railroad network lengthened the range of students' movement. These extramural innovations remain an important part of schooling practice today.

### **Evacuation made visible – Images of Children, Parents and Teachers from WWII Evacuations in Japan**

This panel will debate comparative readings of contemporary visual representation of three wartime mass evacuations: the British *Government Evacuation Scheme*, the German *Erweiterte Kinderlandverschickung*, and the Japanese *Gakudō Shūdan Sokai*.

Japan's urban school evacuation (early summer 1944 to autumn 1945) sent over 400,000 compulsory school pupils to the countryside in the custody of their teachers. This rescued them from American bombsights for the duration of their exile but also disrupted their family lives and schooling. Furthermore, policymakers imbued the measure with meanings beyond saving children and preserving future human resources. Nevertheless, the unprecedented removal

of such young minors from their families was controversial among officials as well as parents, contradicting a government ideology that emphasized familial relationships against the social disruption of a war increasingly closer to home.

Japanese print media and films instructed juveniles on conduct and beliefs, recruiting them into wartime participation. This was true of the school evacuation policy as well, but wartime footage of the measure is limited. I would like to show newsreel clips available through Japan Broadcasting Corporation (Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai, or NHK) of school pupils departing from Tokyo, living as evacuees, and returning to Tokyo after the war's end, complementing them with news photos if time permits. I will suggest ways that they address the controversy enveloping the school evacuation scheme. In addition, I will invite and contribute to comparisons of these images with those of the German and British relocation programs.

I plan to use the following film clips:

“Nippon News” No. 213, June 29, 1944 [1 min.] depicting pupils leaving Tokyo for an evacuation site

“Nippon News” No. 220, August 17, 1944 [5 min. 47 sec.] representing children's daily lives as evacuees residing at a Buddhist temple

“Nippon News” No. 260, November 13, 1945 [1 min. 33 sec.] showing children returning to Tokyo after Japan's defeat

“Nippon News” No. 263, December 27, 1945 [49 sec.] of former evacuees, their Tokyo classrooms destroyed by air raids, as they receive instruction in an outdoor “blue sky” school under a distinctly new pedagogical regime.

### **Julià Barnadas, Ana**

Spain

### **Vilanova Oriol, Eduard**

Spain

### **María Montessori y la Educación para la Paz**

La Educación Montessori se materializa en un currículum que promueve la Paz desde su propia esencia; María Montessori materializó con él, su compromiso con la Paz, haciendo de este valor el fin último de la Educación. Nuestra comunicación profundiza en los conceptos de Educación y Paz. Un enfoque teórico que se centra en la teoría sobre el hombre, creada por la doctora y pedagoga María Montessori y en el papel que esta jugó como defensora de los Derechos Humanos y de los Derechos del Niño.

Desde un enfoque práctico analizamos el Método Montessori y su aplicación en las aulas desde la óptica de una Educación para la Paz. Montessori observó las características psicológicas del niño y creó un “ambiente preparado” en el que éste pudiera desarrollar todo su potencial. Observó cómo niños con algunas potencialidades disminuidas eran capaces de desarrollarlas y alcanzar una vida mejor. Con niños de hasta 6 años -hace más de 100 años- creó la “Casa dei Bambini”, una escuela con límites y estructura para responder a ellos, con amor, respeto y libertad. Trabajó para niños de Primaria y Secundaria de modo similar. Tras la observación y análisis diseñó un método que respondía a las características psicológicas, físicas, emocionales y morales de cada edad. Hoy existen experiencias educativas en más de 35.000 colegios, en más de 20 países de todo el mundo. En nuestra comunicación estudiamos las bases psicológicas y

pedagógicas de cada etapa evolutiva, que son motores innatos para la Paz; también el Currículum como una apelación directa a trabajar por la bondad y el bienestar del ser humano. Y, por último, la figura de María Montessori, una mujer pacifista que dedicó toda su vida al servicio de los niños, tanto como altavoz de los Derechos del Niño, como con el potencial regenerador de su programa. Montessori describe las características físicas, emocionales, cognitivas y morales del niño distinguiendo 4 etapas evolutivas del nacimiento a la madurez. 0 a 3 años: Montessori habla del “maestro interior”, impulso irresistible e inteligente. De los 3 a los 6 años, el refinamiento sensorial, la creación del yo y la búsqueda de un primer estadio de la independencia son las respuestas curriculares. En la segunda infancia, el razonamiento, la imaginación y la memoria cobran tal fuerza que permiten la comprensión. El currículum debe “plantar las semillas de todo el conocimiento universal”. La adolescencia conlleva la necesidad de la autoafirmación social, la necesidad de participación en la sociedad y la preparación para la vida adulta. El rol del adulto es el de un observador del desarrollo natural del niño, evitando ser un obstáculo. La intervención del educador se produce a través de la preparación del ambiente, en función de cada etapa. Por sus trabajos a favor de la Paz María Montessori fue nominada al Premio Nobel de la Paz. Vivió tiempos convulsos en los que la Paz fue el remedio - insuficiente- para la guerra. Pero su propuesta fue mucho más ambiciosa: la paz debe responder a una necesidad profunda del ser humano.

### **Maria Montessori and Education for Peace**

Montessori education embodies a curriculum which promotes Peace from its own essence and positions peace as the ultimate aim of education. Our presentation explores the ideas of Education and Peace. Our focus is partly the theory, created by the doctor and educator Maria Montessori and partly her work as a defender of human and children’s rights. From a practical point of view, we analyze the Montessori method and its application in the classroom as a tool in Education for Peace. Montessori observed the psychological characteristics of the child and devised a prepared environment where he or she could develop all his or her potential. In the Instituto Ortofrenico in Rome she observed how disabled children could develop their potential and achieve a better quality of life. In the Roman quarter of San Lorenzo - more than a century ago - she did the same for children aged 3 to 6 when she created the “Casa dei Bambini”, a school with structure and limitations to respond to them with respect, love and freedom. She worked with children in Elementary and Secondary in a similar way. After observation and analysis she design a method that responds to the psychological, physical, emotional and moral characteristics of each age. Today the Montessori approach exists in more than 35,000 schools, in more than 20 countries all over the world.

In our paper we study how the pedagogical and psychological bases of each developmental phase are the motor of peace; we study too the curriculum in our own Montessori school as a direct attempt to work for goodness and well-being for human beings. And finally, we offer an account of Maria Montessori as a pacifist woman and a spokeswoman for Children’s Rights. Due to her work for peace, Maria Montessori was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize. She lived in a period of upheaval, times when Peace was the remedy - though insufficient - for war. Her proposal was much more ambitious: that peace has to come as a profound need from the human being.



**Junila, Marianne**

University of Oulu

Finland

### **“Is this right?” – Schoolgirls witness the violence of the Finnish Civil War, 1918**

The Finnish civil war was one of the best documented civil wars in modern world, and also one of the bloodiest in 20th century Europe. During the war, the city of Tampere turned into a fierce battlefield which left civilians in the middle of the fighting forces, the “reds” and the “whites”. The children were forced to face and witness the violence of war.

My paper focuses on school children and their experiences during the Finnish civil war in spring 1918. I will analyze the agency and experiences of children in a situation of political turmoil when regular societal structures and practices have broken. The primary material consists of hundreds of essays written by school girls soon after the war in Tampere, at that time the third largest city in Finland. The essays were written at a point in time when the White winners’ interpretation of the civil war was just to become the dominant one. The schools were especially active in promoting this development. In the White narrative the Reds were guilty of all violence, and guilty even of shooting innocent civilians. However, it happened that this interpretation proved to be in contravention of what the girls themselves had witnessed.

I will discuss 1) How children in the civil war had to find new space for their everyday agency 2) how the children described and explained their new roles and their experiences and 3) how children explained the difference between the narrative taught in school and their own experiences. Methodologically, the most interesting contribution of the study lies in its attempt to catch the children’s experiences and interpretation as current events, not as something one reminisces in adulthood.

**Justino, Rogério**

Federal University of Uberlândia

Brazil

### **The Great War: winning representations. Analyses of textbooks from Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico and England**

Textbooks are generally the most common form of initiation of children and adolescents to traditional school subjects. Based on this understanding it is important to know how the content is presented. For this paper I chose content relating to First World War (1914 - 1918), which will be discussed through five books from five different countries, Brazil, México, Chile, Argentina and England.

The chosen textbooks are Farmer (2009) - England, Braick (2013) - Brazil, Pigna (2010) - Argentina, Acevedo (1999) - México, and finally Sánchez (2009) - Chile. These choices were made from books used in the final grades of basic education in their respective countries, and written by authors who are nationals of the country in which the book is used. To avoid the use of very similar narratives I chose a book from England, providing a European point of view, and a Chilean book, which is published by a multinational and written in Mexico, thus offering an interesting range of analysis.

For this purpose it is important to question the textbook as a source. These shouldn't be naively interpreted by the historian of education. It is important to identify the production and circulation, what and who the authors are, their performance, intentionality and motives to produce a textbook. After understanding the media should follow internal critique. The paper seeks to identify how the First World War is described in each of the books revealing what features it will value, which are hidden, how many pages are devoted to the topic, which images are used and if images are used, whose names are featured, which battles are described, who are considered heroes, the guilty, the "good guys" and "bad guys", how the contents are structured, if in the classic way based on cause/effect or seeking to unveil the common shared experiences of subjects who were in fact the true heroes of the war. In the end the reader will have an overview about how Great War was appropriated and reproduced through certain textbooks from Europe to Latin America showing the predominance of linear narrative writing, Eurocentric positioning, focused on relations of cause and effect. Especially among Latin American books is found a sequence of events very similar in description, revealing a dominant representation.

### **Kaarninen, Mervi**

University of Tampere, School of Social Sciences and Humanities / History  
Finland

### **The Red Orphans of the Finnish Civil War 1918 – Education into the good Citizen**

The focus of my presentation is on the consequences of the Finnish Civil War (1918) for the children and youth. For the Finns, the Civil War has been a traumatic event, and hard to understand. Finland has two traditions remembering the Civil War – red and white.

Finland had gained independence from Russia at the beginning of December 1917. Civil war broke out in January 1918. The Civil War was part of World War I. Those opposite sides were the bourgeois "white Finland" and revolutionary "reds". After the war 15,000 – 20,000 children under 15 years of age had lost one or both parents in battle, in prison camps or through executions. About 90 percent of these were children of the reds. The children of reds came from the poor families and would not be able to survive without help from society. The world war had killed many children's parents all over Europe, but the situation in Finland was exceptional because there were two categories of fatherless in the country; the orphans of rebels (red orphans) and the orphans of white, and they would be treated differently.

My presentation discusses the education policy of newly independent Finland in the Finnish Civil War 1918 towards orphaned children. I argue that the orphan question and its solution had a harmonizing effect in Finnish society in the middle war period. After the war, the situation in Finland was difficult. The food situation was poor and children were begging on the streets. The state authorities understood that children and youth had an important role in creating a new independent Finnish nation. Children needed special care, and school policy and education was in the key role in this process. Finnish Society wanted these red orphans to grow into good citizens and decent upbringing could be provided by the primary school.

I analyzed the education and upbringing of orphaned children from four different levels. 1) The level of the nation state. The act on Compulsory Education passed in 1921 after long discussion and preparation in parliament. 2) The local level: how municipal authorities acted and helped red orphans and families. 3) School and class room level, what kind of attitudes

elementary school teachers had towards red orphans. 4) The experiences of red orphans in the schools.

Sources: The Records of the parliament 1918 - 1922; Committee reports, statistics, newspapers, oral materials.

**Kalerante, Evaggelia**

University of Western Macedonia  
Greece

**Kontaxopoulou, Aggeliki**

Chief of the Local Archive Collection of Ikari  
Greece

**Educational policy and welfare state: Student Messes after the Greek civil war (1944-1949)**

The present research is concerned with the function of the Greek state after the Greek civil war. In particular, the elevation of political reorganisation implemented in education through Student Messes is studied. Student Messes are the representation of welfare policy for lower social strata students who were given the option of having quality nutrition throughout a hard time for the entire Greek population. Formulated political discourse towards educators is analysed through the circulars of the Student Messes. In this way, the welfare state policy towards lower social strata students is juxtaposed with nationalist policy. Archive material related to educational documents circulated in schools immediately after the Greek civil war is utilized alongside interviews with teachers who served in Primary and Secondary Education schools in that era. Other people's interviews, including those who were students at that time, are also utilized. Archive material and the discourse of subjects, educators and students of that period, form the means to scrutinise the dynamic situation formed after the civil war in the Greek educational system.

Educational legislation and bibliography, especially educational journals, newspapers and books of the specific era are also utilized to this end. The research commenced in 2012 and was completed in 2013. Data indexing has provided useful material to draw conclusions on the structure and function of the educational system at that time as well as the political discourse within the school environment. In this way, Student Messes are perceived not only as a mere political state provision to citizens, but also as a means of education and reinforcement of a policy in juxtaposition to communist ideas.

The functionality of Student Messes in the Greek political system, which was working towards reorganisation after the civil war, is presented in its educational, sociological and political context. At the same time, the state was looking for practices to enable it to function in peace time, along with concurrent development of panoptic supervision systems to prevent any possibility of left wing ideas being disseminated.

**Kallaway, Peter**

University of Cape Town  
South Africa

### **German Lutheran Missions and Colonial Education in Africa: 1900-1950**

German Lutheran missions to Africa originated in the eighteenth century as part of a broader Protestant revival in central Europe around notions of a *volkskirche* linked to cultural and language revival. In a Europe disrupted by war and industrialization pious communities promoted a revival of religion as a means of protecting a conservative moral code and way of life. The Moravians were an early example of this trend. In a world beset with unpredictable changes one of the key manifestations of their religious ardour was to take the gospel to foreign lands and convert the heathen, often through the same model of establishing rural communities of the faithful.

The establishment of a German Empire in Africa from the 1880s in the context of the rise of German imperialism led to changes in the nature of mission activity. The nature of mission activity changed in that context. Tanganyika became the laboratory for German colonial rule and there was considerable conflict between government, settlers and missions on economic and social policy. The role of education came to be important to colonial policy.

In the process exploring of the needs of such policy both the government in Berlin and the missionaries increasingly resorted to science to supply answers to the questions of development and educational policy. Anthropology and linguistics came to play a key role in understanding the nature of change in a transforming colonial world. This gave rise to considerable research activity which influenced policy development.

With the end of the German Empire in 1918 the role of the German mission was transformed. Although allowed back in to colonial Africa from 1924 they had little access to formal political power but still played a significant role in debates about educational policy. In the context of global changes in educational thinking, influenced by American Progressivism and Managerialism, the German focus on culture and anthropology through the new sciences of anthropology and linguistics helped to shape approaches to policy thinking. Although the adaptation of the Phelps-Stokes Commission reports was widely embraced by the British Colonial Office and many colonial governments and missionaries, these missionary anthropologists drawing on German science helped to strengthen views that supported a focus on African culture and language at school. This had ambiguous outcomes. It strengthened the idea that Africans needed to be educated in ways that did not simply require that they be “Europeanized”(civilized) - it supported the idea of an African identity and was opposed to the *breakdown* of African tribal society in keeping with Progressivist ideas of educating the whole child in the context of a morally coherent community. The other side of that coin was that such an education for moral upliftment and community support had the negative effects of cutting off the community from the real world of modernization and change in a time of rapidly expanding African nationalism. The contribution of German mission and German science therefore had ambiguous effects on the development of colonial education between the Wars.

## **Karcher, Nicola**

Center for Studies of Holocaust and Religious Minorities  
Norway

### **Democratic convincement versus “race community”: The Norwegian case of civil resistance and the role of the teachers**

Shortly after the German occupation of Norway in 1940, the newly established regime, based on the local National Socialist party Nasjonal Samling and its collaboration with the Reichskommissariat, started its efforts to Nazify the Norwegian Society. An important part of these attempts was the enforcement of the Norwegian school system.

Since 1933 the National Socialist regime in Germany had systematically reinforced its encroachment on the education system. The ideologisation of the school teaching was regarded as an important strategy to involve the whole population into the Volksgemeinschaft. The German people should not only become convinced of the “natural” dominance of the “Nordic race”, but also become fully committed to the “Nordic project”. The aim in the long run was to melt together all Germanic people across national borders to one Germanic Reich. Within this project, the “Nordic” country Norway played an important role. As in Germany, the Nazification of the school should be the first step to indoctrinate the Norwegian people and to transform them to convinced National Socialists. Nevertheless, this project failed totally. The attempts to enforce the school met a nationwide resistance, which culminated in the so-called teacher-struggle in 1942. Even if hundreds of teachers were arrested and deported, the Nazification of the Norwegian school system was never implemented.

What were the reasons for this kind of civil resistance? In my presentation, I will use two different approaches to analyse the Norwegian teacher-struggle: On one side I will show what kind of plans and ideological concept the occupation system had for the Norwegian school. On the other side I will discuss why the teaching profession – in contrast to other professions such as the police – formed the stronghold of Norwegian democratic ideals. Why did the teachers play such an important role for the defence of Norwegian democracy? Were Norwegian pedagogues better democrats and if so, what made them more impervious to totalitarian ideas? In addition, to open for a transnational comparison, I will discuss the differences between the Norwegian and the German teaching profession and their role for developing a democratic attitude.

## **Kasper, Tomas**

Technical University of Liberec  
Czech Republic

### **Der Militarismus und Antimilitarismus in der Diskussion der deutschen Jugendbünde in der Tschechoslowakei**

Das Jahr 1918 markiert zwar das Ende des ersten Weltkrieges, und so hätte man hoffen können, dass die ganze deutsche Bevölkerung in Böhmen und Mähren den Frieden feierte. Jedoch wurden das Jahr 1918 und das Kriegsende von der deutschen bürgerlichen Jugend grösstenteils als ein wesentlicher Schritt im verlorenen Volkstumskampf und als Anfang einer nationalen Demütigung und Bedrohung wahrgenommen. Unter den sozialistischen Jugendlichen der Tschechoslowakei galt der Krieg zwar als ein Völkermord, jedoch kam die Idee einer

internationalen Verbrüderung unter den tschechischen und deutschen jungen Genossen-innen nur langsam auf.

Der Beitrag fokussiert, wie die bürgerlichen und sozialistischen Jugendbünde in der Tschechoslowakei in der Zwischenkriegszeit die Frage einer völkisch-nationalen, volkspolitischen und militärischen Erziehung bzw. einer internationalen, antimilitärischen Erziehung thematisierten.

Im bürgerlichen Jugendlager setzte sich gegen ein „älteres“ Volkstums- und Heimatbildungskonzept ein „junges“ männerbündisches und volkspolitisches Erziehungskonzept durch, das sich in den 1920er Jahren auch relativ schnell etablierte. Das volkspolitisch engagierte, gesellschaftlich erfolgreichere Konzept entstammte dem Flügel der „Jungen“ im Sudetendeutschen Wandervogel, jedoch auch den weiteren volkspolitisch gesinnten Bänden. (Im Jahr 1925 entstand der *Arbeitskreis für Gesellschaftswissenschaften*, und im Jahr 1928 gründete man den *Kameradschaftsbund – Bund für Volks- und sozialpolitische Bildung*, der sich als eine Urzelle der neuen Staatlichkeit verstanden – ein elitärer Bund zur Realisierung des ‚wahren Staates‘ nach Othmar Spann's Lehre aufgebaut und persönlich mit Spann's Schule eng verflochten.)

Die Vertreter der „Jungen“ setzten sich für eine Einheit der national-konservativen Jugendbünde ein, die den Grund zu einer überparteilichen Volkseinheit bilden sollte. (1922 entstand die sog. Sudetendeutsche Jugendgemeinschaft, die 1931 über 26 Jugendbünde und eine bedeutsame Mitgliederzahl von 50'000 Personen verfügte.) Der „Drang zur Einheit“ unter der deutschen konservativen Jugend verstärkte sich jedoch im Moment, als im Deutschen Turnverband in der Tschechoslowakei im Jahre 1926 Konrad Henlein (1898-1945) – der spätere Gründer der nationalistischen Sudetendeutschen Heimatfront bzw. Partei und der Gauführer des Sudetengaus im späteren Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren – die Führung übernahm. Konrad Henlein, der enge Freund von Heinz Rutha (1897-1937), dem Leiter des Sudetendeutschen Wandervogels, war nicht nur ein völkisch gesinnter Führer, der gleichzeitig volkspolitische Ziele in der Jugendbewegung verteidigte, sondern auch ein aktiver Verfechter einer militärischen Erziehung. Sein Erziehungskonzept basierte nicht nur auf strenger Disziplin, Gehorsam und der Heroisierung des Soldatentums, sondern praktizierte auch eine strenge militaristische körperliche Ertüchtigung, und zwar im Rahmen der sog. Jungmännerlager (Arbeitserziehungslager). Wie konkret die militärischen und volkspolitischen Erziehungskonzepte strukturiert waren, wie die Arbeitserziehungslager der jungen Männer – Turneraufgebaut wurden, ist Gegenstand der Analyse, welche auf einer breiten Basis von Bildmaterial und Primärquellen beruht.

Einen Gegensatz zu den angesprochenen Bemühungen im national-konservativen Lager bildete die Situation im Lager der sozialistischen Arbeiterjugend. Zwar befand sich diese nach 1921 in intensiven Auseinandersetzungen mit dem kommunistischen Flügel, verfocht jedoch ebenfalls eine internationale, antinationale und antimilitärische Erziehung. Während der Faschismus erst nach 1933 zum großen Feind der deutschen Jungsozialisten in der CSR wurde, war der Antimilitarismus bereits seit 1918 ein Hauptprogrammpunkt des Sozialistischen Jugendbundes in der Tschechoslowakei. Wie die Diskussion im Sozialistischen Jugendverband in der Tschechoslowakei im Hinblick auf eine internationale Versöhnung, eine internationale Zusammenarbeit und antimilitärische Erziehung strukturiert war, bildet das zweite Thema des Beitrags.

## **Militarism and antimilitarism in German youth organizations in the interwar Czechoslovakia**

The end of the First World War saw the creation of independent states that dramatically re-drew the European map. It was widely celebrated as a moment of national revolution. However, many German youth organizations in the newly-formed Czechoslovakia, did not perceive this new situation as a victory. The German defeat was understood as a failure of German citizens and youth in a national protectionist fight. The German socialist youth camp viewed the war as murder of nations. Efforts to initiate international cooperation were initially haphazard and took time to develop.

This paper reflects on issues of nationalism, militarism and politics in education that were widely discussed in German youth organisations in interwar Czechoslovakia. The language of German conservative youth organizations is compared to that of socialist-oriented youth organizations. German youth organisations were keen to establish a German Sudeten youth front in which nationalist language was central. This was characterized by an emphasis on discipline, heroic presentation of the soldier and also the importance of militaristic education. A group of so-called 'young' people, under their charismatic leader Heinz Ruth (1897-1937), developed this educational concept within a Sudeten German Association called "Sudetendeutscher Wandervogel". His educational style proved to be successful in the German citizen youth camp, particularly after the election of Konrad Henlein (1898-1945) to the leadership of the German Sport Association in Czechoslovakia, 'Deutscher Turnverband in der Tschechoslowakei - DTV'. Konrad Henlein, later a successful founder and leader of the German Sudeten Front and Party ('Sudetendeutsche Heimatfront - Partei'), and also leader of the German Sudeten District ('Sudetengau') in the German Empire, successfully pushed through a new educational style. This was applied in so called labour camps, 'Arbeitslager der Jungen', ruled not only by discipline, but also by the spirit of militarism and preparation for war. The German socialist youth camp in Czechoslovakia ('Deutscher sozialistischer Jugendverband in der CSR') promoted the values of international cooperation among nations and fought the rising tide of militarism - a central point of their program. It also aimed to combat the communist influence. My analysis will explore and examine these debates and issues in the socialist youth camp.

### **Kasperová, Dana**

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### **Erziehung im Ghetto Theresienstadt – Erziehung zur Gemeinschaft trotz Lagerrealität**

Der zweite Weltkrieg bedeutete im Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren ein tragisches Ende der „Endlösung der Judenfrage“. Die tschechische jüdische Bevölkerung, nicht ausgenommen die Kinder und Jugendlichen, wurde den repressiven antijüdischen Maßnahmen ausgesetzt, die zu Deportierungen ins Ghetto Theresienstadt und dann in der Folge zu Massendeportationen in die Vernichtungslager in den Osten führten. Von den insgesamt 9'500 nach Theresienstadt deportierten Kindern und Jugendlichen überlebten nur 636 die „Vernichtungsmaschinerie“ im Ghetto Theresienstadt, im KZ Auschwitz und Auschwitz-Birkenau. Gegen ihre fatale Lebenssituation im Ghetto Theresienstadt arbeiteten Theresienstädter Erzieher - jüdische Häftlinge -, die sich im Rahmen einer begrenzten und immerhin von der SS-Macht

kontrollierten Selbstverwaltung um die Jugendlichen kümmerten. Dabei handelte es sich um Gesundheitsfürsorge, aber vor allem auch um Erziehungs- und eine heimliche Bildungsarbeit im Ghetto.

Die Ghetto-Erzieher – unterschiedlich gesinnt – setzten sich gemeinsam für die Verbesserung der Lebensverhältnisse der Kinder ein. Obwohl die Diskussionen über die Ziele und auch Mittel der Erziehung zu keinem einheitlichen Ergebnis führten und man sich nicht auf ein gemeinsames Erziehungskonzept einigen konnte, stimmte man bezüglich der Sache einer Gemeinschaftsbildung im Ghetto überein. Sie sollte helfen, angesichts der harten Lagerrealität nicht zu kapitulieren und die Kinder auf das Leben nach dem Krieg vorzubereiten. Das Schicksal der Erzieher und Kinder endete in vielen Fällen tragech, als sie in Auschwitz starben. Immerhin bleibt deren erzieherische Arbeit inmitten des Kampfes ums Überleben ein Zeichen eines tieferen existenziell menschlichen Bemühens um die Erhaltung der Würde und um den Bedarf des Lernens und der Erziehung in einer absoluten Grenzsituation. Zentrale Aufmerksamkeit widmet der Beitrag der Rolle der Kinderbetreuung und Jugendfürsorge im Aufbau des Ghettos Theresienstadt. Es werden die jüdischen Hauptakteure der „Jugendfürsorge“ im Ghetto vorgestellt und ihre Erziehungsziele und Erziehungskonzeptionen analysiert. Dabei wird der Fokus auf die Frage des Sinns und der Ziele der Erziehung im Ghetto gerichtet. Die Analyse beruht auf authentischen Quellen – den Berichten der Ghetto-Erzieher.

Weiterhin wird die Erziehungsarbeit in den Theresienstädter Kinderheimen und Jugendheimen analysiert. Zuerst soll die Gründung der Heime kurz rekonstruiert werden. Danach gelangen das Spektrum an Kinder- und Jugendheimen- es existierten zionistisch oder politisch orientierte Heime neben sportlich oder kulturell ausgerichteten- und ihre Orientierung an den Erziehungszielen sowie die angewandten Erziehungsmittel zur Darstellung. Es folgt die Rekonstruktion des Alltags in den Knaben- und Mädchenheimen. Zwar galt im Ghetto ein Bildungsverbot, dennoch darf die Bildungsfrage nicht ausser Betracht gelassen werden. Die Darstellung beruht auf Primärquellen aus dem Ghetto – auf erhaltenen Produkten der Kinderarbeit (Kinderzeitungen, Kinderaufzeichnungen, literarische Texte und Gedichte geschrieben von Kindern, Vorträge von und für Kinder).

Grössere Aufmerksamkeit wird der Persönlichkeit des Erziehers Valter Eisinger gewidmet, der eine zentrale Rolle in der Erziehungsdiskussion im Ghetto einnahm. Er war der Leiter von Heim I im Knabenheim L 417, wo die Kinderselbstverwaltung (Republik SKID) gegründet und praktiziert wurde. Das Prinzip der Kinderselbstverwaltung wurde dann in weiteren Heimen verbreitet. Der Erziehungsalltag im Knabenheim L 417 wird ausserdem anhand der im Theresienstädter Archiv einmalig erhaltenen Kinderzeitschrift Vedem rekonstruiert.

### **Education in the ghetto – learning and community in difficult times**

The Second World War brought the ‘Jewish question’, in the German Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, to a tragic conclusion. The Czech Jewish population, including children and young people, were exposed to the force of repressive anti-Jewish measures. Many were contained within the Terezin ghetto and, from there, transported to other eastern European extermination camps. Only 636 children out of 9,500 deportees survived the extermination ‘machine’ of Terezin, Auschwitz and Auschwitz Birkenau. However, Jewish educators who operated within the limited Jewish self-government of the Terezin ghetto, stood against the fatalism of everyday life. These were primarily engaged in nursing activities, health and support, but also carried out secret educational roles. Educators worked to improve the living conditions of children and youth in the Terezin ghetto. Heated discussions took place over the means and objectives of education, but



there was a general consensus about the need to create a community in children's homes, which were to help children resist the harsh reality of living in concentration camps and also to prepare children and youth for life after the war. In reality, the lives of both children and their educators were much more tragic. The daily struggle for better living conditions in the ghetto represents an important example of the effort to preserve human dignity, to which knowledge and education were central, in severely restricted situations.

The paper will focus on role of 'Jewish self-government' in education in the ghetto of Terezín. The main actors, their educational goals and concepts, will be described. A wide range of educational concepts and activities were apparent in orphanages, for instance, Zionist, socialist, sport and artistically oriented education. Special attention will be paid to the educator Valtr Eisinger, one of the main characters of Terezín pedagogical discussions, who led 'House I' at the L 417 orphanage for boys. Eisinger, together with the children, founded an autonomous republic, 'Republic ŠKID'. The paper will also consider secret education or the 'cultural' life of the orphanages including children's opera Brundibár, children's magazines, children's artwork, children's lyrics and poems and lectures prepared by children themselves. My analysis will be based upon an examination of primary sources such as the preserved reports of Terezín educators. In addition, the daily lives of children will be reconstructed through a range of sources including children's magazines and journals, particularly the magazine 'Vedem'.

**Kay, Carolyn**

Trent University

United Kingdom

### **War Frenzy in the Volksschule: How German Children Imagined World War One**

My paper will consider how German middle-class and working-class children were shaped by wartime pedagogy, such that they imagined war as a world of adventure, self-sacrifice and heroism. In the Volksschule of the nation many children formed close emotional bonds with their teachers; they also passionately embraced the nation and the war cause. Before the war, teachers and educational administrators did not promote the instruction of militant nationalism, but focused upon cultivating the hard-working and dutiful citizen; furthermore, the methods of teaching were traditional and thus emphasized rote learning and the authority of the instructor. Once the war began, however, this practice changed – particularly in the cities. Educational methods were brought into line with the demands of reformers who urged child-centered learning, and the subjects of study now included the war itself. Within the primary schools teachers directed children to write free compositions on the war, on such topics as "How I Can be Helpful During the War" and "What I Think About My Enemies;" they were also asked to imagine the war by drawing scenes of battles and soldiers, or making postcards and models. The young student thus became actively engaged in creative learning and study about the war, expressing ideas in an outpouring of artwork and school essays. Examples of such work were exhibited in a remarkable exhibition of 1915 in Berlin entitled "School and War." Organized by the Central Institute for Education and Teaching in Berlin, this exhibition featured hundreds of essays and drawings by Volksschule students throughout Germany. I will analyze these sources and also consider the thousands of student essays published during the war in collected editions (located in the Kinder-und Jugendbuchabteilung, Berlin Staatsbibliothek). My aim is to find

children's authentic voices at this time (as much as this is possible), and thus to consider their ideas about the "Great War," while also considering the powerful nationalist indoctrination they faced (for example, in wartime children's literature). This paper will thus address students' intense imagination about the war, cultivated by devoted teachers and schools during this pivotal period in Germany's history.

## **Kennedy, Katharine**

Agnes Scott College  
United States

### **Singing about Soldiers in German Schools, from 1890 to 1945**

German primary schools, or *Volksschulen*, of the Wilhelmine, Weimar, and Nazi eras, took seriously required instruction in vocal music. Official curricula included lists of the songs to be learned, and pupils used officially adopted songbooks in their music classes. Songbooks for all three periods typically included thematic units on topics such as the seasons, nature, and holidays. In addition, however, each songbook included a group of songs devoted to "soldiers," "heroes" or "fatherland." An examination of these songs about war, seeking patterns of continuity and change over the course of these tumultuous decades, will be the focus of this paper. Because songs were memorized and repeated, and because they required active involvement of the singers, they potentially offer insight into how German children learned to imagine war. Songs about war often contained first-person pronouns, inviting boys to identify themselves with soldiers, and girls, with bereaved mourners. Songs sung in school are also of particular interest for exploring lessons about war because music was one of the few disciplines that had war as a persistent theme. While this study of songs shows how schooling conveyed both the glory and the pity of war, it does not imply that militarism permeated German schooling. Although the goals and content of primary education, and notably of music lessons, shifted over the fifty-five years considered here, many of the same songs about war appeared in the songbooks of the Kaiserreich, the Republic, and the Third Reich. Often, the authors of these widely practiced songs were German poets of the early nineteenth-century wars of liberation, such as Theodor Körner, Ernst Moritz Arndt, and Max von Schenkendorf. Originally written to rally Germans against Napoleon, the violent, often anti-French lyrics persisted, but with differing contexts and purposes, in later years. The paper will highlight the striking number of war-related songs found consistently in songbooks for all three periods, while also considering songs added or omitted in each period. My analysis of the songs will emphasize three dominant themes: glory, sacrifice, and mourning. While some songs depicted war as glorious and exciting, others invoked the beauty of death for fatherland. Also common, however, were sorrowful songs mourning the premature deaths of comrades and loved ones. While the songs glorifying war were more common in the Nazi period, and poems of mourning were more usual in Weimar curricula, songs envisioning war through all three of these lenses were common in all three generations of songbooks. Curricula for all three periods emphasized the joy that children should derive from singing, but the required songs included repeated reference to gruesome injuries, sacrificial death, and excruciating pain.

**Kennedy, Rosie**

Goldsmiths College, University of London  
United Kingdom

### **‘The whole atmosphere is one of pacifism.’ Quaker and Progressive Schools in First World War Britain**

While most schools in Britain supported the First World War wholeheartedly, for some the war conflicted with their particular philosophical or religious principles and so posed challenges both inside and outside of the classroom. This paper will explore how some of these schools responded to the war and finds that while they may have opposed the war on principle, most found a way to support those children and families who had links to the fighting.

The paper will consider the response of progressive schools, like King Alfred’s School in North London, where the war entered the curriculum and life of the school as a consequence of the children’s interest, rather than under the direction of the school leadership. Despite the Headmaster’s contention that the war was a direct consequence of the spirit of competition fostered within the education systems of all nations, the children’s fascination with the war found expression in their artwork and contributions to the school magazine. Similarly teachers who were generally opposed to the war found themselves creating opportunities for children to contribute to the war effort during their lessons. What is key here is that it was the school’s philosophy of letting the children develop their own interests that pushed the war onto the curriculum, despite the school’s reluctant enthusiasm for it.

The conflict also posed particular problems for Quaker schools which had a religious tradition of opposition to war and who maintained this throughout the conflict. Despite this however, the archives of schools like Leighton Park in Reading, show that for the children themselves this religious opposition could sometimes be very difficult to maintain while public support for the war was so strong. Evidence from the school archive shows that while the justification for the war continued to be hotly debated, the school found ways to support both those who upheld their opposition to war and those who found they could no longer do so in the face of the sacrifices being made by those around them. The letters of boys serving in the Forces regularly appeared alongside those of boys in prison in *The Leightonian*, and the school’s attitude was that those obeying the call to duty – whatever they felt that duty might be – were doing work of national importance.

While these schools may not have opposed the war entirely they did attempt to offer their pupils an alternative way of responding to its challenges. The particular religious and philosophical teachings of these schools represent an often overlooked alternative message that existed in British schools during the First World War. While their influence may have been limited, their existence is a reminder that there were alternative discourses on the war competing for the attention of young people during this period.

**Kéri, Katalin**

University of Pécs  
Hungary

### **La guerra y la psique del niño**

Los acontecimientos de I. Guerra Mundial fueron el impacto sobre el funcionamiento de las escuelas húngaras, y en la vida diaria de los niños. El plan de estudios y los métodos pedagógicos

reflejan el estado de guerra. Una serie de guías y novelas nació sobre los horrores de la guerra, el patriotismo, sobre la educación de la nación, y el coraje de soldado: algunos de ellos tenían algunas características pedagógicas, o estaban destinados a niños o jóvenes. Sin embargo, sólo unos pocos libros fueron publicados en los que el autor mostró de qué manera los niños se vieron afectados por la guerra. En esta ponencia se presenta una de estas fuentes raras: un libro de educador húngaro, László Nagy - titulado *La Guerra y la psique del niño* (1915) - , lo cual es importante tanto desde el punto de vista de la psicología del niño y el de la historia de la educación. Este libro puede ser de gran interés no sólo para los historiadores húngaros de la educación, sino también para los investigadores de otros países.

László Nagy (1857-1931), profesor y psicólogo infantil, fue el presidente fundador de la Sociedad Húngara para Estudios del Niño (1906-1948) y el inventor de muchas innovaciones pedagógicas húngaras. En el invierno de 1914 a 1915, la Sociedad, bajo la dirección de Nagy, llevó a cabo una encuesta basada en un cuestionario amplio que implica 120 escuelas húngaras, examinar lo que los niños piensan sobre la guerra, lo que consideran como el bien y el mal por ello, que ellos consideran que es responsable de la aparición de la guerra, lo que ellos consideran que es la principal virtud militar, y en general: ¿cómo los años de la guerra afectan ellos, lo que ellos temen, qué tipo de juegos de lucha que juegan. Se recogieron datos en dos grupos de edad: entre 8-14 años de edad y de 14 a 18 años de edad - que presentan ambos grupos de informantes con 8 cuerdas de preguntas por responder sobre todo en formato escrito, y una con dibujos.

En el curso de nuestra investigación que reveló el fondo de los exámenes de László Nagy, las características y los problemas de los preparativos y la recopilación de datos, se analizaron el corpus textual del volumen, comparándola con otras fuentes húngaras contemporáneas, y nos encontramos y escudriñamos el opiniones y análisis sobre el volumen escrito del 1910-s hasta nuestros días. El procesamiento de los datos, Nagy examinó cómo la crisis de la guerra afectó a las almas de los niños, como el cambio de sus ideas estaban relacionadas con las fases de su desarrollo intelectual, emocional y moral. Aunque las motivaciones que impulsan el estudio y el libro de la presentación de sus resultados fueron exclusivamente infantil psicológico y pedagógico, ahora, cien años después, se han convertido en una fuente importante de Hungría para la investigación de la historia de la educación y de la infancia, y en un ámbito más amplio , de la historia de la Primera Guerra Mundial.

### **War and the Child's Psyche**

In Hungary a number of handbooks and novels were written on the horrors of World War I, on patriotism, on the education of the nation, and on soldierly courage: some of these had some pedagogical features, or were intended for children or youngsters. However, only a few books were published in which the author showed in what way children were affected by the war. This paper introduces one of these rare sources: László Nagy's (1915) book - entitled *The War and the Child's Psyche* - , which is important both from the point of view of child psychology and that of the history of education. This book can be of great interest not only for the Hungarian historians of education, but also for researchers from other countries.

In the winter of 1914-15, the Hungarian Society for Child Studies, under Nagy's direction, carried out a wide-ranging questionnaire-based survey involving 120 Hungarian schools, examining what children think about the war, what they consider as good and bad about it, who they consider to be responsible for the onset of the war, what they consider to be the chief military virtue, and in general: how the war years affect them, what they are afraid of, what kind of fighting games they play. They collected data in two age groups: between 8-14-year-olds and 14-18-year-

olds – presenting both groups of informants with 8 strings of questions to be answered mainly in written format, and one with drawings. (For instance: Why is there a state of war now? How will it end? Why? Do you ever play at war? Write down how. Do you like the war? Why? Has the war changed your daily routine? How? Etc.)

In the course of our research we revealed the background of László Nagy's examinations, the features and problems of the preparations and the data collection; we analysed the textual corpus of the volume, comparing it with other contemporary Hungarian sources, and we found and scrutinised the reviews and analyses of the volume written from the 1910s to the present day. Processing the data, Nagy examined how the war crisis affected children's souls, how the changing of their ideas were related to the phases of their intellectual, emotional and moral development, and discussed what sort of tasks the recognition of children's thoughts brings to the surface concerning moral and national education. The book – of which, unfortunately, only the first volume got completed – bears great significance not only from a child psychological point of view, but also contains several details that shed light on the contemporary Hungarian pedagogical and political thinking, and a number of characteristic properties of the questionnaire-based research methodology of the 1910-s can be highlighted with its help. Albeit the driving motivations behind the survey and the book reporting its results were solely child psychological and pedagogical, now, a hundred years later, they have become an important Hungarian source for the research of the history of education and childhood, and in a broader scope, of the history of World War I.

### **Kerr-Sheppard, Gillian**

University of Sydney  
Australia

### **Will to Learn: why education is cherished in West Bank and Gaza Strip refugee camps**

This qualitative study developed substantive theory about the long term legacy of the 1948 Israeli War of Independence on the engagement with education of Palestinian refugees in United Nations (UNRWA) camps in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Despite the 'value-laden nature' of qualitative enquiry (Denzin & Lincoln, 2013, p. 17), which relies on the researcher as the main instrument, a constructivist paradigm was chosen to facilitate the emergence of meanings and intentions underpinning the perspectives and actions of the refugees in their dealings with education. Today's population of the West Bank and Gaza Strip refugee camps are mainly the descendants of village farmers from rural pre-1948 Palestine. Prior to the breakup of the Ottoman Empire in 1919 and the resultant 1922 League of Nations grant of the Palestine Mandate to Great Britain, the farmers had already expressed the desire for schools in their villages. However, little investment was made on Arab education during the Mandate and by 1945 only half of the villages had government schools. Of those schools, less than sixty percent reached Grade 4 . Current figures from the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics show that UNRWA schools provide universal, gender equal, basic education. Overall, the West Bank and Gaza Strip have a literacy rate of around 95%, with close to gender equality at secondary school and bachelor level education.

The aim of this research therefore, was to uncover the motivation underlying the successful change in the refugees' educational achievement over the six decades following the 1948 war. The participants were selected from four generations of refugees in ten West Bank and Gaza Strip

camps. To mitigate researcher bias, data were gathered over a period of four years (2007 – 2010), with ongoing analysis of semi-structured interviews, observations and documentation augmented by member checking, thus contributing to trustworthiness in theory development. The study found that as a direct consequence of war, education has been assimilated into the cultural heritage of the refugee population in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The original refugees blamed their loss of land in part on their ignorance about the events that had displaced them and therefore decided that literacy, as the basis of knowledge, was vital for their children's future. In addition, because they no longer had land to farm, they saw education as an economic necessity, leading to employment. Successive generations have combined these two motivating factors, believing that education is the cornerstone of a continuing, functional and positive society.

**Kestere, Iveta and Gravite, Aija**

University of Latvia

Latvia

### **Defending World Peace: as a concept of civic education in the soviet school (1947-1978)**

After the Cold War broke out in 1947 the world split in the perceptions of Soviet people very clearly and definitely into “us” – our own people, the Eastern bloc – and “them”, the Western bloc. In simple black-and-white manner, “our people” were the good ones – friends, while „them” were seen as the bad, or, the enemy. One of the key perceived traits of the “bad” westerners was an insurmountable urge to wage war. They were therefore permanently suspected of plotting plans to attack the Soviet Union and its friends. Of course, it was a sacred duty of every Soviet citizen to stand ready to defend themselves and their side under such circumstances, but the main task was to prevent the war from breaking out. This civic mission got symbolically charged descriptions such as “defending the world peace” and “struggle for peace”. Given that the Soviet leadership saw military might as the most effective means of countering an enemy (or keeping it at bay), Soviet people had to master the skills of defending peace with arms in their hands.

This kind of world-view or ideology was weaved into curricula and extracurricular activities on all levels of the Soviet education system. However, the ideology has to be implemented by individual human beings. Those involved in the “struggle for peace” included on the one hand a generation which had witnessed the Second World War and deeply believed in the strength of a Kalashnikov machine gun (e.g. teachers of military training, some older-generation pedagogues), but on the other hand pupils and other teachers alike for whom real war, at least until the Soviet intrusion into Afghanistan in 1978, had become an increasingly boring (albeit lofty) story of the previous generations, increasingly remote from reality. The ideological postulate of “struggling for peace” was unavoidable in the Soviet school, though pupils and younger teachers sought ways of putting a new meaning into it, probably closer to their own interests. Several studies are available on the civic and patriotic education in the Western bloc countries during the Cold War, but the corresponding realities on the other side of “trenches”, i.e. in the Eastern bloc, has been taken up for research only recently. Studies available mostly provide a description of the overall situation in the society, without zooming into particular questions of education.

This paper addresses both theory and practice of civic and patriotic education in the Soviet school by looking for answers on the following questions: how were the Soviet school children “armed” to safeguard the world peace? What competencies were there for them to master?

Were the activities of Soviet pupils under the slogan of defending world peace mere ideological abstractions, or could some rational meaning be discerned there as well? What was the “hidden agenda” of defending peace, put into it by younger generations of teachers and pupils?

Our historical sources are curricula and teaching materials in pedagogy, used in Soviet teacher training, as well as the pedagogic press, posters and photos.

**King, Kelley**

University of North Texas

United States

**The Cold War and Curriculum Conflict: The United Nations in Texas circa 1950**

In the fall of 2012, as the United States approached the November national elections, a county judge in Lubbock, Texas, attracted national attention when he suggested that the county needed to be prepared to engage in armed insurrection against the United States government in the case of President Barack Obama’s reelection. Judge Tom Head asserted that, if re-elected, Obama would “try to hand over the sovereignty of the United States to the [United Nations]” and suggested civil insurrection would result.”[i] Just months later, Ted Cruz, a newly elected U.S. Senator from Texas, gained notoriety for his opposition to the UN Agenda 21, a 1992 environmental sustainability agreement. Cruz echoed Head’s distrust of the UN and his concerns regarding national sovereignty. [ii] The views of Head and Cruz, notably surprising to the national press, represent an antipathy toward the United Nations that has long standing in Texas, dating back to the early years of the organization’s existence.

In the early 1950s, Texans took part in a larger national debate over the role of the United Nations and the United States participation in the organization. The controversy, argued largely in the press, impacted Texas educational leaders and raised debates about the inclusion of the United Nations in the state’s history curriculum. In the midst of heated debate on the subject during the early 1950s, one Texan attempted to promote support for the United Nations in Texas through a well-developed educational program. In this paper, based on archival research at the Texas State Archives, I examine from the perspective of cultural history the proposed curriculum, the rationale behind it, and strategies used to promote the curriculum in the particular social and political setting of Cold War Texas. In particular, I examine the conservative Texan opposition to the United Nations against which this curriculum was positioned and against which it appears to have failed. The paper concludes that the roots of Texan opposition to the United Nations trace back to the system(s) of race-based socio-economic oppression operant in the southern United States from the period of legalized slavery through the Jim Crow era of racial segregation still extant in Texas and other states of the Southern U.S. in the 1950s. As the some parts of the U.S., faced with Soviet criticism of its racially oppressive practice, returned to Reconstruction era goals of improving the status of African-Americans, Texas politics and the Texas curriculum held to its un-reconstructed ideology.

**Kirke, Alice**

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United Kingdom

### **‘Pennies for friendship’: the Associated Country Women of the World in the interwar years, 1933-1945**

The 1919 constitution of the Women’s Institute (WI) declared that it was to provide ‘for the fuller education of countrywomen in citizenship, in public questions both national and international.’ Whilst recent literature has addressed how citizenship education was provided through the WI in a national context (Beaumont, 2013) their promotion of international citizenship education and how it related to the peace movement is under-researched.

Throughout the 1920s the WI actively promoted the League of Nations and declared the movement’s support for world peace and disarmament. This took an organisational form in 1933 with the formation of the Associated Country Women of the World (ACWW) at a meeting in Stockholm, Sweden. The ACWW aimed to improve rural life for women through maintaining friendly relations between countries and can be situated within the growth of international women’s organisations who campaigned for peace through education and international cooperation in the interwar years. (Goodman, 2007). ‘Pennies for friendship’ was the name given to the voluntary donation scheme initiated in 1939 by treasurer Dorothy Drage to encourage members to make small donations each year. However, there were tensions within this internationalist outlook. Emphasising commonalities between rural women obscured tensions and power relations between nations, and internationalism ran alongside older concerns about empire. Indeed, the promotion of empire within the WI movement in the interwar years threatened its avowedly non-party political and non-sectarian stance. Furthermore, in common with the aims of the WI movement more generally, the ambitions of the ACWW were couched in the language of domesticity.

Through documentary and biographical research this paper will explore the ways in which international citizenship education was promoted through the ACWW. It will critique the notion of international ‘friendship’ promoted by the ACWW, and explore how it engaged with other international women’s organisations to locate it within the peace movement. Auto/biographical approaches to women’s networks have the potential to make women’s activism and agency more visible in the historical record (Aiston, 2010). The autobiography and personal papers of Dorothy Drage, held at Caernarfon Record Office will be utilised to examine how the ACWW articulated a common international identity as ‘countrywomen’ in relation to national identities and class. Alongside this, I will carry out a close reading of the publications of the ACWW including their magazine, *The Countrywoman*, held at the British Library to examine the tensions between ideas of internationalism, empire and domesticity.



**Kobayashi, Ami**

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Germany

*SWG Gender: Gender, Power Relations and Education in a Transnational World*

**POSTER: The wartime masculinity and ‘weakness phobia’ – motion and emotion in German and Japanese schools during World War II**

Compared to the pre-war period, gender differences were more stressed in Germany and Japan during World War II. While both governments placed importance on solidarity, they also stressed gender differences; man as a soldier and woman as a mother of soldiers. Both men and women were regarded as members of the state, but they were expected to play different roles. Schools in both countries functioned to support the war and also helped to construct certain gender differences. Boys had to be strong and brave like soldiers. However, what exactly ‘strong’ meant at that time was not clearly defined. In my research I would like to explore, how German and Japanese children, especially boys, understood ‘strength’ and showed that ‘strength’ during World War II. Uchida introduced the concept of ‘weakness phobia’, to explain the general image of ‘strength’ and masculinity which was broadly accepted by Japanese boys and youths in this era. ‘Weakness phobia’ means strong antipathy towards ‘weakness’ and the obsession that a man should never be regarded as ‘weak’. While you can show your physical strength through your physical performance in activities like sport, I would argue that children had to show their mental strength through emotional control, showing appropriate emotions in the appropriate circumstance. Therefore concepts like ‘Emotionology’ (P. Stearns), ‘Emotional Community’ (B. Rosenwein), and ‘Emotional Regime’ (W. Reddy) could be helpful, as they all suggest that each community has their own emotional system, which shapes their way of expressing (and also potentially feeling) their emotions. For example, showing ‘fear’ in front of others was regarded as ‘weak’. However, feeling fear itself wasn’t the main problem, it was expressing that fear in front of others that was the main issue.

Various gender studies show that the gender discourse in this era, partly supported by science like biology and psychology, distinguished rational men from emotional women. Therefore, although being strong was an important goal for both boys and girls, the antipathy towards ‘weak boys’ was obviously stronger than towards ‘weak girls’. There was a stronger expectation for boys to control their emotions; instead of crying and showing their fear, they had to show their honour and readiness to fight. In this process collective movements, especially marching, also played an important role. As scholars like W. McNell suggest, motion is strongly connected to emotion. Collective movements support the feeling of togetherness, evoking in the participants the sensation of a strong, warm and conjoined “we”.

**Koessler, Till**

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Germany

**Children in the Spanish Civil War: The Republican Zone**

Far from being a marginal subject, the study of childhood touches on central issues of the Civil War. Not only were questions of child-care and education prominent subjects of public debate

during the war, but children became also a major target of propagandistic and mobilizing activities. A closer look at the way the young generation was incorporated in the war effort can both contribute to a better understanding of the way the war affected Spanish society at large and help to locate the Civil War both in the history of armed conflict in the 20th century and the history of modern childhood. Despite the importance that contemporaries attached to the subject, students of the Civil War have paid only slight attention to children. The existing research focuses almost exclusively on the evacuations of Republican children to foreign countries in which around 40,000 children left Republican Spain after 1936. While we can learn much from their histories and the fervent attempts of the Franco regime to repatriate the evacuees, their history has tended to eclipse the larger role childhood played in the two war societies. Especially in the Republican zone politicians, social movements and educators entered into a heated debate about how to incorporate the young generations into the war effort. In my paper, I will examine the extent of the involvement of children into the war effort, its limits and its underlying rationales. How did children get involved in the war? How did the approach towards children and education during the war differ among the different political groups in Republican Spain? I will specifically emphasize the ambiguous role of a modern psychological understanding of childhood as a major factor in the mobilization process. My argument is that a new view on childhood intensified attempts to shape children in accordance with the particular war aims, while at the same time it limited the political and military involvement of the young.

**Konrad, Franz-Michael**

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Germany

### **The German Youth Movement and its Enthusiasm for War**

In the years before World War One in Germany the youth movement (i.e. the “Wandervogel”) was a remarkable social phenomenon. Most of these young men came from middle class families and attended a grammar school. On the one hand they criticised society in a very harsh manner. On the other hand they represented those who volunteered for the German army, immediately after the outbreak of the war, in huge numbers. How can such inconsistent behaviour be explained? The paper will present the answers historians offer in response to this question.

**Kral, Karla and Rodríguez Álvarez, María de los Ángeles**

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Mexico

*SWG Gender: Gender, Power Relations and Education in a Transnational World*

### **Gender and Global Citizenship in Mexican National Curricula, 1992-present**

This paper responds to Marshall and Arnot’s (2008:166) call for localized investigations “into the gender politics of national school curricula in non-Western environments” by analyzing the conceptions of gender equality and global citizenship in Mexico’s national curricula from 1992 to the present. The same authors argue that “A gender analysis of the national curricula within development contexts requires. . .[an] in-depth historical and sociological unpacking of national curricular norms” (Marshall and Arnot, 2008:178).

Mexico presents an interesting case study for “unpacking” or deconstructing national curricular norms from a historical development, and gender perspective because since the presidency of Miguel de la Madrid (1982-1988), the State has progressively adopted neoliberal economic policies that have resonated in national educational policies, as in the case of The National Agreement for the Modernization of Basic and Normal Education (1992) and the subsequent national curricular plan in 1993. The Mexican State can also be considered a “transnational state” (Hollifield, 2004:81) given that since the 1990s the government has engaged its migrant population abroad by granting dual nationality and establishing collaborative initiatives through the Program for Mexican Communities Abroad. Gender is especially visible on the Mexican federal government’s agenda in the 21st Century, as evidenced by the creation of the National Institute of Women (2001), the adoption of the General Act on Equality between Women and Men (2006) and the General Law on Women’s Access to a Life Free of Violence (2007).

The Mexican Secretariat of Education, under the auspice of the program known as the Integral Reform of Basic Education, implemented a series of curricular innovations aimed at both integrating preschool, elementary, and secondary education and improving the quality of education (Secretaría de Educación Pública, 2011). A new Plan of Studies was issued for each basic educational level: Preschool (2004), Junior High (2006), and Elementary (2011).

Against this backdrop of neoliberal economic reform and transnationalism on one hand, and gender social justice on the other, then, we ask: How are gender and global citizenship embedded in Mexican national curricula? What kind of “imagined” global society and world citizen is conceptualized within Mexican national curricula? This paper first contextualizes Mexican public education from 1992 to the present, the beginning of educational modernization; then analyzes notions of gender and global citizenship existent in national curricula through the four main Plan of Studies related to basic education between 1993 and 2011. Within the framework of Reinhart Koselleck’s (1993) conceptual history and Michel Foucault’s (2013) theory of power, we hope to identify specific State-imposed norms and values within the national curricula that have the potential to forge cosmopolitan and gender-equal subjects.

### **Ku, Hsiao-Yuh**

Independent Researcher

Taiwan

### **Fighting for Social Democracy: R. H. Tawney and Educational Reconstruction in World War II**

In history, war events inevitably brought about great upheaval and devastating damage to human society. However, they also provided opportunities for educational reform and reconstruction. This was also acknowledged by R. H. Tawney (1880-1962), an outstanding English economic historian and socialist. Tawney once stated that ‘Experience suggests that, in order to induce the British public to undertake educational reconstruction, nothing less than a major war will suffice.’ In reality, Tawney himself was vigorously involved in educational reconstructions during the First and the Second World War, which led to the 1918 Education Act and the 1944 Education Act respectively. More importantly, his ideas of democracy laid a foundation for his positions and viewpoints in various educational debates during the Second World War. For Tawney, the war was ‘a war for democracy’, or to put it more precisely, a war for social democracy. His ideals of social democracy formed the basis of his case for public school reform and free secondary

education for all. Despite this, the connection between Tawney's ideals of social democracy and his perspectives in educational debates has not been addressed fully by historians. Hence, this paper aims to re-examine the link between them in greater depth. It will spell out three key themes of Tawney's ideals of social democracy, that is, equality, freedom and fellowship, particularly in relation to education. Following that, how Tawney's ideals of social democracy determined his positions and perspectives on contentious issues will be explored through analyzing his arguments for reform proposals in his books, pamphlets, speeches, memoranda, leading articles in the *Manchester Guardian*, etc.

Anthony Wright remarks that the relationship between Tawney's socialist ends and means was problematic since he did not support the abolition of the public schools and was not keen on the multilateral school. However, the evidence in this paper proves that, for Tawney, the abolition of the public schools was not necessary for the establishment of a democratic educational system. Equally, both separate secondary schools and the multilateral school were democratic secondary organizations. The tripartite system was not against Tawney's ideal of equality as long as different secondary schools were equal in quality and status. This, he believed, must be advanced through the raising of the school leaving age to 16 and the abolition of fees in all secondary schools. Thus, he laid more emphasis on the school leaving age and tuition fees than on the multilateral school. In Tawney's view, a failure to raise the school leaving age would be more detrimental to democratic values than a failure to provide the multilateral school. In brief, on the issues of the public schools and secondary education, Tawney's opinions and actions were deeply grounded in his ideals of social democracy. Despite the fact that he did not succeed in incorporating all his reform proposals into the 1944 Education Act, his persistence and resolution to fight for social democracy should not be forgotten.

### **Kummerfeld, Rebecca**

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Australia

### **Drawing apart: A conflict in approaches to art instruction in Australia 1890 – 1915**

The final decades of the nineteenth century saw war break out among art educators. In Britain, South Kensington's curriculum, which was focused on copying geometric forms in outline was criticized by those who believed in the value of children's creativity and their aesthetic engagement with the natural world. This conflict between approaches to art education in England has been well documented by Bell (1963), Sutton (1967), Carline (1968), and more recently by Romans (2005). However, few have considered the way this played out across the world, and almost no attention has been paid to the way this British conflict affected Australia.

For many years, Australian children studied art in a way that mirrored their British counterparts. At the turn of the twentieth century, new ideas about the value of child art and an emphasis on hand-eye coordination became a new focus for Australian educators. This new art instruction emerged as Australians became interested in establishing a distinct national aesthetic, the content of drawing books changed to incorporate more uniquely Australian designs. New approaches to art instruction in England and America were adopted in parallel with an effort to find a national style, as both children and artists were encouraged to look to native flora and fauna for inspiration.

This paper examines the copybooks and copy exercises used in Australian schools between 1890 and 1920. Close visual analysis of the images and their intended use allows us to enter these classrooms of the past and gain insight into the ways pedagogy changed as these two approaches to art instruction went head to head. This paper will also consider the images chosen for copy exercises and reproduced for Australian classrooms, examining them against those chosen for British copybooks of the same era, and examine the range of historic and cultural influences that they embodied, bringing Australian students into an aesthetic dialogue with design traditions from around the world.

**Laot, Françoise**

Université de Reims Champagne-Ardenne

France

**The Film as Weapon in the Struggle for Bread, Peace and Freedom  
International workers' education through films in the context of the Cold War**

This paper will focus on an Institution, the International Labour Film Institute (ILFI, 1953-1973) and its educational aims directed to workers. The investigation was conducted through archives, notably those of the ILFI in the International Institute for Social History (IISH), Amsterdam, and the study of the monthly magazine *Free Labour World* (in its French speaking publication). First, we will depict the context in which was decided the creation of the ILFI within the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), itself founded in 1949 by scission from the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), supposed to be subordinated to the East Bloc. We will see what consequences this situation entailed in terms of workers' education throughout the world, and mainly, for those in the "new countries" emerging from decolonization.

In the post war period, in which cinema had played a part in the totalitarian propaganda, and in the state of tension due to the Cold War, one of consequences was a new concern of international labour movement for films as a means to act upon people.

"Taught by the dictatorship terrifying experiences, trade unions decided to undertake their own films edition. Films that will no more cultivate hatred, anger, duplicity and revenge feelings but that will place men, democrats, facing their destiny". (Georg Reuter, "The First Workers Films Festival", *Free Labour World*, n° 53, November 1954, p. 23.) We will study the arguments put forward in discourses about films and the labour movement and through what concrete actions this plan was carried out by the ILFI. Finally, we will examine one of ILFI productions, *Someone Knocks at the Door* (1958), an international imagination film, as presented by Hans Gottfurcht, the ILFI secretary-treasurer. This film concentrated all stakes of the free trade union educational message. Nevertheless, the circumstances of its realization caused disagreements and it was finally badly received. The film led to a conflict within members of the ILFI. The personality of its director, Sandor Szombati, a Hungarian refugee in Belgium during the Second World War, head of the ILFI (1957-1961) and turns in the geopolitics situation with the revival of the Cold War in 1958 may have played a part in it.

**Lautman, Emma**

University of Nottingham  
United Kingdom

### **Educating Children on the British Home Front, 1939-1945: oral history, memory and personal narratives**

‘Homesickness! It was always there in the back of your mind, rather like a toothache that would never go away’.

The above quote, from British television personality Michael Aspel, features prominently on the ‘About Us’ page of the website for the Evacuee Reunion Association. The experiences of British evacuees, who were moved from their homes in the cities to safer parts of the country at various points throughout the Second World War, has been dominated in popular memory by tales of homesickness, class conflict, cruelty and, of particular relevance to this paper, a disrupted and dysfunctional education system. A survey of the historiography demonstrates the endurance of negative accounts of the experience. The memory of a wide group has been dominated by a singular narrative.

Building on the important work on wartime teachers conducted by Cunningham and Gardner, this paper will use oral history interviews in order to discuss wartime education from the perspective of the pupils. Thus far, their voices have been largely neglected in the historiography of wartime education which has focused on quantifiable evidence such as paper shortages, low attendance and a lack of appropriate classroom space. Oral history allows the former evacuees to provide their own assessment of education, one which is considerably more complex than the existing literature would suggest. The paper will ask how far evacuation can, in itself, be deemed an educational experience, arguing for a reassessment of the definition of ‘education’. Many children in my sample were exposed to entirely different ways of life, made new friends and considered the whole experience to be quite exciting. Others credit their host families with instilling in them educational values which they would not have received at home. I will end by considering the issue of memory and the impact of cultural discussions about the war on the narratives I have collected. The perception of wartime Britain as an era of social unity has shaped memories of the evacuation and I will address the effect of this discourse on my interviewees’ responses.

**Lawal, Bashiru Olubode**

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**Akanbi, Grace Oluremilekun**

Emmanuel Alayande College of Education, Oyo  
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### **The Nigerian Civil war, 1967-1970, its Immediate and Long Term Devastating Effects on Education**

Nigeria came into existence in 1914 when the two British Northern and Southern protectorates were amalgamated by Frederick Lugard, and it continued to be under the British colonial rule until October 1st, 1960, when she got her independence. However, the political crisis in the Western Region between 1964 and 1965 led to the first military coup in Nigeria on January

15, 1966, which invariably culminated to the civil war between 1967 and 1970. There was no schooling throughout the period of the war in the Eastern Nigeria as most schools including the University of Nigeria, Nsukka were used as Army Barracks. Also, undergraduates and secondary school students were enrolled both into the Biafran Army and Nigerian Army. The terrible state of all schools in the Eastern Region led to government take-over of the administration of all private schools after the civil war and subsequent take-over of all private schools in Nigeria by the Federal government in 1975. The takeover of schools from the Christian missions by the government perhaps negatively affected the standard of education as well as discipline among both students and teachers of such schools. Other educational effects of the war include: unstable education policy for instance before the war, there was 6-6-3 system of education. After the war, 6-3-3-4 system of education was introduced. In 1976, Universal Primary Education was introduced nationwide, and in 1999, Universal Basic Education was also introduced which the country is presently operating. Perhaps the most serious effect of the civil war is the formation of local militants among the major groups in Nigeria. For instance, Odua people's congress in Yorubaland, Boko Haram in Hausaland - which has turned violent today, destroying schools and killing students particularly in the North-East as a result of which state of emergency had been declared in three out of six states in the zone by the president of Nigeria, Dr. Goodluck Jonathan - and in the South-South, the Niger-Delta militants. It will take a very long time for Nigerians to forget the first Nigerian civil war particularly when one considers its effects generally and particularly on education. This paper will therefore discuss the effects of the Nigerian civil war on education and suggest steps that need to be taken by both the governments and the Nigerians themselves to boost education. This is a historical research and historical method would be employed using primary and secondary sources of information. The War Museums, the national Archives, relevant textbooks, journals and the internet would be used.

**Lawal, Bashiru O**

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**Fatoki, Olatunde R**

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### **The Role of Education in Nigeria: Post Civil War Efforts in the Reconciliation, Reconstruction and Rebuilding of Nigeria Nation**

Nigeria, the most populous nation in Africa is located in West Africa sub-region with population of over 140 million people and over two hundred and fifty ethnic groups. Nigeria was colonised by British but got independence in 1960. After the departure of colonial masters in 1960, the political actors that inherited the administration of the country failed to manage it well. This led to crisis starting from defunct Western Region and spread to other areas. This political crisis informed the decision of the military juntas to take over the administration of the country in 1966. However, the military was also accused of open tribal loyalty and this led to counter coup that resulted into crisis which degenerated into civil war when the Eastern Regional administration led by Odumegwu Ojukwu declared the region as an independent state of Biafra in 1967. During the period the civil war lasted, many properties were destroyed, the people of Eastern Nigeria fled to other parts of the country for safety while Non Eastern origins living in

the Eastern Region also fled the territory for fear of persecution. Trade relationship, transport and commercial activities between the Eastern Region and other parts of Nigeria broke down and there was a high level of insecurity in the Land.

When the civil war was over, the Federal Government made frantic efforts to reconcile all citizens, rebuild collapsed facilities and reconstruct a new Nigeria Nation that would be devoid of ethnic loyalty. The Federal Government then saw education as the only tool that can serve this purpose, hence, government embarked on series of education activities. National Youth Service Corps was introduced to graduates of colleges of education, polytechnics, universities and other related institutions. Each graduate of these institutions would be taken to other tribe different from his/her own to serve the country for a year. The objective was to ensure cross cultural fertilization in terms of ideas, marriage and tradition. Many federal universities and colleges were also established across the country to admit students without ethnic and religious consideration. National flag was designed and schools were mandated to always fly it as a way of arousing national consciousness of the learners. These among others were the efforts government put in place for peace process after the war. The institutions put in place by government in actual fact doused tension and assisted a lot in achieving peace. This paper, however, notes that these institutions are becoming weak to sustain peace hence it recommends the over hauling of these institutions and the introduction of new approach of peace process to be anchored in school curricular in line with global practice.

**Lawrence, Adrea**

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United States

### **Co-Opting Coyote: Claiming the Indigenous in Children's Magazines**

As the so-called "frontier" of the American West closed in the 1880s and 1890s, U.S. children's magazines published fictional and non-fictional stories about American Indians and their cultures. *St. Nicholas*, arguably one of the most widely circulated children's magazines published in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, printed many such stories. Against the backdrop of salvage anthropology, Charles Fletcher Lummis, the notorious adventurer, writer, and amateur ethnologist, took down and published a series of Tiwa stories from *Isleta Pueblo*, located just outside of Albuquerque, New Mexico, in *St. Nicholas Magazine* in the 1890s. Most of these dealt with the trickster character, Coyote (Lummis 1891a; 1891b; 1891c; 1891d; 1891e; 1894a; 1894b). Other authors who published in *St. Nicholas* also recounted Native stories, such as those about giants along the Northeast Coast (Fuller 1914), or improvised their own, such as those about the cliff dwellers of New Mexico (Dellenbaugh 1889). Coupled with the wide dissemination of exhibitions about Native peoples at the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago and the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis, the appetite for American Indian lore in the popular, public imagination was strong as Euroamericans laid claim to lands across North America. This paper considers how the publication of tribal histories as "myths" for young non-Native audiences are evidence of multigenerational learning that co-opts American Indian histories in the indigenization process of non-Native peoples (Frey 2013; Turner 1920).



**Lee, Myungsil**

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### **How did Inoue Tetsujiro cope with the social changes of Japan in early 20th centuries?: War and the intellectuals in the Modern era of Japan**

Inoue Tetsujiro has been known as an orthodox ideologue of the Japanese Emperor Education in the Modern era. He was a professor of the Tokyo University and an author of his well-known books: "Conflict of the Education and Religious"(1893), "Introduction to Public Morality"(1912), and "Our National Polity and Public Morality"(1925). Inoue criticized Utimura Kanzo for not paying respects to the Emperor Rescript on Education at a school ceremony in 1891. It was called a case of Utimura Kanzo's Disrespect. Inoue's book of the "Conflict of the Education and Religious"(1893) initiated a battle between the Emperor Rescript on Education and Religion. He emphasized contextual issues of Japan at that time to criticize Christianity.

Inoue, in his book of the "Introduction to Public Morality"(1912), criticized Japanese nationalism based on Confucian and hierarchical family relationships in comparison to the Western Individualism. His line of thoughts was influenced by contextual events of Japan both externally and internally. Externally Japan entered a turbulent era by experiencing Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), and World War I (1914-1918). Internally there were strong needs for changes of the Imperial Rescript on the Educational System as Japan was experiencing Labour Movement, Individualism, Taisyo Democracy Movement(1910s), and Civil Movements due to a sudden rise of rice prices(1918).

Inoue was one of the representative intellectuals in Japanese Modern era. He had a serious consideration of contextual changes of Japan in developing his thoughts and beliefs. His book, "Our national polity and public morality"(1925) was banned for its perspective on the nation or the Emperor. What were the true reasons for the criticism of his thoughts? What were characteristics of Japanese Emperor Educational System? What could be roles of intellectuals for the nation in a turbulent era? With all the questions, I would like to examine Inoue Tetsujiro's thoughts and ideas and changes of his beliefs and philosophy that reflected social and political circumstances in the stormy era of Japan.

**Leeworthy, Daryl**

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United Kingdom

### **Exporting the Workhouse: Education, Citizenship, and British Charitable Activism in Interwar Hungary**

In 1919, the Save the Children Fund was founded by Eglantyne Jebb and her sister Dorothy Buxton to promote awareness of and solutions to the famine afflicting post-war Eastern Europe. Alongside fundraising, the Fund sponsored several schools in Budapest that ostensibly provided vulnerable children with a safe, skills-based education and the means of becoming model citizens in a new, peaceful Europe. Indeed, they provided a test case for much of Save the Children's later activism in Britain and abroad, informing the declaration of the rights of the child in 1923.

This paper, based on research in archives in Britain and in Geneva, focuses on the formation and operation of the Save the Children Fund schools in Budapest, providing insight into the

direct intervention into slum areas by members of Save the Children, school staff, and associated charities in the city itself, as well as on the form of education provided. Forming part of a larger research project into the development of the British Save the Children Fund's educational activism, the paper argues that post-war idealism was mediated through competing interests at home and abroad eventually coming to settle on an improving strategy of technical education and citizenship training.

**Leite, Juçara Luzia**

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Brazil

**A history for peace: representations and requirements of the Pan American Union for the teaching of history in interwar years**

In 1933, Brazil and Argentina signed the “Agreement between Brazil and Argentina for the Revision of Texts for Teaching History and Geographia”. Signing this document meant to continue international debates in defense of a project that redefined the role of history teaching beyond the notions of civility and morality. Discussions on this topic have expanded with the creation of the International Commission on Intellectual Cooperation (League of Nations, 1922) and its consequences were seen in cultural diplomacy strategies during the interwar period. This study discusses the consequences of these debates in the Pan-American Union, considering especially the Pan-American Congress of 1924 in Lima, and the X National Congress of History, 1928, in Montevideo. We work with the collection of the Historical Archive of the Foreign Ministry (Itamaraty) in Rio de Janeiro and we ask how the guidelines were appropriate for a moral and peace education, including the requirements and practices entailed, and how history and its teaching were inserted therein. Based on Pécaut (1990 ), Chartier (1990, 2002, 2009), Sirinelli (2003) and Giuntella (2003), we questioned how representations, appropriations, cultural projects and practices crossed borders despite of pertaining to specific contexts, and we argued on the possibility today discussed of how the teaching of history can prevent war and violence.

**Lennon, Chris**

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Ireland

**The Stanley Letter: A plan for a non-denominational elementary educational system for the Irish poor as a means towards conflict resolution and national harmony**

In 1831, Lord Stanley, Chief Secretary for Ireland wrote to the Duke of Leinster, requesting him to accept the post of President of a newly constituted Board of Education. The aim of this paper will be to analyse the principles on which Stanley wished the new Board to base a system of elementary education for the Irish poor. The decision to set up such a Board came directly from the Westminster government. In addition to providing much needed education for the Irish poor, it is my contention that this system was also designed to pacify the antipathy between the various education stakeholders, a conflict which was reflected in wider Irish society. During a period of increasing pressure from the Roman Catholic hierarchy on the government,

the various Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry had recommended that the practice of funding voluntary organizations should be ceased and that a Board should be established which would superintend a system of national education for the poor, which would be state aided and controlled by the commissioners. A particular feature of this system was that it should be free from 'even the suspicion of proselytism'. The letter re-iterated the details of many of the recommendations from reports issued in 1812, 1825 and 1829.

The latter years of the eighteenth century had been years of great conflict, the effects of which have been continued into living memory, effecting the political organization of the island of Ireland, as well as initiating the formation of a cultural identity, which was reflected throughout the succeeding centuries. The education of the poor had been of interest to the government as far back as the sixteenth century. Under the Penal Laws of the seventeenth century, Roman Catholics were forbidden to teach and children were forbidden to attend schools conducted by Roman Catholic teachers. Therefore most Roman Catholic children were educated in small, informal so-called 'hedge schools'. An increase in missionary societies whose aim was to teach the poor to read and with a proselytizing agenda, occurred during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These schools offered a range of free schools throughout the country. Many of these societies were initially the recipients of state aid, and Donald Akenson notes that the Catholic clergy viewed these societies with suspicion and discouraged attendance by Catholic children while also protesting to the government.

The system proposed in the Stanley letter was primarily designed to offer education to the poor, which would be acceptable to all denominations, within the same institution. Lord Stanley drew attention to the recommendation of the 1828 Committee of the House of Commons which had suggested 'a combined literary and a separate religious education' and declared that one of the main objects was 'to unite in one system children of different creeds' The aim of this paper will be to analyse the principles which Stanley outlines. The paper is based on extensive research into primary sources on national schools in Ireland.

### **Leopoldoff, Irina**

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### **Après la Révolution d'Octobre et la Guerre civile.**

#### **Qui sont les enfants appelés "difficilement éducatibles" dans la Russie des années 1920?**

La guerre civile (1919-1921) en Russie qui débute peu après la Révolution d'Octobre (1917) jette dans la rue des millions d'enfants dans les rues et sur les chemins du pays. D'autre part, les institutions religieuses caritatives qui accueillaient les enfants handicapés physiques et mentaux avant 1917 ont cessé leurs activités sur les directives du nouveau pouvoir. La prise en charge par l'État de ces nombreux enfants en situation critique a un impact sur la réorganisation générale des institutions de l'enfance en URSS (1921-1931). L'expression « enfants difficilement éducatibles » revient régulièrement dans les écrits pédologiques des années 1920, sans pour autant qu'une définition claire en soit toujours donnée. Par l'intermédiaire du programme du Congrès de pédologie, pédagogie expérimentale et psychoneurologie de Petrograd en 1924, ainsi qu'à travers différentes revues spécialisées parues entre 1924 et 1931, on peut noter quelles distinctions font

les auteurs parmi les différents types de déficience. Un travail gigantesque d'insertion reste à faire. Comment s'organise-t-il ? Quel impact sur l'organisation du système éducatif ?

### **After the October Revolution and the Civil war.**

#### **Who are the so called “difficult to educate children” in the Soviet Russia of the 1920s?**

The civil war ( 1919-1921 ) in Russia which begins shortly after the October Revolution ( 1917 ) left millions of children on the streets. On the other hand, the charitable convent schools which welcomed the children with physical or mental handicap before 1917 stopped their activities on the directives of the new power. The care by the State of these numerous children in critical situation had an impact on the general reorganization of the institutions of the childhood in the USSR (1921-1931).

The expression “with difficulty to educate children” appears regularly in the pedagogical papers of the 1920s, without a clear definition given. Through the program of the Congress of pedagogy, experimental pedagogy and psychoneurology which took place in Petrograd, as well as through various specialized journals published in Russia between 1924 and 1931, it is possible to understand the distinctions made by the authors among the various types of deficiency. A large scale project of integration had to be done. How did it get organized ? What was the impact on the organization of the school system ?

### **Letz, Carmen**

Université Blaise Pascal de Clermont-Ferrand  
France

#### **L'éducation à la paix dans des écoles d'élite : la Schule Schloss Salem (D) et l'École d'Humanité (CH)**

La Schule Schloss Salem et l'École d'Humanité sont des internats d'élite privés issus du mouvement international de l'éducation nouvelle. La Schule Schloss Salem en Allemagne a été créée en 1920 par le chancelier allemand Prince Max de Bade et son conseiller Kurt Hahn en réponse à l'échec des négociations de la paix durant la Première Guerre mondiale. L'École d'Humanité en Suisse, fondée en 1934 par les pédagogues exilés d'Allemagne Paul et Edith Geheeb-Cassirer, a été conçue en réaction à la terreur du National-socialisme, comme berceau d'une nouvelle humanité. Les fondateurs des deux internats, convaincus que les écoles traditionnelles sont inaptes à former les citoyens responsables dont la société moderne a besoin, créent des concepts pédagogiques fondés sur l'éducation globale pour former de nouvelles générations soucieuses de la paix dans le monde. L'éducation à la paix y est ainsi un pilier fondamental.

Quelles sont les différentes conceptions des fondateurs du nouveau citoyen engagé en faveur de la paix ? Quels sont les moyens pédagogiques mis en place par les deux établissements ? Quels éléments de leurs concepts d'éducation à la paix peuvent servir d'exemple pour les programmes des écoles publiques d'aujourd'hui ?

La communication compare l'éducation à la paix des deux écoles aux travers des analyses théoriques des discours, correspondances et publications des fondateurs, des concepts pédagogiques et d'une étude qualitative concernant l'application pratique de ces concepts à partir de témoignages d'anciens élèves et d'enseignants au moment de la fondation et aujourd'hui.

## **Peace-education in elite schools: Salem College (Schule Schloss Salem) and Ecole d'Humanité (School of Humanity)**

The Schule Schloss Salem and the School of Humanity are elite private boarding schools stemming from the new education international movement. The Schule Schloss Salem in Germany was created in 1920 by the German chancellor Prince Max de Bade and his adviser Kurt Hahn in response to the failure of the World War I peace negotiations. The School of Humanity in Switzerland, established in 1934 by the exiled German teachers Paul and Edith Geheeb-Cassirer, was conceived as a cradle of a new humanity in reaction to the terror spurred on by National Socialism. The founders of both boarding schools, convinced that traditional schools were unfit for training the responsible citizens so desperately needed by modern society, created educational concepts based on a global education which would train new generations concerned with world peace. Peace education is therefore a fundamental pillar for these schools.

What are the founders' various conceptions of the new citizen committed to peace? What are the educational methods put into place by both establishments? What elements of their peace education can be used as examples for the programs of today's public schools?

This paper will compare the peace education of both schools using theoretical discourse analyses, the founders' correspondence and publications, pedagogical concepts, and a qualitative study concerning the practical application of these concepts based on the testimonies of former students and teachers upon the foundation of the school and then those of today.

### **Liebovich, Betty**

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## **The McMillan Nursery School: Founded in Anticipation of World War I**

The Rachel McMillan Nursery School opened its doors in time for World War One. Rachel and Margaret McMillan were Christian Socialists who worked to improve the lives of the poor and working class of England. They were actively involved in creating health and dental clinics for people living in deprivation in Bradford, Bow, and Deptford, campaigned for the 1906 Provision of School Meals Act, and created night camps for deprived children in Deptford in 1908. In March 1914, the Rachel McMillan Nursery opened its doors to the youngest children living in the tenements of Deptford. At the turn of the last century, this area of London experienced extreme deprivation with a shortage of space, clean and affordable housing and reasonably well-paid jobs (Bradburn, 1976). Children were living in squalor leading them to experience a plethora of health issues and social deprivation which the McMillan sisters wanted to address. The nursery was designed to offer these children a chance to experience clean clothing, healthy food and have space to learn in fresh air.

At the outbreak of the First World War, women's status in England was an inferior one which kept them in stereotypical "women's work" such as domestic service which was woefully underpaid and separate from and considered inferior to "men's work". Once married, women were expected to give up working outside the home and become a wife and mother exclusively. Due to conscription and casualties of the War, married women and widowed women were recruited to work in the ammunition factories in Woolwich (the home of the Royal Artillery since the 17th century and which employed 80,000 workers during WWI) and the surrounding areas of the East End of London, creating a need for care of their children while they worked. With

the outbreak of war and the need for child care, the McMillan sisters approached the Ministry of Munitions through the Board of Education, offering to take the children of married women working in munition factories. For this, the nursery received a grant of 7d (3p) a day for each child of a munition worker which kept the nursery viable through the War.

This paper investigates the founding of the nursery which coincided with the impending war, opportunities offered to the children of the women working in the munitions factories which funded the nursery's existence during the war, and the women who were trained to work with the children in the nursery. The McMillan sisters struggled to maintain the nursery in the face of zeppelin air raids, providing a safe space for the children whose homes were being destroyed by fire raids and families poisoned by gas from the bomb and training and retaining a qualified staff. The nursery survived the First World War and set a precedent for early years education and teacher education that influences the education and care of young children and future teachers 100 years later.

### **Lin, Ren-Jie**

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Taiwan

### **A historical examination of the role and contributions of Chinese government scholarships for overseas study on domesticating Western knowledge in wartime: A case of the Sino-British Boxer Indemnity Scholarship Programme, 1933-1944**

This research mainly examines the role and contributions of the Sino-British Boxer Indemnity Scholarship Programme on the process of introducing and transferring Western modern technologies, sciences and philosophies by Chinese overseas students from the UK to China since the 1930s. From the late nineteenth century, Chinese government was eventually persuaded by Chinese scholars to expand its Western learning journey after implementing its isolationism of the diplomatic policy for several hundred years and experiencing several wars defeated by Western countries. In order to contact and update the latest technologies more completely from the West, the official scholarships were founded by Chinese central and provincial governments to send students to study in Japan, USA and European countries from 1872.

In 1900, the war was caused by the Boxer Rebellion and finally China was defeated by the Eight-Nation Alliance. According to the protocol, the Chinese government should pay the indemnity to these eight countries. In 1908, the United States Congress decided to return one part of the indemnity to China and asked Chinese government to manage this indemnity to set an overseas scholarship for Chinese students to study in USA. This scholarship was named the Boxer Indemnity Scholarship Programme or the Tsinghua Scholarship Programme. This policy made by USA also increased the numbers of Chinese students studying in USA year by year, and the US gradually exceeded Japan to become the top one country of owning the largest Chinese overseas students from the 1910s.

Compared to American government's policy to attract more Chinese students' overseas studies and strengthen the academic interaction, the British Parliament also decided to imitate the American government's strategy to invest this indemnity on Chinese students in 1926. According to the official document, there were totally one hundred and ninety-three Chinese students to be selected and sent to study in the UK from 1933 to 1944. When finishing their

studies and coming back to China, these Chinese students actually had significant contributions to China's modernisation. Reviewing the previous studies, the research topic of Chinese overseas education is largely to focus on Chinese students' studies in USA and the contribution of the Boxer Indemnity Scholarship Programme to the dissemination of American technologies and sciences into modern China. Compared to these works, this research will trace back the history of the Sino-British Boxer Indemnity Scholarship Programme, analyse how this scholarship supported Chinese students to study in the UK and these scholarship receivers' contributions to the introduction of British civilisation into China since the 1930s.

**Lindmark, Daniel and Nilsson, Ingela**

Umeå University

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### **Peace Education and History Teaching in Interwar Scandinavia**

After the First World War, progressive educationists and peace activists intensified their attempts at reforming history education. History textbooks were questioned for their alleged nationalistic and militaristic approach, and history textbook revision soon became a concern for teacher unions, historians' associations, church councils and other national, regional and international organizations. The intention was to prevent future wars by cleansing the textbooks from any and all false and prejudiced descriptions of neighboring countries people, culture and history. However, peace education was not restricted to history textbook revision. It concerned the teaching of geography, literature and modern languages, and it was about fostering more peaceful individuals by changing the attitudes between people, starting in the classroom between students and between teachers and students.

Nevertheless, history education remained a major concern for peace education advocates, and in this paper the authors will focus on attitudes towards and ideas about history education among teachers active in two associations promoting peace education in interwar Scandinavia, *Svenska skolornas fredsförening* (Peace Association of Swedish Schools) and *Nordiska lärarnas fredsförbund* (Peace Union of Nordic Teachers). In the paper, the authors will analyze published books and pamphlets as well as a broad array of unpublished archival sources, including minutes, letters and manuscripts of speeches.

Preliminary results indicate that leading figures in the two teacher associations were also active in a network of closely related peace organizations, any of which could serve as a platform for spreading peace education ideas. In Stockholm, several national peace organizations were co-located in the same office and represented by a restricted number of administrators. Ideologically, the Scandinavian peace education movement found it hard to totally abandon the concept of nationalism. Instead they distinguished between true and false patriotism. According to this distinction, false patriotism was synonymous with chauvinistic and militaristic nationalism, whereas true patriotism fostered a love of one's country that easily could include foreign countries. In terms of history teaching, this approach meant that the national foundation of history was not really questioned. It all came down to how the national history was taught and what virtues were emphasized in the presentation of war heroes. Leaving the national foundation intact, the peace education advocates asked for additional subject matter: more cultural history, more modern history, more international history, including the international peace efforts of recent times.

**Lisboa de Sousa, Andréia**

University of Texas at Austin

United States

**Macêdo, Maurides**

Federal University of Goiás

Brazil

### **The Effect of Affirmative Action Policies on the War against Racism in Brazil**

This study presents a historical retrospective of the Black struggle for social inclusion in Brazil, particularly focusing on educational system access. Pivotal moments in the war against racism in Brazilian society are discussed. Remarkable historical movements of the twentieth century include the creation of the Brazilian Black Front Party in the 1930s, the emergence of Unified Black Movement in 1978, and the struggle for civil rights during the writing of the Constitution of 1988. The debate over affirmative action has intensified since the turn of the twenty-first century, and since 2001, has become a key influence in policies and educational programs in Brazil. The methodological approach employed is based on documentary research, Brazilian legislative research, and the analysis of the ebb and flow of affirmative action-based public educational policies.

**Llewellyn, Kristina**

Renison University College, University of Waterloo

Canada

*SWG Gender: Panel: Boundary Activism: Educated Women, Politics, and Historical Memory*

### **Powers of the Weak?: Canadian Cold War Suppression of Women Teachers' Talk**

This paper examines the construction of women teachers' talk in cold war Canada as a threat to democracy. Women were recruited to teaching to address a serious labour shortage, but the role prescribed for them was as moral symbols of democracy – ensuring that, despite their visual disruption of the nuclear family, they would still be examples of correct mothering and acquiesce to male management. Speech that questioned such authority was a target for authorities. Psychologists pathologized teachers who gossiped, administrators placed extra supervision on 'new' teachers who 'talked too much,' and teachers' federations accused women's 'loose lips' with lowering the status of the profession. Drawing on newspapers, school board records, and teachers' federation reports, this paper illustrates the historical apoliticization of women teachers. The paper also draws on oral histories to demonstrate that women used informal talk, during their careers and in their interviews, as an activist tool (e.g. exposing secret inspections and whispering about blacklisted books).

Feminist historians and anthropologists have demonstrated the long association of women with dangerous speech. But, as Elizabeth Janeway and James C. Scott have called it, gossip is a tactic of the weak that provides an informal means to manipulate a world that closed off official avenues of authority. Franca Iacovetta refers to women's gossip as a necessary evil. This paper examines memories of power enacted on the edges – activism through informal talk during a precarious time for women teachers in public schools and in politics. This research provides insights for post-9/11 panics about 'unpatriotic' speech in classrooms.



**Loader, Helen**

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United Kingdom

### **‘Once let in, they are not going to be easily or wholly dislodged.’: Mrs Humphry Ward, Women and War**

This paper investigates the significance of Mrs Humphry Ward’s literature and propaganda in educating the general public about the impact of the First World War on British women. As the famous novelist, reformer, campaigner and granddaughter of Dr Arnold of Rugby, Theodore Roosevelt considered her ‘the woman who has influenced all those who speak and read English more profoundly than any other alive’. The use of women in propaganda during the First World War in Britain varied from the distribution of white feathers in Admiral Fitzgerald’s recruiting campaign to posters aimed at persuading them to shame their loved ones into enlisting. The suffragettes were the most zealous in their tactics so it is ironic that the figurehead of the anti-suffrage movement in England, Mrs Humphry Ward, proved to be one of the most successful female champions of the British War Effort, penning a series of letters that would enable Americans to ‘visualize... the effort, the resolution and the self-sacrifice of the English men and women who are determined to see this war through.’

The knowledge Mrs Humphry Ward gained whilst researching and reporting on the British War Effort had the additional benefit of providing her with first-hand experiences of women’s lives during war-time, which she translated into successful wartime novels. Despite her popularity and success as a writer, her role as the leader of the anti-suffrage movement in England has complicated the claims that can be made for Mrs Humphry Ward’s authority to speak for women. This paper examines *England’s Effort: Six Letters to an American Friend* and *Towards the Goal*, alongside two of her war-time novels *Missing* and *The War and Elizabeth*. I discuss how she views the roles of women during the War and the impact she thought this would have for the future of British society. I argue that, viewed together, Mrs Humphry Ward’s propaganda and fiction provide alternative and legitimate sources for re-examining her contribution to education as a significant and authoritative woman.

**Loparco, Fabiana**

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Italy

### **The representation of war and peace in liberal and socialist Italian children’s periodicals from 1915 to 1921**

According to Antonio Gibelli, when Italy entered WWI in 1915, the Italian liberal ruling class tried to build an “internal front” to morally support the battlefield. Children became essential to this internal front, and the liberal class engaged in massive warmongering. Simultaneously, the political opposition, the Italian Socialist Party, produced pacifist propaganda for children. Due to the party divide between neutralists and interventionists in addition to accusations by anti-nationalists, this propaganda came to a standstill between 1916 and 1919. Focusing on this historical context, my aim is to investigate the textual and illustrative methods used by liberal and socialist Italian children’s periodicals in their representation of WWI during the war and the interwar period between 1918-1921.

The comparison between such liberal Italian children's periodicals as *Corriere dei Piccoli* and *Domenica dei Fanciulli* and such socialist ones as *Alba di Maggio*, *Italia*, *Germoglio* and *Cuore*, published during and after WWI, allows us to identify the ideological war between liberals and socialists concerning children's education. Liberal periodicals instructed children in sacrifice, duty, and support to the Homeland through tales and illustrations depicting a "militarized childhood". Their non-realistic representation altered the ethical nature of the war. Comics, on the one hand, described the war as a harmless and funny game, while tales, on the other hand, described the war as a "training of courage" and a "birthplace of heroes", completely sublimated with respect to the reality of the battlefields.

The socialist periodicals, in contrast, instructed peace, internationalism, and solidarity among all children whose countries were involved in WWI. In 1915, *Alba di Maggio* and *Italia* gave a realistic representation of the war, in order to make the reader emotionally aware of the bloody reality of the conflict. It was only after the Victory that *Germoglio* (1919) and *Cuore* (1921) began a campaign against the war and the militarist liberal periodicals. In sum, we demonstrate how the periodical press for children was used by liberals and socialists to propose their own particular interpretation of the conflict and to conform to it their readers, training them spiritually and contributing to the development of their individual "scale of values".

### **López, Oresta**

El Colegio de San Luis  
Mexico

### **La lucha de las maestras mexicanas por sus derechos de salud reproductiva e igualdad de salarios en la primera mitad del siglo XX**

Mexico vivió una de las primeras revoluciones sociales del siglo XX. Durante 1910 a 1920 el país tuvo el mayor desorden social y político que se hubiera conocido hasta entonces. Al final de la guerra, además de los cientos de miles de muertos, el país tenía dificultades para la paz pues continuaba la enorme destrucción. No había bancos funcionando, se interrumpió el comercio, la agricultura estaba paralizada, el tráfico no se normalizaba y se retiraron los capitales, hubo escasez de moneda y alimentos, invasión de tierras, epidemias y delincuencia que parecía nunca parar. Cuando el General Alvaro Obregón asumió la presidencia, él asignó a José Vasconcelos para planear y dirigir la educación. Vasconcelos propuso el restablecimiento de la Universidad y posteriormente la fundación de la Secretaría de Educación Pública. Todos sabían que tenían que empezar a organizar la educación en todo el país en medio de grandes dificultades. El contexto no era el mejor para los maestros de Escuela por la inseguridad, los bajos salarios, la mala situación de las escuelas y las grandes expectativas en torno al rol de la educación para el cambio social del país. Muchas mujeres jóvenes, con apenas educación elemental, participaron de la reforma educativa con el deseo de colaborar en construir la paz y fundar escuelas en toda la república mexicana.

En mis investigaciones he podido localizar y documentar tanto los cambios en la normatividad de la SEP para regular la forma en que estas mujeres fueron incorporadas al magisterio, así como los permisos por salud reproductiva de las mujeres maestras. Asimismo encontré la información de la lucha que dieron las mujeres maestras por una mejor condición de género y laboral. Después de no tener salarios iguales que los hombres y no tener permiso para casarse porque perdían sus empleos, ellas lograron importantes cambios en 1933 durante el periodo del ministro

Narciso Bassols. Entre los logros obtenidos estaban la igualdad en las jerarquías laborales y salariales y permiso para ausentarse de su trabajo por 90 días, por motivo de embarazo y nacimiento de los hijos, manteniendo su empleo y su salario completo. Asimismo al revisar el fondo de Maestras Rurales del Archivo Histórico de la SEP, he podido recuperar cerca de 13 mil expedientes individuales de mujeres maestras, lo cual me permite comprender diferentes aspectos de la vida personal y profesional de las mujeres maestras de la primera mitad del siglo XX.

En tiempo sin paz, vivieron por igual la más alta violencia sexual en el medio rural en el contexto de la *guerra cristera* al mismo tiempo que lograron las conquistas más importantes en función de su condición de género.

En esta investigación importa la recuperación de las acciones sociales tanto como la agencia individual de las mujeres en perspectiva de género. Yo realizo un esfuerzo interpretativo de las representaciones sociales de las maestras participantes en la reforma educativa y asimismo recupero las voces de las profesoras, a partir de las cartas y peticiones específicas que hacían al Jefe del Departamento de Educación Rural y a otros funcionarios de la SEP.

### **The struggle of Mexican women teachers for their rights to reproductive health and equal pay in the first half of the twentieth century**

Mexico experienced one of the first social revolutions of the twentieth century. Between 1910 and 1920 the country had the highest levels of social and political disorder that had ever been known. At the end of the war, in addition to the hundreds of thousands of casualties, the country had difficulties building peace out of the huge destruction. There were no functioning banks; trading was interrupted; agriculture was paralyzed; traffic was not normalized and investments were removed. There was insufficient money and food, many land invasions, the epidemics (Spanish flu) and violence that never seemed to stop. When General Alvaro Obregón became president, José Vasconcelos was assigned to plan and manage education. Vasconcelos proposed restoration of the University and subsequently the founding of the Ministry of Education. Everyone recognised that they had to start organizing education around the country amidst great difficulties. The context was not ideal for schoolteachers because of insecure positions, low wages, poor conditions in schools and high expectations about the role of education in achieving social change in the country. Many young women, with only elementary education, participated in educational reform with the desire to collaborate in building peace and founded schools throughout Mexico.

In my research I was able to locate and demonstrate changes in the Ministry of Public Education regulations both to the way in which these women were incorporated into the teaching profession, as well as permits for the reproductive health of female teachers. I also found information about the fight of women teachers for better conditions and employment status. Women did not receive the same wages as men and were not allowed to marry and keep their jobs. In 1933, during the period of the Minister Narciso Bassols, significant changes were made. Among their achievements, they obtained equal condition in pay and professional hierarchies and permission for leave from work for 90 days due to pregnancy and childbirth while keeping their jobs and full salary. In addition to reviewing the documents of rural women teachers in the Historical Archive of the SEP, I was able to recover about 13 thousand individual records of female teachers, allowing me to understand different aspects of the personal and professional lives of women teachers in the first half of the twentieth century.

In this period without peace, the Cristero War, rural women teachers experienced the highest levels of sexual violence while they also obtained the most important gains in terms of

their gender equality. This research is very important to recover social actions as well as the individual agency of women in gender perspective. I offer an interpretive attempt to analyse social representations of the participating of female teachers in educational reform and also to recover the voices of teachers, from letters and specific requests made for them to the functionaries of the Department of Rural Education and other officials of the SEP.

**Lorenz, Karl**

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**Vechia, Aricle**

Universidade Tuiuti do Paraná

Brazil

**The Portuguese Crown's "War" on the Company of Jesus and its Educational Implications in Colonial Brazil**

The Portuguese Crown consolidated its power in the mid-1700s with the appointment of Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo as Prime Minister during the reign of Jose I from 1750 to 1777. The Marquis of Pombal, as Carvalho de Melo is known, played a pivotal role in transforming Portuguese social, political and economic institutions in the latter half of the eighteenth century. During his tenure Pombal embarked upon a campaign to modernize Portugal and this brought him into direct confrontation with the Jesuits about the purpose and the nature of basic and superior education, which was almost exclusively administered and controlled by the Order. For Pombal, the Jesuit approach to education, with its basis in the *Ratio Studiorum* and its Aristotelian concept of science, was antiquated and no longer served the needs of a country that sought to modernize by incorporating new scientific developments in the education of its citizens. With the tense relationship between the two factions deteriorating over time, the Minister took the decisive step to expel the Jesuits from Portugal and the colonies; and expropriate its lands, buildings, industries and other possessions. On June 28, 1759 Pombal issued an *alvará* that expelled the Order from Portugal and its possessions, thereby wresting control of the educational system from the Jesuits and reducing their influence over the political elites who dictated the affairs of state. The decree was the culminating event in a series of clashes between the Portuguese Crown and the Company of Jesus. This paper examines the circumstances that led to the promulgation of the decree of 1759 and its immediate and long-term effects on secondary education in Brazil. The paper will show that the royal edict effectively decimated the Jesuit-run colleges with the exodus of 590 members of the Order, 316 of whom were priests, and the vast majority of whom were involved in some capacity in educating Indians and colonists. The Company left behind 25 parochial houses, 30 missions and, most importantly, 17 colleges and seminaries that were responsible for preparing colonial youth for superior studies at the University of Coimbra, in Portugal. The departure of the Jesuits from Brazil resulted in an educational vacuum that lasted fifty years and that was only partially filled by the Crown's creation of isolated secondary courses called *aulas regias*. This loose amalgam of independently functioning courses replaced the preparatory instruction once provided by the Jesuit colleges. The paper also briefly explores the long-term impact of the Jesuit exodus and the independent courses on the curricula of emerging secondary schools in early nineteenth-century Brazil. This qualitative study contributes to the field of Cultural History and utilizes primary sources, such as the *alvará* of 1759, and secondary sources of scholars who research the history of Jesuit and Portuguese education.

**Lowe, Bronwyn**  
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Australia

**Shut out of Bookland: How collective concerns for Australian schoolchildren's reading habits reflected the states of war and peace in Australia, 1930-1945**

This paper will look at the attempts made to civilise Australian schoolchildren through their reading habits in the 1930s, and ask whether or not Australian children were then deemed to be effective citizens during war in 1939-45. While many different attempts were made to mobilise children for war, through schooling, literature, and extra-curricular activities, there also existed a fear and distrust for what was seen to be a growing amount of delinquent children.

Educationalist G.S. Browne stated in 1932 that 'it is a rare occurrence to find in a school library anything but a haphazard collection of books, unscientifically selected, and often unpalatable to child tastes'. Concerns for the lack of provision of children's books in schools are evidence of an enhanced interest in children's reading habits that had been increasing throughout the twentieth century. Gilbert M Wallace stated that 'a school without a good library is not a proper school so told... If the host (library) is big enough, there is hope of a cultured community in one generation,' while the secretary of the Children's Library movement said that 'the quality of the manhood and womanhood of the growing generation' depended on their leisure time. Conversely, a lack of 'good' reading habits was said to affect children's mental health. These discussions were often framed around the idea of the importance of improving the mental health of future generations.

Concerns for children's reading habits have received little attention in Australian scholarship, especially in the Depression period. Research I have completed reveals that such concerns were overplayed, although the establishment of children's libraries in the 1930s was effective in giving more children greater access to literature. With this paper I offer not only a fresh take on Australian educational history, showing the different ways in which children's reading was conceptualized, but also a new understanding of Australia's home front during the Second World War.

**Lucas, Raoul**  
Université de La Réunion

*SWG Teachers' Critical Thinking*

**Freinet et La Réunion: situation pédagogique, donne politique et position critique**

Au cours de la décennie 1950 différents moyens sont conjugués pour permettre le développement de la scolarisation dans nouveau département français de La Réunion. Différents fonds sont mobilisés pour permettre la construction d'écoles afin d'accueillir la masse d'enfants en âge d'être scolarisés. Mais avec ces écoles qui s'ouvrent le recrutement et la formation des enseignants est la priorité des autorités. Et dans un département qui ne compte toujours pas d'Ecole normale d'instituteurs toutes les initiatives sont mises à contribution. C'est dans le contexte que les autorités académiques soutiennent le projet d'Ecole expérimentale porté par des enseignants se réclamant de la pédagogie Freinet dont le porteur du projet est Marcel Le Guen. Cet instituteur, nommé à La Réunion au début des années 1950, est un ancien FTP. Il est membre du PCF. Les

choix pédagogiques de cet instituteur, comme ses orientations idéologiques d'ailleurs, n'entravent nullement le soutien que lui apportent les autorités académiques. Elles sont au contraire satisfaites de pouvoir ainsi disposer avec le projet de Le Guen d'un espace de formation et d'échanges de pratiques. Un espace qu'elles entendent faire profiter les très nombreux instituteurs sans formation mais qu'il faut néanmoins recruter.

Mais à l'ouverture de l'École, à la rentrée de 1958, la donne politique a changé avec l'arrivée au pouvoir des Gaullistes dont les représentants locaux sont décidés à combattre les communistes qui réclament l'autonomie de La Réunion. Marcel Le Guen, avec son école expérimentale devient, en raison de son positionnement politique, une des cibles du nouveau pouvoir. Agressé par les partisans du nouveau pouvoir il est lâché par les autorités académiques. Il réclame alors le soutien de Freinet avec qui il entame une importante correspondance. C'est cette correspondance inédite que nous nous proposons d'analyser où, à partir de la situation réunionnaise, Freinet s'interroge sur les relations de son mouvement avec l'institution et aussi avec le pouvoir qui s'installe et sur les stratégies qu'il convient d'adopter pour le développement de l'ICEM.

### **Freinet and Reunion Island: educational context, political setting and analytical point of view**

During the 1950s various measures were instituted to promote the schooling process in the newly created French overseas "*département*" of Reunion Island. To host the massive number of children of school age, a large school construction plan was launched. But the critical priority was to recruit and form the teaching staff. As this territory still lacked a Teachers' Training centre, all initiatives were welcome. In this context the academic authorities backed the Freinet experimental school project. The scheme was promoted by Marcel Leguen, a primary school teacher. He had been appointed to Reunion Island in the early 1950s, and was a member of the French Communist Party. Nonetheless, his educational opinions or his political bias did not deter the academic authorities who signified their total support. With the Leguen project, they could provide a space for development of alternative teaching methods. This space could be useful in helping a large number of untrained teachers to acquire professional skills.

When school resumed in 1958, the political context had changed with the coming to power of the Gaullist movement; its local representatives were keen to fight the communists who were clamoring for self-government. Marcel Leguen with his experimental school became a target of the new establishment and lost support from the academic hierarchy. Leguen called for Freinet's backing in a long exchange of letters. It is this correspondence which we propose to study. Using the Reunion island example, Freinet will illustrate the nature of the relationship between his movement and institutional or political power to devise a model strategy.

### **McClellan, Ann**

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United States

### **V. Brittain v. Britain: University Women, Autobiography, and Fiction during the Great War**

One of the many legacies of World War I for education in Britain was its significant impact on women's higher education. One could attribute women's admittance to Oxford and, later, Cambridge as the result of their occupation of, and work within, the university during the great

wars of the early twentieth century. While many excellent monographs have been published on the topics of gender and war or gender and education, very few have looked at the impact of all three factors at once. This paper brings together the subjects of gender, war, and university education through the mutually informing discourses of cultural studies and literary analysis, fiction and autobiography.

One of the famous “Somerville Novelists” detailed in Susan Leonardi’s well-known literary history, *Dangerous by Degrees*, Vera Brittain is mostly recognized for her autobiographical writings like *Testament of Youth* and for her work within the British pacifist movement after the war. However, few scholars have put together Brittain’s war/political background with her work on the history of women’s higher education. Decades before her influential *Women at Oxford: A Fragmented History* (1960), Brittain was one of the only women novelists to write about women’s experience at university during the Great War.

Contextualizing Brittain’s fiction with her autobiographical war writing (i.e., *Chronicle of Youth* and *Testament of Youth*), this paper analyzes the ways in which ‘war work’ is (re)defined within the women’s university fiction of the period. Focusing primarily on Brittain’s novel, *The Dark Tide* (1923), which chronicles the education of a group of young female Oxbridge students after World War I, the novel conversely argues that the war both retarded women’s access to university education and accelerated it, thus presenting an image of women in wartime that is as conflicted as the women themselves.

### **McFadyen, Ursula**

University of Calgary

Canada

### **The University Soldiers’ Comfort Club at the University of Alberta, 1915-1919**

The University of Alberta was less than a decade old when the First World War broke out in Europe. Students and professors threw themselves into the war effort and transformed the campus with their work. During the four years of war, 438 students and staff from the university became soldiers. Wartime work at the university proceeded at a feverish pace with the presence of the Canadian Officers Training Corps on campus while women took lessons in knitting and CPR to support the soldiers from home. These women were known by the title of the women behind the men behind the guns. The Students Union began a campus initiative known as the University Soldiers’ Comfort Club (USCC) to provide as closely as possible the comforts of home to soldiers who had put their university education on hold to fight in the war. Founded in 1915, the USCC provided support to university soldiers to ensure that they are still part of the university community while in service.

This paper will examine the USCC as it became a prominent link between the university and student-soldiers and demonstrated the efficaciousness of student activity far from the front lines of combat. The USCC provided weekly copies of the school newspaper *The Gateway* for the soldiers to stay in touch with news and events on campus. The *Active Service Newsletter*, written by male and female students, was also sent to soldiers. Complementing the student newspaper, the *Newsletter* consisted of three main columns: “Current Events,” “Student News,” and “Knitters News,” which was the women’s section. At the USCC, parcels were arranged and filled by various student committees with each committee charged with providing a specific product for each parcel. They included socks, cigarettes, sugar, chocolate, gum, candy, antiseptic shirts, handkerchiefs, personal

property bags, and other useful items such as ration heaters. As members of the USCC, both male and female students including alumni helped the clothing committee by knitting socks. In concert with the Club, the Wauneita Society, the woman's society at the university, made its lounges available and organized Friday afternoon knitting gatherings for any student or alumni who wanted to lend a hand. The USCC actively fundraised throughout the war and into 1919 while Canadian soldiers were still waiting to come home.

At a time when war work on the home front was normally highly demarcated by gender roles and expectations, the combined efforts of the men and women of the USCC helped student-soldiers stay connected to home and campus from overseas, reminding them that their friends and family were thinking about them and doing what they could to give them any necessary support. As an example of similar initiatives undertaken by students in other higher education institutions in Canada, the Club highlighted how universities could fight the war by providing essential moral, practical, and ancillary services for soldiers drawn from the campus community whose lives were considerably disrupted.

### **McLeod, Julie**

University of Melbourne  
Australia

### **On noticing and not noticing Indigenous children as subjects of schooling in 1960s Australia: classroom spaces and pedagogies in the cultural wars of assimilation and difference**

This paper examines race relations and education in mid-twentieth century Australia in the context of a longer history of settler colonialism, assimilation and frontier and cultural wars against the Indigenous population (Banivanua-Mar & Edmonds 2010). The focus is the 1960s, a period of post-war prosperity for Australia and a time in education when both old and new progressive ideas were gaining ground concerning the interiority and freedom of the child, the space and openness of school environments, and the role of pedagogies to foster self-discovery, promote peace and build global understanding and tolerance for difference. This was also a period when government policies for the assimilation of Aboriginal people, in place from the 1930s, were officially enacted; this included giving Aboriginal people the right to vote federally, counting them in the national census, and the continued forced removal of Aboriginal children from their families into state care or adoptive white families, where they could be socialized to become white.

Questions about the 'educability of the native races' haunted discussions about the provision and type of education deemed appropriate for Aboriginal children, in both mainstream schools and schools on missions and reserves. In contrast to earlier constructions of inherent difference and incommensurability with educational norms for white Australian students, educational debates in the era of 1960s assimilation typically pivoted on when to notice or not notice Aboriginal children as distinct subjects of schooling. Informed by a larger project developing a postcolonial account of educational progressivism, and guided by an understanding of 'the simultaneity and interwoven complexity of the social the historical and the spatial', (Soja, 1996, p.3), this paper explores: 1) the ways in which the physical environments of school - the inside and outside of classrooms, the spatial and material arrangements of knowledge - recognised or aspired not to notice Aboriginal children; and 2) the pedagogies deemed appropriate for



educating Aboriginal students, in the intersection of ideas about educability, progressive child-centredness, intractable difference, and assimilation, with schooling as a key mediator.

The sources for analysis are debates among teachers and educators in the 1960s (e.g. Monash University 1967) regarding how best to educate Aboriginal children; and reports from School Inspectors' visits to schools situated on or nearby Aboriginal reserves or former missions (School Records 1934-67). Current educational policies gesture to a politics of reconciliation, with aspirations to close the gap on difference and conflict: this study seeks to illuminate some of the history to these struggles about race, difference, recognition and the cultural-spatial politics of education in the ongoing project of settler colonialism.

*SWG Gender: Gender, Power Relations and Education in a Transnational World*

### **Progressive education and feminism in 1970s Australia**

This paper draws from a genealogical and transnational study of adolescence and citizenship education in Australia, 1930s-1970s, which combines archival and documentary sources with oral histories with former teachers, students and curriculum advisors. It investigates norms and regulations of the good student, dividing practices of citizenship formation, and shifting articulations of progressive reform, utopianism and curriculum innovation. Processes of gender differentiation and the changing form of gender relations are central threads running through this study and analysis of them has been influenced by recent debates in feminist history (e.g. Scott 2011, Roper 2010, Hemmings 2011) which have raised important questions about revisiting the recent past, and scrutinising how feminist theory and feminist history itself represents its own lineage and the story of the movement of gender inequalities and differentiation.

Focussing on the 1970s, this paper explores the upsurge of interest in alternative education and 'open' or community schooling in Australia during this decade. This encompassed the establishment of alternative schools within state systems of education and extensive deliberation on the purposes of education, accompanied by notions of meeting the needs of adolescents and promoting choice-making, individual freedom and democratic spaces for self-realisation – in this cluster imperatives, therapeutic culture met socially-critical interventions. Concurrently, the rise of second-wave feminism was being felt across education systems and beginning to shape pedagogies and teacher and student subjectivities. Working from oral histories with former teachers and students involved in the 1970s alternative school movement, this paper explores understandings at that time of the ways in which gender relations or sex-roles did or did not matter in the utopian aspirations for alternative spaces, which are interpreted as *heterotopic* (Foucault, 2000) spaces for being and becoming someone else in and through education. The oral history narratives are juxtaposed with analysis of influential texts and polemics from the time in order to show the reach and impact of different strands of progressive thought. These included child-centred and developmental, therapeutic and individualizing, and socially critical and transformative. The analysis encompasses attention to the international flows of such ideas and Australian engagements with touchstone texts, sources and 'experts', from A.S. Neill to Ivan Illich, as well as local writings, manifestos and declarations of the 'new'. In the 1970s, The 'traveling ideas' (Popkewitz 2008) of progressivism sit alongside the emergence of feminism and other histories of progressivism are needed – transnational, local, regional – that encompass the unsettling history of feminism and the interventions of gender.

**Madeira, Ana**

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**Education and the “war against backwardness”: Women and the civilizing mission in the Portuguese colonial empire (1910-1924)**

The “histoire de femmes” field and studies on “gender and colonialism” have witnessed an important progress in the last decade of the 20th century, following the pioneering works of C. Coquery-Vidrovitch, Y. Knibiehler and R. Goutalier, both in the Francophone and Anglo-Saxon world. However the Lusophone historians of the Portuguese colonial empire have neglected this subject. The present proposal addresses this issue by focusing on how women became agents of the civilizing mission in colonial settings, in particularly in the Lusophone African space. I will explore female roles considering *women* as a wide analytical category encompassing teachers, nurses, missionaries, travellers, writers and housewives. I will consider how, in connection with their educational activities, they became agents of the civilising process, in formal (State and mission schools) or informal (domestic space, philanthropic activities, informal associations, etc.) ways. Based on a wide range of source materials I will make use of diverse types of data: travel accounts, letters, literary works, official reports, statistics and iconography. The analysis of this data highlights a number of complex strategies implicated in gender identities, and shows the diversity of experiences voiced by the women themselves. In methodological terms, I will attempt to put forward an analytical scheme based on the “histoire croisée” proposals (Werner & Zimmerman, AHSC, 2003/1, 7-36). In fact, envisaged in crossed perspective along with other colonial states, the perspectives brought in by the “histoire croisée” help to understand the complex rules that articulate this wide heterogeneous category (women) with the Empire political legitimating strategies in the colonial settings. I will argue that women agency in the colonial settings, while battling for the integration of natives and other women in a new civilizing order, was at the same time geared by very disparate objectives, anchored in particular personal and group colonial trajectories.

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**Visions of war in education during the Spanish transition to democracy (1975-1982)**

The objective of this paper is to examine the portrayal of war in a variety of educational documents related to primary education during the years that followed the death of Franco, opening the door to a complex transition from a dictatorship to a democratic regime in Spain. Political-educational documents emerge as rich sources to examine the way in which the military

conflicts during the twentieth century were then interpreted and portrayed as socio-historical lessons for schoolchildren in order to construct a particular picture, perception and conception of the outside world from a new democratic standpoint. These sources offer the possibility of analyzing the (re)presentation of the past, of other nations and their international relations, looking at the way conflict was explained, and revealing which wars and battles were taught and which were omitted to primary school children in a new democratic country. Furthermore, the origins and consequences of the wars, as well as Spain's position or attitude (glorification, condemnation, support...) towards conflicts, will also be examined. The latter is believed to be part of the process of construction of a new national (democratic) identity.

The study will focus on a combination of political and educational primary sources. They cover the different levels and areas of concretion and debate on the official knowledge selected to be taught and learned. Hence, we have the 1970 Education Act, the Orientaciones pedagógicas of 1971 (Pedagogical Orientations), pedagogical journals and primary school textbooks from the last year of the primary education level in the social sciences, published by the newly born publishing houses which rapidly cornered the market.

The portrayal and interpretation of war will also be examined through language by paying attention to a number of indicators linked to military conflict: linguistic (heroism, sacrifice, victory, violence...) and emotional (pride, shame, resentment, superiority, commemorations, fear...). It is illustrative to examine which semantic and emotional fields were chosen to teach children within a historical context of a country in the process of overcoming a 40-year dictatorship which originated in a bloody civil war with dramatic consequences, and consolidating the transition to democracy.

Theoretical frames will therefore be supported by the multidisciplinary study of emotions and a strong emphasis will be laid on the way selected school knowledge is affected by the politics of forgetting and remembering.

### **Maliszewski, Tomasz**

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### **Rural Folk High Schools in Poland – War and its Outcomes (1937-1948)**

The first boarding folk high schools (FHS) appeared in Poland just after World War I(1921). By 1937 their position was already so well established that they became recognized countrywide as educational institutions for young peasants. The decision to consolidate the FHS movement strengthened its political position with the national educational authorities. The great educational impact of FHS could be seen already in 1939, when their graduates stood in the first lines of defense against both aggressors, and later when they entered the underground state structures and guerilla groups. In the first post-war period (1945-1946), the preparations made during the war enabled the dynamic development of the FHS movement all over the country, due to the commitment to making the idea of a democratic society a reality held both by FHS teachers and students. Unfortunately, the growing power of Stalinist “people’s power” elites suddenly interrupted their development at the end of 1948.

The main objective of this paper is to show the impact of the changing social-political conditions on the ideology, the concepts of work and the educational practice of boarding FHSs in rural areas of Poland during, immediately before(1937-39) and after(1945-48) World War II.

Such a perspective allows, on the one hand, the observation of various Polish versions of those educational institutions which were of Scandinavian origin, illustrating their ability to adapt in terms of their programme and organization to the needs of rural youth as a result of changing external conditions. On the other hand – it shows Polish FHSs as involved institutions, educating people with deeply rooted ideas to fight for a deserving cause:

- full emancipation of peasants in Polish society and an awakening of patriotic attitudes (before 1939);
- freedom and proper preparation for living in a country freed from both Nazi and Soviet occupation (war period);
- saving the independence of rural areas in the context of a post-war Stalinist forced new political order(second half of the 1940s).

The method of critical analysis of sources, which include documents from the Polish archives, magazine articles and materials from the national FHS movement conferences and other publications from 1937 to 1948, will be used in reviewing the situation in the three time periods mentioned above. In this way, rejecting the interpretations of the history of folk high schools movement established at the time of the People's Republic of Poland (till 1989), the author gives priority to the source materials produced at the time, and will try to make a synthesis on the subject for "ISCHE 36", which highlights education for war, secret educational activities during the occupation and the consequences of war in the operation of boarding FHSs during the period indicated in the title of the paper.

### **Manathunga, Catherine**

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### **Peace-building programme or Cold War initiative? – the Colombo Plan in Aotearoa/New Zealand university colleges**

The Colombo Plan occupies an ambiguous positioning in relation to war and peace. Justified as an important peace-building and collaborative regional education initiative, it was also a key Cold War strategy designed to westernise the elites of developing countries and co-opt them into the Western Bloc (Alexander & Rizvi, 1993; Sidhu, 2006). Drawing upon a Foucauldian theoretical framework (Baker, 2002; Coloma, 2011; Tyler & Johnson, 1991), this paper is part of a larger project, which seeks to investigate the history of university teaching in Australian and Aotearoa/New Zealand universities. This type of historical work is designed to examine implicit assumptions and beliefs about the 'natural' or necessary character of current educational policies and practices, in this case on international education. Building on earlier work conducted in Australia (Lee et al., 2008; Lee et al., 2010; Manathunga, 2011), this paper explores the participation of Aotearoa/New Zealand university colleges in the Colombo Plan in the post-WWII period, especially focusing on the 1950s-1980s. It investigates the ways in which the Colombo Plan was constructed and enacted by government officials and by university leaders from one university college, Victoria College of Wellington (VCW) as it was known until the University of New Zealand was dissolved and each college became an independent university. The paper analyses Ministry of Education files from the Aotearoa/New Zealand National Archives, the minutes of VCW's professorial board and its Corporate files. This form of poststructuralist analysis requires movement between data and theory in a series of systematic

steps which include undertaking ethnographic inquiry to establish context, discourse and intertextuality to generate questions and linguistic categories for interpretation (Wodak, 2001). The paper concludes that this ambiguous blending of education for peace objectives at the same time as attempting to achieve strategic Cold War goals complicates government and university enactment of the Colombo Plan in Aotearoa/New Zealand and produces tensions between the Ministries of Education and External Affairs that had joint responsibility to manage these programmes.

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**Swiss Neutrality? Impact of war on language education in a multicultural country**

In political state theory a *crisis* is understood as a moment in which individuals identify contradictions in a system, articulate them in a narrative, thus trying to solve them by reshaping the state competences and parameters. The decisions reached in such unstable periods have important legacies for subsequent phases (Hay 1991).

The two World Wars were such *crises* for Switzerland. The country had declared itself neutral long before and confirmed this by joining the League of Nations in 1920. With the outbreak of war, the very existence of Switzerland as a polity composed of different language groups seemed at stake. Consequently, the federal state had to take over new powers to hold the different language groups together and reshaped Switzerland's identity as a multilingual country (Widmer *et al.* 2004) what was supposed to influence education policy (Criblez 1995). After WWI many politicians and experts requested the compulsory teaching of a second national language. This was seen as a promising way to enhance exchange and sympathy between the cultural groups, in order to bind the people together, maintain the 'linguistic peace' and create a common commitment. Correspondingly, individuals were supposed to 'personify' the new Swiss multilingual identity.

But influencing school policy was a difficult task for the Swiss national government: Traditionally, the cantons were in charge of the education system. Additionally, because of the cultural proximity with their respective 'mother-countries', the cantons were entangled in a 'double-bind' situation. In particular, the French and Italian minorities depended strongly on France and Italy for schoolbooks, pedagogical material and literature.

Our paper focuses on the following questions: How did the cantonal school systems cope with this 'double-bind' position in war times in the field of foreign language school subjects (1914-1945)? Did internal developments within the federal government promote changes in cantonal language policies, or did policy makers still orient themselves to neighbouring countries? We advocate two theses: 1) Because of Switzerland's self-image as a multilingual and neutral country and the status of foreign language subjects as symbols of international alliances, the discussion on language policy became highly contested. 2) The Swiss cantons reacted differently to this

rhetoric, according to their geographical and political position. Such differences can be seen in the development of school curricula.

Our paper is based on data collected in the Sinergia-Project *Transformation of school knowledge (1830-1990)*. We present 'crucial' cases – based on geographical and linguistic criteria – to illustrate our arguments. The findings provide new insights on the historical changes in the school programs of Swiss cantons.

### **Martin, Jane**

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### **Building Internationalism: education and labour movements in war and peace**

Internationalism was an important part of the rhetoric of late nineteenth/ early twentieth century British socialism. The intention of this paper is to provide an overview of what internationalism meant to university-educated socialist women. It is argued here that a consideration of individual life stories and the political journeys made by women over time provides one way to illustrate the meaning that they gave to the aspiration of internationalism in terms of practical politics. The case of Mary Bridges Adams in London is instructive. By 1900, she was well-known as a participant within the broader labour movement and as a campaigner for improvements in working-class education. During the First World War she was in close touch with the European anti-war movement, Russian émigré politics and the women's movement, guiding campaigns in defence of the right of asylum. Finally, the paper uses the experiences of Dr Mary O'Brien Harris, head teacher and local politician, to look at peace as an issue for socialist women in the 1920s. Mary Harris spent her working life in the service of the London education authority, becoming a county councillor in 1934 after she retired as head of Clapton Secondary School for Girls.

The paper makes reference to the relation between scholarship and social action and the question of knowledge mobilisation. All the educator activists featured here became a political force. There is evidence that they were participants in the making of a metropolitan political elite emerging from the association between feminism, socialism and the labour and trade union movement. The reconstruction of a living milieu will bring us closer to the character and personality of a small sample of intellectual women workers who deserve wider discussion, looking at their contribution to the development and organization of the new social knowledge. Not for the sake of nostalgia for the past but going forward, in order to provide fresh insight into their achievements and why the making of an authoritative voice for women is neither inevitable nor necessarily continuous.

*SWG Gender: Panel: Boundary Activism: Educated Women, Politics, and Historical Memory*

### **Gendering British social science: intellectual portraiture, politics and history**

In this paper I will describe the methodology employed in constructing an intellectual portrait of a significant and now virtually unknown social researcher, Pearl Jephcott who developed leadership skills, support networks and a power base for social action in the Girls' Club Movement in the 1920s and 30s. Secondly, a biographical approach and an approach that

emphasises ‘networking’ and collaboration in the service of a common cause are presented. Jephcott left youth work in the aftermath of World War Two when she took a temporary post with a British policy think tank. Following which she undertook research at various Institutes and Universities. Interpretation of these accounts uses the theoretical tools of Dorothy Smith, together with a technique Sara Lawrence Lightfoot and Jessica Hoffman-Davis call “portraiture”, to consider the relationship between the woman sociologist who tells the tale and those she learns from in her investigations. In so doing, the paper integrates questions of past and present, class, gender, power and resistance, and engages the debates over the idea of a “useable” past from a feminist perspective.

My purpose is to build a feminist historiography of British social science. I will present a way of thinking about the historical connections between university-based research and reformist efforts in the expanding and partially overlapping worlds of social science and social reform in the era of post war reconstruction. My choice of subject allows me to focus on issues of time and space in relation to personal circumstance, intellectual networks and representative members of them and the spread of practice. The case study approach permits me to illuminate the particular ideological and political contexts in which Jephcott became a public figure and the conditions in which she developed her ideas. Jephcott’s studies both of the lives and experience of young people and domestic housing in high flats became very influential in policy-based discussions.

### **Martin, Mary Clare**

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### **Children’s writing communities in Britain in war and peace, 1902-1950**

This paper explores the creation of writing communities amongst the young in peace and war through the medium of magazines, produced and distributed by young people themselves. It shows how the long tradition of girls’ production of magazines, identified by Alexander and McMaster in *The Child Writer*, (2010) from the late eighteenth century, took on new forms in the twentieth century. It will also suggest that educational processes of informal education, generated and managed by the young, might provide more scope for creativity in writing than formal education. The texts also illustrate aspects of children’s sense of humour, which has rarely been examined.

The first writing community explored here will be the family networks of the Kenyon sisters, daughters of an officer in the Royal Engineers, whose ages ranged from sixteen to eight, and whose elder brother was also engaged in military service in India. From 1902, they produced a family magazine called “The Beehive”, which was distributed amongst a network of cousins and aunts across Britain. The copy shows how even the youngest were encouraged to write about subjects of interest to them, from animals, to life at girls’ schools, to fantasy, and to submit “criticisms” of previous editions.

Whereas the tone of “The Beehive”, despite its descriptions of uproarious behaviour at school, was persistently feminine, that of a Post Guide magazine from 1917, was far more military. Post Guides were either too isolated geographically or too ill or disabled to participate physically in Guide companies. These magazines, produced by hand and circulated by post to different members of the Post Guide Company, formed an invaluable connecting link between members and again created a writing community. This surviving 1917 edition contains a jokes page making

fun of a sentry's routinized stupidity (an insight into class and gender dynamics) and fictional wartime stories. A later, contrasting version of a writing community from peace-time, was from a magazine produced in hospitals, from c.1945-50, entitled "The Open Window". Children would add contributions, whether in writing, drawing, or photographs, and it would be circulated from one hospital (containing Girl Guide and Brownie members) to another.

The paper will draw out the common and contrasting themes in such children's productions, and claim that these provide significant insights into "the voice of the child" in times of war and peace.

### **Martínez Martínez, Héctor**

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### **Emiliano Zapata y la educación de los pueblos durante la revolución mexicana. El caso del estado de Morelos, 1911-1921**

Esta ponencia tiene como principal objetivo mostrar cómo funcionó el sistema educativo en México durante la revolución, específicamente en el estado de Morelos en un periodo de tiempo que abarca desde la caída del régimen de Porfirio Díaz en 1911, hasta el año de 1921 en que se funda la Secretaría de Educación Pública (SEP).

La importancia de la revolución mexicana radica en que en los últimos años surgió una revisión historiográfica sobre sus causas, caracterizaciones y significados en torno a las imágenes, hechos, personajes e ideas de este movimiento armado que definió al México del siglo XX.

Dentro de esta revisión de la revolución mexicana, se ha tenido un interés por los actores que se relacionaron con el ámbito escolar durante esa época: maestros, alumnos, presidentes municipales, padres de familia, etc. Algunos de ellos se mantuvieron al margen de los acontecimientos, mientras que otros participaron de manera activa entre las principales fuerzas en conflicto: maderista, villista, carrancista, zapatista. No debemos olvidar que cada uno de estos grupos presentaba propuestas sociales y políticas muy distintas.

El tema de la educación durante la revolución mexicana no ha sido lo suficientemente investigado, y por lo tanto, es una buena opción para observar el funcionamiento de las escuelas en una época que se caracterizó por diversos enfrentamientos armados, enfermedades y pobreza principalmente.

Se eligió el estado de Morelos porque fue la zona de influencia de Emiliano Zapata, quien fue uno de los principales jefes revolucionarios en México y cuya figura y lucha agraria es reconocida en la actualidad en otros países del mundo. Sin embargo, su postura acerca de brindar el servicio educativo a la niñez mexicana ha quedado relegada de los estudios especializados.

Este trabajo se basa principalmente en documentos de archivo extraídos de los municipios de Mazatepec, Cuautla y Tlayacapan en el estado de Morelos, así como del Archivo General de la Nación en México. En los documentos podemos observar el funcionamiento de las escuelas durante nuestro periodo de estudio así como el impacto que la revolución generó entre los maestros, niños y padres de familia principalmente.

### **Emiliano Zapata, the Mexican revolution and people education system. The case of Morelos state 1911 – 1921**

The main goal of this paper is show how the Mexican education system, particularly in Morelos state, worked in the period between the collapse of Porfirio Díaz's regime in 1911 and the



creation of the Secretary of Public Education in 1921 (SEP in Spanish). The importance of the Mexican revolution has been reflected in the surge of historiographical review in recent years of its causes, characteristics and meanings drawing on the images, characters, facts and ideas in this armed movement which determined the history of Mexico in the 20th century.

In this review, there has been interest in the main actors who concerned themselves with the educational field in this period as teachers, children, municipal mayor, parents and so on. Some of these people kept on the margins of the action, while others participated actively with the main forces such as maderistas, villistas, carrancistas and zapatistas. It is important to recognise that each of these groups had its own distinct social and political proposals.

The theme of education in the Mexican revolution has not been sufficiently investigated. There is scope to observe how schools were working in this unusual period, characterized by fighting, sickness and poverty. Morelos state was chosen because it was the main area influenced by Emiliano Zapata; who was one of the most important revolutionary chiefs in México. Nowadays his character and struggle are recognised in other countries; in contrast his position on education services for Mexican children has been relegated to specialized studies.

This work is based on documents from towns in the Morelos state - Mazatepec, Cuautla and Tlayacapan and includes Mexican National files from México City. Those documents show us how Mexican schools worked in this specific period and how the Mexican revolution impacted on teachers, children and parents.

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### **El Colegio Alemán de Cartagena (1931-1944). Nazismo y educación**

El Colegio Alemán de Cartagena abre sus puertas en 1931, coincidiendo en el tiempo con el inicio de la Segunda República en España. El apoyo a las iniciativas de educación laica permite que se lleven a cabo proyectos como el promovido por el cónsul Fricke en la ciudad de Cartagena. Su posición privilegiada en el enclave portuario, en un importante entramado comercial y estratégico, le permite abrir este establecimiento educativo en la Muralla del Mar, en un pequeño local adaptado al efecto. En él comienza su andadura este establecimiento educativo que en sus primeros años no tuvo otra intención que la de proporcionar a la colonia alemana de Cartagena un centro educativo.

Dos años más tarde, con el ascenso de Adolf Hitler a la cancillería, que coincide en el tiempo con el triunfo electoral de la derecha española, el colegio se traslada a unas nuevas instalaciones en las afueras de la ciudad. Con el cambio de ubicación a las nuevas instalaciones en 1934 el colegio se convierte en una escuela de formación ideológica. El estado alemán dio mucha importancia en sus deseos neocolonialistas a la penetración ideológica y utilizó como principal vehículo la cultura y la enseñanza, convirtiendo los colegios alemanes de todo el mundo en centros de formación ideológica de niños y adultos. Las ideas pangermanistas exaltaron la nacionalidad germana y la necesidad de recuperar territorios mediante una política expansiva. En el colegio de Cartagena tienen lugar todo tipo de fiestas y celebraciones que exaltan los valores de la nación alemana y su hermanamiento con la nación española, participando en estas fiestas todas las instancias sociales.

En años posteriores y hasta 1937, ya iniciada la guerra civil en España, el colegio continúa funcionando y aumentando paulatinamente el número de alumnos matriculados. Durante el segundo año de la guerra civil sus instalaciones son ocupadas por el bando republicano y el material escolar es confiscado. El colegio volverá a abrir sus puertas tras la guerra civil y permanecerá abierto hasta la finalización de la Segunda Guerra Mundial, momento en el que se clausura de manera definitiva.

El Colegio Alemán de Cartagena refleja fielmente la utilización ideológica de la educación en las diferentes fases por las que pasa. La comunicación que presento trata de ilustrar este recorrido apoyándose en los documentos conservados en archivos, noticias de la prensa local y testimonios orales, entre otras fuentes, sin descartar la literatura existente sobre el tópico ideología y enseñanza.

### **The German School in Cartagena (1931-1944). Nazism and education**

The German School in Cartagena opened its doors in 1931 coinciding with the beginning of the second Spanish Republic. The support for secular education allowed projects such as those promoted by the consul Fricke Cartagena. Its privileged position in the harbor zone, an important commercial and strategic position allowed him to open this school at the Muralla del Mar, in small premises tailored for the purpose. At this place, the school started operating with the intention to provide the German colony an educational center for their children.

Two years later, with the appointment of Adolf Hitler as Chancellor, which coincided with the electoral triumph of the Spanish Right, the school moved to its new location outside of the city. With the change in location and the installation of new facilities, in 1934 the school became an ideological school. The German State set great store by the rule of, in their neocolonialist quest, the ideological infiltration. It used education and culture as the predominant medium of instruction. German Schools, all around the world, were turning into centers for ideological formation of children and adults. These ideologies exalted the German nationality and the need to recover territories through a policy of expansion. The Cartagena school organized many feasts and celebrations, with all the social agencies, which praised the values of the German Nation and the twinning with the Spanish Nation.

In subsequent years and up to 1937, the school had been steadily developing the number of pupils enrolled. In the second year of the Spanish Civil War, the school was taken over by the Republican side and the school supplies were confiscated. The school once again opened its doors at the end of the Spanish Civil War and remained open until the end of the Second World War, at which time it closed definitively.

The German School in Cartagena reflects the ideological orientation of education and its different stages. The paper that I present supports its arguments with archive documents, local press news and oral testimonies and existing literature on the topic ideology and education.

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**Construing People as Cultural and Political Subjects for Peace and War: The Educational Campaigns in Post-revolutionary Mexico (1910-40) and in 2nd Republic Spain (1931-39)**

Under the rhetoric of regeneration/renovation, the first Mexican post-revolutionary government launched the Misiones Culturales (1923) and the first government of the 2nd Spanish Republic established the Misiones Pedagógicas (1931) which transformed into the Comisión de Propaganda Cultural (1936). These campaigns were part of voluntaristic and comprehensive educational programs for transmitting quickly the comprehensive programs of socio-political transformations. Borrowing ideas from activism and progressive education, the governments used ‘ceremonial pedagogy’, i.e. instruments of informal and not formal education as the patriotic festivals, exhibitions or iconic programs, among many.

These programs intended (a) the mobilization, indoctrination and education of marginalized population for supporting the new “revolutionary”, radically new governments and the war efforts and for a modernization needed to cope with the internal and foreign enemies and challenges, which usually had a role in the break out of the crisis that led to their establishment. In particular, these policies were directed to indigenous and rural populations that were in both countries the majority of the population. Interwoven with this objectives are (b) the political integration and the ‘incorporation’ of the people in the political body; (c) the cultural homogenization with a modernization of the school and the imposition of a national standardized language; and (d) the instillation of national values and identities in traditional and rural societies that were culturally-ethnically, geographically, socially and politically very fragmented. In both multicultural states, without a fully developed educational infrastructure and large degree of illiterate, rural and ethnic diverse population, the informal educational means that built the ceremonial education seemed to be ideal for transmitting contents and molding the conscience of those who did not have an easy access to educational institutions.

The exceptionality of the revolutionary and republican transformations, the range of self-imposed objectives and the conscience of an accelerate time horizon, explain also the resort of these regimes to ‘ceremonial pedagogy’. It allowed to occupy public space, constructing it systematically as an educative instrument that reinterpreted or replaced the representations of former regimes, which made of the public space ‘the school of the people outside the classroom’. The Misiones culturales and Misiones pedagógicas were also instruments for introducing the school in rural and ethnically different societies as they supported not only the activities of rural teachers but also mobilized the populations visited.

The Spanish Misiones continued under a different name during Civil War and, during the analyzed period and until 1935, Mexico underwent the Cristiada and political turmoil. Although the Spanish Pedagogical Missions had some transformations that paralleled their Mexican counterparts, they maintained a differentiated character that rooted basically in the different (pre) conceptions about their addressees, the kind of citizenship envisioned for them and the future society to be built.

**Mas, Dorothy**

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United Kingdom

### **Nurturing the Volksgemeinschaft, 1939-1945: The use of school newsletters in the war education of Napola pupils**

Within four years after the takeover of power in January 1933, the Nazis established a series of secondary boarding schools aimed at training a new generation of leaders for the Thousand Year Reich. The *Nationalpolitische Erziehungsanstalten* (NPEA/NAPOLA) represented the largest undertaking among these elite institutions, recruiting boys between the ages of 10 and 18, which were to act as soldiers and guarantors of the longevity of the Reich. In the minds of the population and many adolescent boys, the NPEA became a desired passage to masculinity, prestige and success.

The outbreak of war in 1939 influenced and significantly altered everyday life at the schools and pupils' experiences. An important part of that experience were Napola newsletters – booklets published 3-4 times a year, whose intended audience also extended beyond the school community and included family and friends, as well as selected NPEA authorities. This paper examines the character, function and success of these newsletters. It will illuminate the booklets not only as a significant tool used to educate and enthuse to war, but also as an adhesive in attempts to maintain and strengthen solidarity between the war and home fronts. Ultimately, the paper aims to reflect on less conventional avenues that war education took between 1939-1945, the propagated images of war and NPEA pupils' own role in the conflict, against the backdrop of wider debates on the German *Volksgemeinschaft* amidst the vicissitudes of war and morale.

**Matthews, Jenny**

United Kingdom

### **Contemporary and Past Representations of Children Growing up with War: A Photographer's Perspective**

“Our sadness is overflowing,” thus Tharcille Mukandagano summed up the mood in Rwanda in July 1994, as she struggled to run a primary school of which she had been appointed headmistress just after the genocide which left everyone's lives shattered – her predecessor having been married to a member of the Presidential Guard, heavily implicated in the killing.

I am a freelance photographer, and for the past thirty years have documented the situation of children in times of war. Sometimes I have been commissioned by editorial clients (South Sudan for the Guardian for example), other times by Non-Governmental Organizations (Kurdistan for Save the Children) and sometimes I have just travelled somewhere because I thought it was an important event to document (the Israeli bombing of Lebanon in 2006). When I am working for a client, they set the agenda. Although I am always ‘free’ to be creative, quite often constraints of logistics (transport, danger, fixer, deadline) determine the pictures I produce.

Photographs are not neutral and come with the baggage of the photographer and the context in which they are used. Photographers ideally want to have pages of their work published but the reality is usually a couple of pictures (at best) to illustrate someone else's argument. Long captions can help anchor intention and meaning, but these are often ignored or separated from the images.

I would like to take a number of different case studies – including Rwanda, South Sudan, Afghanistan, Iraq, Palestine and Syria – and examine the issues as I see them of children and education, particularly looking at the ways photography is used as soft propaganda. As wars become internationalized and instant media demands that there is a global response, NGOs become involved and need to raise money, to show they are non-partisan and being constructive with donated funds. Here the use of images of children is key with the implication that there is a need to protect, the possibility of teaching a way out of war and that there will be a better future. I am also interested in children themselves documenting their lives and I thus will show some work from Afghanistan and Pakistan produced by young people.

My insights from the present and recent history, as an artistic photographer, add a grass-roots perspective to history-of-education research and may productively complicate the latter's approaches of children, childhood and education in war-related contexts.

### **May, Josephine**

University of Newcastle, NSW  
Australia

### **'The shadow of the world-sorrow hangs over us all': Australian Women Educational Leaders Narrativising the World Wars**

War has been constructed as a quintessentially masculine domain and women have largely been considered tangential players in its deadly work. But war is also a powerful generator of national and international narratives, and in the narrative construction of war, women did and do play an active role as interpreters and transmitters of understandings about the purposes and meanings of wars. Female school principals in Australia during the world wars were responsible to their school communities in this way. They interpreted and transmitted powerful narratives about war to staff and students, and to the wider community. For example, on Speech Day in December 1915, headmistress of Abbotsleigh, Margaret E. Murray (1913-1924), interpreted the coming of the First World War in internationalist terms as the coming of a global sadness when reminded her school that: 'The shadow of the world-sorrow hangs over us all'. Utilising narrative and linguistic analysis, this paper situates, and examines, constructions of the First and Second World Wars by a group of Australian female principals in both public and private schools. How did their narratives of war sit within the wider constructions of hostilities in the world wars? The evidence is drawn from their speeches, letters and other documents that recorded and/or reported their words. This paper forms part of a larger book-length collaboration examining women's progressive educational leadership from the late nineteenth to the mid twentieth centuries in Australia and New Zealand.

**Mayer, Christine**

University of Hamburg

Germany

*SWG Gender: Gender, Power Relations and Education in a Transnational World*

### **Circulation and Transfer of Educational Knowledge: Approaches to Studying Transnational and Transcultural Educational Transfers**

The transnational and transcultural exchange of educational knowledge did not begin with the 19th or 20th century in Germany. Transmitting ideas, concepts and practices across borders has a long history, and the intensity of this exchange grew markedly in the second half of the 18th century. Such transnational knowledge transfer show up notably in German-language educational discourses of that time which focus increasingly on the previously neglected field of female education. Translations played an important role in this exchange of pedagogical knowledge. Its circulation was aided both by the growth of printed materials in general and increasing sales of periodicals and newspapers especially in the final third of the 18th century. The questions arising from this scenario, how such transfers took place, what educational debates they gave rise to, and how concepts and practices from different cultural contexts could be integrated into the national/local discourse, have so far not been given much attention. Most research in the field of history of education to date has been conducted within national borders.

Recent developments in Transfer History (*Transfersgeschichte*) and Postcolonial Studies have produced new methodological approaches (such as the *concept of cultural transfer, shared or entangled history, Histoire croisée*) as extensions or alternatives to the traditional international comparative history. From the vantage point of my own research background that refers to the transfer of educational concepts in the field of female education in the 18th century, I will consider what methodical and methodological inspiration and ideas these historiographical approaches can provide us for exploring the transnational and transcultural exchange of pedagogical ideas, concepts, and practices in history of education and gender history.

**Medeiros Neta, Olivia**

Instituto Federal de Educação, Ciência e Tecnologia do Rio Grande do Norte

Brazil

### **Pedagogías de la ciudad (Príncipe, Rio Grande do Norte, Brasil – siglo XIX)**

En ese trabajo, que tiene como temática *ciudad y educabilidad* y como objeto *las pedagogías en la ciudad de Príncipe en el siglo XIX*, pretendemos problematizar cómo la relación entre ciudad y sociabilidades constituye educabilidades en el Príncipe del siglo XIX, a partir de espacios de vehiculación de enunciados pedagógicos. Así, proponemos la tesis de que hay una pedagogía de la ciudad en el Príncipe del siglo XIX, una vez que el *modus vivendi* de la urbe es involucrado por sociabilidades en instancias diversas, constituyendo la ciudad como investida de una orientación pedagógica y el habitante de la urbe como formado en y por sociabilidades. El *corpus* documental para el estudio de la pedagogía de la ciudad es compuesto por fuentes distintas y amplias. Estas son: eclesiásticas, político-administrativas, notariales y judiciales. Para el análisis y la interpretación de las fuentes, el estudio se basa en el método indiciario, permitiendo el aprecio a los pormenores y la conciliación entre la racionalidad y la sensibilidad. Este trabajo se inscribe en

la dimensión de la historia cultural aquí emprendida, de conformidad con Roger Chartier y Peter Burke en cuanto estudio de los procesos por los cuales se construyen sentidos, pues es necesario acercarla a las configuraciones sociales y conceptuales de un tiempo y de un espacio propios. De ese modo, localizamos y enfocamos el *modus vivendi* en el Príncipe a partir de prácticas sociales y valores de la vida material y elaboraciones simbólicas constituyen un conjunto de aprendizajes decurrentes de la relación entre los espacios y las sociabilidades, siendo esas constituidas y constituidoras de pedagogías a la ciudad. Mirando los espacios y sus escrituras, sociabilidades y educabilidades nos volvemos a un entendimiento amplio de que estamos constituyendo una historia de las educabilidades en el Príncipe del siglo XIX, esa tiene como constructor mayor la ciudad y sus componentes de educación socializadora e instructiva. En términos conclusivos, pensar sobre ciudad y educabilidad es resaltar que la pedagogía de y en la ciudad se deja leer por las prácticas y acciones vehiculadas a las sociabilidades que, en la intersección de la pedagogía de la ciudad y de las educabilidades, se (con)figuraron como formativas.

### **Pedagogies in the city (Prince, Rio Grande do Norte, Brazil – 19th century)**

This paper has as a theme “City and Educability” and as a subject “Pedagogies in the city of Prince in the 19th century”. We intend to question how the relation between city and sociabilities constitutes educabilities in the city of Prince in the 19th century through spaces of vehiculation of pedagogic statements. Thus, we propose the thesis that there is a city pedagogy in the 19th century Prince, since the *urbe modus vivendi* is entangled by sociabilities in many instances, constituting the city as something invested of a pedagogic orientation and its inhabitant as someone formed in and by sociabilities. The documental corpus for the study of the city pedagogy is composed by different and wide sources. They are: ecclesiastic, political, administrative, cartorial and judiciary. For the sources analysis and interpretation the study is based in the evidenciary method, which allows the consideration of the details and the conciliation between reason and sensibility. This paper belongs to the cultural history dimension, in agreement with Roger Chartier and Peter Burke as the study of the processes through which meanings are created, because it must be approximated of the social and conceptual configurations of a particular time and space. From this perspective, we locate and focus on Prince’s *modus vivendi* from social practices, material life values and symbolic elaborations that constitute a set of learnings which come from the relation between spaces and sociabilities, being these made of and makers of city pedagogies. By looking at the spaces and its inscriptions, sociabilities and educabilities we come to an understanding that we constitute a history of the educabilities of 19th century Prince, having as the major construct the city itself and its components of socializing and instructive education. At last, thinking about city and educability requires remarking that the pedagogy in and of the city shows itself through the practices and the actions attached to the sociabilities, which, in the intersession of the city and of the educabilities, (con)figure themselves as formative.

**Michael, Deanna**

University of South Florida St. Petersburg  
United States

### **Conflict in Reform: The Political Struggles between Teachers and State Politicians in Florida during the Twentieth Century**

This paper addresses the political struggles between teachers and state politicians in the United States by focusing on the conflicts and compromises between these two groups in the state of Florida during the twentieth century. These political tensions began in the early twentieth century as the states constructed bureaucracies to manage schooling for their citizens, especially those in the middle and lower social classes. Teachers resisted many of the changes because the new structures challenged their way of work, the structure of their professional careers, their relationship with parents and students, and the authority of their professional knowledge.

These conflicts were often based on ideology and the growing bureaucratization of schooling, which de-professionalized teaching at the time that the field increased educational standards in colleges of education and raised certification standards. Examining these conflicts in a shifting political environment like the state of Florida offers a historical case study of how state officials either proposed political compromises or heightened political tensions to serve their ideological ends rather than to achieve educational outcomes that were beneficial to students. Florida also offers a particular setting because state politicians often initiated educational reforms before other southeastern states, most of which affected the quality of schooling that children experienced. The majority of teachers supported some of these reforms while others were widely opposed based on how it impinged on teachers' way of work, professional status, or whether data existed to predict success or the effect on student learning. Throughout the century, the opposition to politically mandated changes either erupted into public battles, such as when the governor provoked a statewide teachers strike in 1968, with multiple losers and few winners or they became moments of diplomacy with compromises on both sides as occurred with the 1983 minimum competency legislation. In all instances, the impact on students was a peripheral consideration.

Analyses of these conflicts often center on the political party affiliation of the politicians and the teacher activists while ignoring the underlying ideology that supported the reform agenda at its foundation. Both Democrat and Republican governors and state legislators have promoted anti-intellectual reforms that claimed to value "good teaching" while narrowing the state approved curriculum and reducing teachers to trainers in the name of student achievement. By focusing on the political actions of teachers' organizations and state political leaders, analyses have focused on the events, but not the purpose of the events or how teachers were increasingly politically isolated through these conflicts. In this paper I seek to answer the questions "why did it happen?" and "why were the politicians successful?" By including the context of the growing anti-intellectualism in state educational policy as well as the political isolation of teachers, this analysis of these political struggles contends that many of the instances of conflict were provoked to reach a larger political end. Materials used in this paper are journal articles, political memoirs, teacher narratives, archival materials, and interviews with union leaders as well as state educational policy actors.



**Michlic, Joanna**

United Kingdom

### **The Challenging Task of Educating the East European Nations about their Difficult Pasts: The Case of Poland**

In 2009 the eminent Polish historian Jerzy Jedlicki named the difficulty of disseminating the accounts of the uncomfortable dark aspects of Polish-Jewish relations during the Holocaust to broader segments of Polish society *powerlessness* (*bezradność*). At the same time, he considered the process of self-critical assessments of the Polish national past critical to Polish cultural renewal. Such a renewal process was activated by the Jedwabne debate 2000-2002, triggered by the publication of Jan Tomasz Gross's book *Neighbors* in May 2000. Gross's position in *Neighbors* resembles the optimistic progressive position of American sociologist Robert N. Bellah who argues that a national community is continually engaged in retelling the constitutive narratives of its collective history. "If the community is completely honest," Bellah writes, "it will remember stories not only of suffering received but also of suffering inflicted – dangerous memories, for they call the community to alter ancient evil." Thus, *Neighbors* set out a definite counter-memory to all narratives of the accepted canon of remembering the Holocaust, Polish-Jewish relations, and Polish society during World War Two.

Today, in the post-Jedwabne debate period, the Jedwabne massacre of Jews by their Polish neighbors on July 10, 1941 does not simply function as a single painful historical fact, but has become a symbol of all dark aspects of Polish-Jewish relations during the Holocaust and its aftermath and even of the entire Polish-Jewish relations during the Holocaust, as noted by the sociologist Antoni Sufek.

Jedwabne inspires not only historians and scholars of other disciplines to investigate other uncomfortable aspects of Polish-Jewish relations, but also visual artists, writers, poets, playwrights and filmmakers who wish that Polish society in general learn the difficult lessons from the national past. Why is the process still so challenging? What educational forms does the process of coming to terms with the difficult past take on? Why do various cultural activities aiming at educating society not always result in a visible transformation. There are some of the questions that this paper aims to answer.

**Middleton, Sue**

University of Waikato

New Zealand

### **Pedagogies of appropriation: Henri Lefebvre, spatial histories and mid-twentieth century educational subversions**

During his lifetime Henri Lefebvre (1901-1991) was renowned in France as a Marxist philosopher, sociologist and activist. Although he published more than 70 books, few were available in English until *The Production of Space* was translated in 1991. While this work – often associated with geography – has influenced Anglophone educationists, they have yet to consider Lefebvre's work more broadly. Refusing to split space from time or 'high theory' from the everyday lives at its base, Lefebvre's three-volume *Critique of Everyday Life* offers historians of education research tools and commentaries on the contexts in which it was produced: the Liberation of France from the Nazis (Vol 1); the eruption of mass protests in the 1960s (Vol 2)

and the technological revolution of the 1980s (Vol 3). With translations appearing decades after the French originals, Anglophone scholars' use of such works in 'other' spatiotemporal contexts can distort Lefebvre's ideas (Kofman and Lebas, 1996). What relevance, for example, might his work on post-World War Two 'new suburbs' in Paris have for research on student experience in 'southern', post-colonial contexts?

Developing themes in my recent book (Middleton, 2014), this presentation identifies educational concepts and critiques in those of Lefebvre's works available in English: his critiques of bureaucratised schooling and universities, the concepts he devised to study educational phenomena, and his educational methods – his pedagogy. *The Explosion*, written in the midst of his involvement in the potentially revolutionary 'moment' of mass student-worker protests of 1968, was a sustained critique of university education. His final book, *Rhythmanalysis* introduces specifically educational concepts for social research, including those Stuart Elden refers to as spatial historians. References to education are also scattered throughout the three volumes of *Critique*, in Lefebvre's writings on cities, on Marxism, technology and the bureaucratic state.

In a little-known passage in *Production of Space*, Lefebvre argued that his new methodology, 'rhythmanalysis,' would reveal what he termed 'pedagogies of appropriation'. Appalled at the 'bureaucratic society of controlled consumption' developed by post-World War Two French and other western governments, he turned to cultural subversives – surrealists, Situationists, feminists, 'free love' advocates – for evidence of an imminent 'period of appropriation.'

To test the relevance of Lefebvre's analysis of the 'events' of Paris 1968 to spatial histories of student radicalism in 'other' spatiotemporal and cultural settings, I rhythmally analyse extracts from interviews with New Zealand PhD graduates whose lives and works were enabled and constrained by 'new social movements' of the 1970s-early 1980s. While the 'radicalising' contradictions experienced by these students were different from Lefebvre's Parisian protesters, his conceptual and methodological framing offers much for the study of local variants of global ideological struggles in education.

*SWG Gender: Gender, Power Relations and Education in a Transnational World*

### **Connecting building, thinking and writing: Henri Lefebvre and feminist spatial histories**

The problem of 'making space' for intellectual and artistic pursuits is a recurring theme in women's writing. How might a feminist historian of educational theory conceptualise relations between the places in which a woman thought and wrote, the ideas she produced there and the transnational travels of educational theory? Such spatial histories encompass multiple scales – from the domestic to the planetary. Developing a theme from my recent book (Middleton 2014), I argue that Henri Lefebvre's approach to 'relations between building, thinking and speech' provides a way forward (2003).

Lefebvre's analysis of space as at once 'perceived, conceived and lived' (1991) is increasingly cited by historians. As abstract space (conceived), theory 'exists' in academic or policy texts. Theoretical assumptions – about childhood, knowledge or gender – configure domestic and school architecture (perceived). Formative of subjectivities, educational and wider social 'theories' also tap into the emotions, the psyche (lived). A Lefebvrian 'spatial history' spans the micro- (the minutiae of everyday living), the meso- (institutions, towns) and the macro- (the nation within the global). His objects of inquiry were the social relations traversing these levels: relations of capital and labour (class), of gender and sexuality, of race and empire.

Lefebvre distinguished between 'housing' and 'dwelling.' 'Housing' encodes templates of planners – conformist repetitions of the conceived. 'Dwelling' is poetic, evocative of dreaming and the unconscious. Here Lefebvre turned to literary works. I interrogate accounts of domestic 'dwelling' by two women: Englishwoman Virginia Woolf (2002) and New Zealander Sylvia Ashton-Warner (1967). Both wrote novels, autobiographies and educational theory. Both wrote about their search for 'rooms of their own' within households configured according to early twentieth-century templates of gender, class and colonial relations. How might the educational theories written by these two women have been enabled, constrained and 'flavoured' by their spatiotemporal locations?

As highly literate British 'subjects' Sylvia and Virginia shared a certain common mental space. But their orientations in relation to theory differed according to their spatial positioning. Virginia (1882-1941) lived in multi-storied stone houses with attics and cellars amongst an educated and artistic elite in the capital of the British Empire (London). Marriage and an inheritance provided financial independence. Sylvia (1908-84) grew up in poverty, taught in remote rural Māori colonial villages, lived in rundown wooden cottages and wrote in rustic shacks. Yet, although positioned in opposing antipodes and on opposite sides of the imperial and social class divides, as British subjects, both women's texts are infused with the transnational tropes of empire and class of the early twentieth century.

### **Mogarro, Maria J**

University of Lisbon  
Portugal

### **The colonial war from the perspective of teacher training schools, Portugal in the sixties: Propaganda, everyday life and representations. [Sub-theme 4. Representations of war and peace]**

The sixties have been characterized, in Portugal, by the war against the liberation movements that the country kept in three of its African territories (Angola, Mozambique and Guinea). The military defense of what was the last of the great colonial empires followed the refusal of decolonization demanded by international organizations. This politic led internally to a national mobilization about the war effort and an intensification of the Salazarist political propaganda: systematic dissemination of the regime's values, justification of the colonial war and glorification of the empire. Teacher training schools experienced the impact of this politic; not only through its regular organization, but also with the implementation of specific initiatives, such as "ultramarine weeks", Henriquine commemorations, 10th of July ceremonies (Portugal Day, called "Race Day"), ultramarine culture courses and thematic conferences. The constant diffusion of nationalistic values pervaded school and everyday life.

This reality influenced classrooms' decoration, articles that student teachers wrote and their products (such as course books). Classrooms are illustrated with world maps showing the Portuguese shipping itineraries during the building of its empire and the globalization process, as well as African landscapes, fauna and flora. In their texts, pictures and caricatures, students express the values of the regime and its defense; but they also express mixed feelings when they talk about themselves or their loved ones that are fighting in the fronts of the African battlefield and might be hurt or dying. These representations on the colonial war also evidence an emptiness in the discourses produced on the theme – the others, the African people, rarely gain shape,

being ignored or mentioned sporadically. It is also important to emphasize that it is around the discourses about the war and its implications on family life that students' (and former students') positions come close to an area of transgression, questioning the regime's official position and its adhesion to that position. This work is set in the scientific field of cultural history and uses a diverse array of information sources, such as the national and educational press, archive documents, photographs and interviews to teacher training schools' former students and teachers.

### **Mole, Frédéric**

Université Jean Monnet de Saint-Étienne, Université de Genève  
France

*SWG Teachers' Critical Thinking*

### **L'éducation pacifiste face à la menace de guerre (instituteurs français, années 1930)**

Au cours des années 1930, l'éducation à la paix a été confrontée à la menace grandissante d'une nouvelle guerre mondiale. Comment les enseignants ont-ils affronté cette mise à l'épreuve du projet éducatif pacifiste élaboré et développé durant les années 1920 ? Ont-ils cherché à concevoir un enseignement critique prenant en compte la tension entre pacifisme et patriotisme ? Cette tension s'est-elle traduite dans les contenus et les pratiques d'enseignement ? La communication s'inscrit dans le prolongement des analyses proposées au cours du SWG de l'ISCHE 35 sur *La place du pacifisme dans la constitution d'une pédagogie critique dans l'entre-deux-guerres* (The role of pacifism in the development of a critical pedagogy in the inter-war). Elle s'appuiera en particulier sur la presse pédagogique, syndicale et politique, ainsi que sur des comptes rendus de congrès.

### **Pacifist Education and the Threat of War (French primary school teachers in the 1930s)**

In the 1930s, pacifist education was confronted with the growing threat of a new World War. When pacifist education as designed and developed in the 1920s was thus put to the test, how did teachers react? Did they try to conceive some form of critical teaching that would reflect the tension between pacifism and patriotism? Was the tension visible in syllabuses and teaching methods? This paper follows on from the analyses presented during the SWG of Ische 35 on "the role of pacifism in the development of critical pedagogy in the interwar". More particularly, it is based on union, educational and political journals, as well as on congress reports.

### **Une pédagogie pour la paix ? Débats dans les organisations nationales et internationales d'instituteurs**

Après la 1<sup>re</sup> guerre mondiale, tous les instituteurs s'accordent à penser que l'enseignement scolaire doit désormais contribuer à prévenir une nouvelle guerre. Les associations et syndicats s'emparent de la question et entendent œuvrer à une transformation du monde. Leur volontarisme et leur engagement ne fait guère de doute, mais ils s'interrogent sur la façon dont l'école pourrait peser sur le destin du monde. Quels sont les moyens pédagogiques les mieux adaptés à l'instruction et l'éducation d'élèves capables de vouloir et de préserver la paix entre les nations ? Réviser tous les manuels d'histoire et y supprimer tout bellicisme ? Développer une conscience et une morale internationales, voire internationalistes ? Convaincre les élèves de

l'égalité des peuples et des cultures ? Développer un esprit révolutionnaire jugé seul capable d'en finir avec les contradictions sociales qui sont à l'origine des guerres ?

Les visées et les stratégies se confrontent et parfois s'opposent. Le mouvement vers une pédagogie pour la paix n'est pas sans lutte ni déchirements. Les instituteurs se demandent comment faire grandir les générations nouvelles dans un idéal de paix, tout en les prémunissant de certaines hypocrisies ou illusions pacifistes. À partir d'un corpus essentiellement composé de périodiques syndicaux et/ou pédagogiques, la communication cherchera à identifier les différents argumentaires en présence, et elle analysera comment, dans la controverse, s'élaborent différentes versions d'une pédagogie pour la paix.

### **A pedagogy for peace? Debates among national and international teachers' organizations**

After the 1st World War, teachers unanimously agreed that school education had now to help prevent a new war. Associations and unions embraced the matter, intending to work for a changing world. There can be no doubt about their voluntarism and commitment; still, they questioned how the school would be able to influence the world's fate. Which kind of teaching methods would be best suited to the training and education of students who would be wanting to build peace among previously belligerent nations, and to preserve it? Would the reviewing of all history textbooks and the removal of any warmongering content do it? Or should an international - or even internationalist - awareness or moral be developed? Or again, should students be persuaded of the equal dignity of all peoples and cultures? Or should one develop a revolutionary spirit, as the unique way to end the social contradictions that are the cause of wars?

Aims and strategies clashed with each other, and sometimes conflict. The movement towards a pedagogy for peace is not without its struggles or strife. Teachers were wondering how to educate the new generations in an ideal of peace, while preserving them from certain hypocrisies or pacifist illusions. From an historical corpus consisting mainly of trade union and/or teaching journals, this contribution seeks to identify the various arguments involved in the course of this controversy, and to analyze how different versions of a pedagogy for peace were developed.

**Monaghan, Christine**

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### **Driving With the Rearview Mirror: On History of Education, Education in Emergency, and Historical Institutionalism**

This paper will explore the ways in which historians of education's tools of evidence and accuracy might be applied to the field of Education in Emergency (EiE) via Historical Institutionalism (HI) to ask different questions about education policies and programs in conflict and post-conflict situations. EiE scholars and practitioners are interested in "best practices" or transferable policies and programs that are applicable across a range of situations (Novelli & Lopes-Cardoso, 2008). In other words, their research asks whether or not policies and programs "work." Yet, the research agenda of EiE scholars remains unable to explain the relationship between formal education and statebuilding and/or peacebuilding nor the ways in which formal education might address the "root causes of conflict" (Kirk & Winthrop, 2007). These unanswered questions are tantamount to policymakers and practitioners driving in the dark with little to guide them in what

constitutes relevant or appropriate policies and programs. Yet, answers are possible by asking why and how policies and programs are developed and implemented as well as the impact over time of education policies and programs on the conflict and post-conflict situations in which they are embedded.

Historians of education ask precisely these questions of contingency, context, and continuity/discontinuity that are critical to reshaping the research agenda of the field of EiE. However, historians of education also continue debating the notion of presentism and its place (if any) in historical scholarship. Some scholars suggest that historians of education might “link their interests with current challenges and point to a lacunae in current practice” (Goodman & Grosvenor, 2009, p: 601). Alternately, others maintain “the relevance of the history of education for educators of the 21st century can...only be the relevance of an intrinsic nature” (Goodman & Grosvenor, 2009, p: 606 citing Depaepe, 2001, p. 640).

Historical Institutionalism, an approach to historical research increasingly utilized by mainstream historians offers a middle ground upon which historians of education and EiE scholars might stand and produce scholarship that mutually enriches both fields. HI assumes that particular ideas determine institutional design in the founding moment of institutions and subsequently constrain the range of choices available to policymakers and practitioners. By explicating why and how, through the methodological framework of HI, historians of education might focus their inquiry on problems of the present and EiE scholars might turn away from the present and look to the past, my paper outlines possibilities for both fields to assist policymakers and practitioners in devising more relevant and appropriate education policies and programs in conflict and post-conflict settings. I conclude by offering examples of the ways in which I apply HI to my own research on the history of education policies and programs in protracted refugee situations in the post-Cold War era.

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*SWG La Pensée Critique des Enseignants/ Teachers' Critical Thinking*

### **La communauté éducative : un cas exemplaire du changement dans l'école primaire française des années 1960-1970**

Penser l'école en terme de communauté était le symbole du renouveau pédagogique des années 1960-70, bien que cette manière de penser l'éducation ait été expérimentée en d'autres temps. L'idée consistait à en finir avec la forme scolaire légitimée, un maître, une classe et à rompre avec une conception scolaire ancienne, qui tenait la clôture du lieu des études pour la condition du sérieux de l'enseignement dispensé.

Pour les instituteurs de l'époque, c'était aussi expérimenter dans des établissements d'un autre type, en s'arrogeant une mission ambitieuse : d'abord celle de mieux lier l'école et la vie, ensuite de faire participer d'autres personnes concernées par l'éducation des enfants (parents, animateurs de loisirs). Le but visait plus d'efficacité à leur action sur les élèves. En quelque sorte, l'éducation communautaire était au coeur du projet d'école ouverte, considérée comme une instance de transformation des pratiques pédagogiques, en réponse à la crise que connaissait le premier degré au tournant des années 1970. C'est un objectif qui a ébranlé les cadres anciens de l'institution, déstabilisé les formes d'organisation du travail enseignant et engagé les instituteurs

dans une reconversion professionnelle, identitaire et culturelle, suggèrent Martine Khéroubi et Eric Plaisance (2000, 32)). Penser leur travail en terme de partenariat éducatif, interroge le sens pris par la croisade des rénovateurs de l'école en faveur de la communauté et les ressources mises à disposition pour plus de justice sociale et scolaire.

L'objectif de cette communication est d'interroger la notion de communauté en tant que nouvelle forme scolaire. Il ne sera pas question d'en apprécier les éventuels effets, mais plutôt de se demander comment cette notion, absente du discours scolaire, voire combattue à certaines périodes, s'impose en tant que figure de rhétorique majeure pour transformer l'école, dans le dernier quart du XXème siècle. Il s'agit de mettre en évidence la genèse de cette conception communautaire de l'éducation, ses sources, son fondement idéologique et les canaux de sa diffusion dans le monde pédagogique. Dans cette perspective, nous nous appuyons sur différents types de matériaux : deux analyses historiques d'une expérience renommée pour être un modèle de communauté éducative : l'école des cadres d'Uriage 1940-42 (Delestre 1989), (Comte 1995). Nous cherchons ensuite à repérer l'écho donné à ce modèle au colloque d'Amiens en 1969, quand l'hétérogénéité scolaire s'impose et se traduit par des choix pédagogiques qui s'écartent de la gestion centralisée du système, activant des communautés locales (AEERS, 1969). Enfin, la mise en oeuvre de la notion de communauté éducative est observée dans trois récits hagiographiques : *En sortant de l'école*, 1978, *une voie communautaire* (Millot , 1979), *Ecoles en rupture* (1981). Ces expériences, situées à l'extrémité de la chaîne de diffusion de l'esprit communautaire, animées par des instituteurs volontaires, est présentée comme l'expression d'une pensée critique enseignante.

### **Educational Community : an exemplary case of change in French primary school between the years 1960-1970**

Thinking of schools in terms of community was symbolic of a new pedagogy between the years 1960-70 despite the fact that this type of education had already been experimented with before. The idea consisted of abandoning traditional school types such as a teacher-led class as well as breaking with the old conception of school which considered an enclosed area as a necessary condition for a serious teaching atmosphere.

For primary school teachers of the time, it was also experimenting with the sorts of establishments assuming this ambitious mission: first, linking school and life together, then engaging others concerned with children's educational activity (such as parents, activities organizers) in its work. The goal consisted of raising the efficiency of their action on children. In a way, the educational community was central to the project of the open school, seen as a way to transform pedagogy, as an answer to a crisis of the first degree at the end of the 1970's. This goal shook the old institution, disturbed, confounded or confused the old working organization of the teachers and engaged primary school teachers in a professional, identity, cultural transformation, as suggested by Martine Khéroubi et Eric Plaisance (2000, 32). Thinking of their work in terms of an educational partnership questions the meaning of the crusade of school reformers for community and resources for more social and educational justice.

The aim of this paper is to question the notion of community as a new educational form. The question is not to appreciate the eventual effects, but to wonder how this notion which does not appear in ordinary debates, even combative at certain times, established itself as a major rhetorical figure to transform school in the last quarter of the XXth century. It is about shedding light on the genesis of this conception of community in education, its sources, its ideological foundation, and the channels of its diffusion in the educational world. In this perspective, we will

work with various materials : two historical analyses of a famous experiment, known as a model of educational community, l'école des cadres d'Uriage 1940-42 (Delestre 1989), (Comte 1995). We will then seek to identify the echo of this model in the colloquium of Amiens in 1969, when educational heterogeneity established itself and indicated pedagogical choices or alternatives that move away from the centralised system of the local communities (AEERS, 1969). Finally, the notion of educational community is observed in three hagiographic tales: *En sortant de l'école*, 1978, *Une voie communautaire* (Millot , 1979), *Ecoles en rupture* (1981). These experiments, at the end of the diffusion chain of community spirit, led by teacher volunteers, is presented as an expression of teachers' critical thinking.

### **Moody, Zoe**

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### **UNESCO's Peace-Building Activities for and with Children (1946-1966): From Re-education to Human Rights Education**

During the Conference for the Establishment of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (hereafter UNESCO), held at the Institute of Civil Engineers, London, from the 1st to the 16th November 1945, many national delegates expressed their hopes in what would become UNESCO's motto: "Building Peace in the minds of men and women". The conference was indeed a meaningful contribution towards the allies' projects established in wartime (1942): rebuild education systems once peace was restored and prevent the outburst of a new devastating conflict. If war had to be avoided above all, positive actions could be taken to guarantee the establishment of peace for the rising generation. In the delegates view, peace-building included re-education of children who could not attend school during the conflict as well as the development of a genuine culture of international understanding. Education was moreover considered a (if not the) unique field in which national and international matters could be fused for the common good of all. This point is of considerable significance in order to seize UNESCO's function as a transnational organisation and the nature of its collaborations with other local/national/non or inter-governmental organisations.

This paper is based on data collected in the electronic and paper archives of UNESCO (from 1946 to 1966), as well as on UNESCO's publications (eg. *Courrier de l'UNESCO*). In an interdisciplinary perspective, combining historical and discourse analysis approaches, it will picture how this United Nations specialised agency defined, prioritised, organised and publicised its peace-building actions for and with children. A focus will be put on the links that can be identified between the activities and the founding discourses held in November 1945, as well as on the work of the Preparatory Commission of the UNESCO. The shift from reconstruction and re-education activities to international understanding and human rights teaching programs will also be analysed in order to give full account of UNESCO's role as a human rights promoter. Overall, this paper will argue that the status of UNESCO, that is a United Nations specialised agency in charge of education issues, gave it sufficient freedom as well as power to act ahead of other transnational organisations with regards to children's human rights.



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### **Confucius' peace education in the Spring and Autumn**

Human history cannot be considered without war, and war continues throughout history in one part of the world or another. Spring and Autumn were the seasons considerably affected by war throughout East Asia culture history. While society was in state of turmoil, there were nevertheless some great thinkers. Among philosophers, the most well-known is Confucius, the founder of East Asian education who emphasized the importance of education as one way to control and re-organize a chaotic society. The Zhou Dynasty of China protected their vassal states in politics and culture from foreign enemies and handed down to them an advanced civilization embracing culture, custom, and education. However, as the vassal states became stronger and stronger, the Zhou Dynasty lost its power and its brilliant cultures vanished. Some vassal states broke their rules and began to invade other vassal states in order to expand their territories. In order to control disarray and maintain peace and order of society, Confucius proposed “Ren (仁).” He also participated in political affairs and fostered disciples.

This paper analyzes and discusses Confucius' peace education applied to manage the disarray in Spring and Autumn from three aspects. First, Confucius emphasizes peace education rooted in people. Peace education could be developed through analysis of power. He explained that kings or politicians were entrusted with the powers from people. Power that could make a more affluent and stable society and is the basis of politics. Therefore, recognizing this everyone will lead an easy and pleasant life at his or her social status. Finally, an age of peace will arrive. Second, Confucius proposed the recognition of “Ren” as the method of peace education. He defined “Ren” as loving people. According to him, “Ren” originates from reciprocal respects and relationships. In fact, the realization of “Ren” is a self-correcting, and further, a fundamental rule which we can live well together. From the perspective of realizing “Ren”, Confucius asserted that wars which hurt others to benefit their perpetrators are absolutely immoral behaviors. Third, Confucius suggested a “Chuntzu(君子, superior man)” as an ideal role model of peace education. Confucius thinks that the “Chuntzu” is the person who treats justice as fundamental to rule the nation or to conduct one's life. In the reasoning of “Chuntzu”, when one's personal life is cultivated (修身), one's family will be regulated (齊家) and then one's state will be well governed; and when all states are well governed(治), there will be peace and harmony throughout the world (平天下). Therefore, Chuntzu is the practical person to pursue an ideal and harmonious society through self-discipline as well as moral training.

Confucius is the person who is trying to build an upright society with education. In the ideal society he envisaged, a “son would behave filially, fathers paternally, kings royally, subjects loyally” and everybody should be responsible for himself in his or her position. Confucius thinks that it is owing to few people's willingness to remain in their position that war is started. Because of this fact, he proposed peace education.

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### **Educating about War and the Military through the Periodical Press: the writings of Isabella Fyvie Mayo**

This paper examines the way in which Isabella Fyvie Mayo (1843-1914) used the periodical press to educate the public on aspects of war and militarism. Her earliest writing, in the 1860s, appeared in religious press periodicals and until the twentieth century her contributions continued to appear in periodicals such as *Kind Words*, *The Quiver*, *The Sunday Magazine*, *The Fireside Pictorial Annual* and *The Girls' Own Annual*. Although she needed to earn money, she nevertheless employed the press as a didactic medium for an evangelical and moral message within a Christian Socialist framework. She considered that disagreements between nations or peoples were often due to misunderstandings and that the more people know about each other the better and she set herself to provide this knowledge, sometimes through fiction, but from the 1880s often acting as a populariser of information provided by others more informed or specialist. She was especially critical of what she considered women's particular tendency to support wars without careful consideration of the ethical and religious issues. She argued that if a cause really was worth fighting for, then it was worth dying for, and she provided examples of individual heroism by both men and women for her readers to learn from. Like other liberal internationalists she supported the wars of national independence in Europe but saw Gladstone's foreign policy in Egypt and Sudan as a war prompted by financiers. This led her to oppose imperialism as promoted by capitalism and upheld by militarism. The difficulty she encountered in finding outlets for her opposition to the South African War led her to revise her opinion of the widely beneficial aspects of the press and to consider even much of the religious press as partisan, much of it under the control of financiers and capitalists, who used the press to stir up racial, religious and national hatreds. Nevertheless, she persevered with her writing, although most of it now appeared in alternative or radical publications. She followed Leo Tolstoy's ideology of non-violence and provided analyses of his political article applying them to Britain and the Empire.

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### **Tracking the Humanizing Effect of John Dewey's Pragmatism on Norbert Wiener's Views on Peace and Education During the Cold War**

In 1914, Norbert Wiener wrote an article on relativism in *The Journal of Philosophy*. Throughout the text, the young post-doctoral student puts forth the notion that "no experience is self-sufficient, that no knowledge is absolutely certain, and that no knowledge is merely derived." All sorts of feedback, signals, and transactions – potentially controllable elements of communication and education – are at play. Relativism, Wiener posits, is "closely related" to pragmatism and, in fact, "only objects to pragmatism in so far as it seems to claim to have said the last word in philosophy: a *relativistic pragmatism* is quite possible."

Never again would Wiener – a lifelong educator who taught at MIT – so publicly concern himself with pragmatism; however, this was far from his last word on the philosophy. William

James, in 1907, led Wiener to the looking glass, where six years later Bertrand Russell – Wiener’s mentor and Mad Hatter – prodded him down the rabbit hole and into a lifelong adventure of the unknowable, an adventure framed largely by John Dewey’s views on pragmatism, a systematic exploration of the logic and ethics of scientific inquiry. Dewey’s critique of technology formed the basis and provided models for his pragmatism and analysis of the human experience, a worldview from which Wiener would borrow and extend into the realm of education.

Together, the four men – with the imagery of Lewis Carroll’s *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking-Glass* – were part of an ongoing intellectual conversation that began in the early 1900s and lasted through the 1950s. Their discourse strove to address the relationships between education and society and when considered together, their potential for peace. The interactions of Dewey and Wiener went on to shape information and communication theory in today’s networked world, as well as the intersection of data and education.

Yet, few scholars have noted the impact that pragmatism has had in Wiener’s learning, philosophical underpinning, and worldview around education and cybernetics, a science of control and communication through feedback, human experience, and information. In particular, while researchers have noted Wiener’s relationship with Russell and have glanced at James’ influence, they have almost entirely neglected looking closely at Wiener’s relationship with Dewey. Wiener would credit each of these men at times throughout his life; however, scholars have relegated their relationship in passing and to the footnotes of history, despite – as will be shown – the fact that their lives intersected in significant ways over a period of four decades and, to a large extent, pushed forward a notion of pragmatism developed to address society’s struggle against war through formal information systems.

With the research methods of textual analysis and archival material from Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), Stanford University, and the Hoover Institution Archives, this paper demonstrates that pragmatism made for a humanizing effect on Wiener’s efforts during the early days of the Cold War and, ultimately, his ongoing and increasing impact in technology and education and hope for world peace.

### **What war looks like: students reconsider moments of historical crisis using primary sources and interactive, touch-based devices**

The history textbook may be the best – if not most notorious – example of static, one-size-fits-all learning. Conventional wisdom and textbook publishers in the United States suggest that there is “one true history and one best way to teach it.” Students in the United States often learn through a hodgepodge of facts, dates, and seemingly key figures who are typically older white males with European roots. The stories and relevance of these men are increasingly far removed from today’s student living in the United States. Non-elite perspectives are often marginalized or relegated to a textbook’s sidebars. The presentation of war is especially notable – a fast recap of the so-called winner and losers in clear battles between good and evil. Nuance is often lost.

Professional historians, however, rely on “historical thinking” as a method for developing an understanding about the relationships of peoples and events in the past. They search for evidence among primary sources, carefully consider the sources’ authors and creation, and they contextualize the material, situating it and its events in time and place. What happens when 15- to 16-year-olds from a state-run, California school try to adopt such an approach? When given such task, what does history – and war, in particular – look like from their viewpoint?

This paper examines how technology might help students value and access primary-source documents as a way to consider their cultural heritage, broaden their historical understanding,

and explore multiple perspectives regarding historical events. With primary-source material from the Hoover Institution Archives, the U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, and various online archives from around the world, 96 students set out to unearth and present historical narratives that go beyond their traditional textbook.

Working as content creators and authors of history, students developed multimedia interactive digital history textbook chapters. In total, 49 groups of students collaborated to produce 73 interactive digital history textbook chapters based on the California state standards. Each chapter consists of a combination of text and interactive features “published” to iPads for peer-review discussion, iteration, and formal presentation. Through a mixed-methods approach, we explore students’ capacity for historical thinking and technological fluency before, during, and after this collaborative process. In particular, we consider how students produced content about well-known wars and other moments of historical crisis regularly covered in their textbooks. Do students recount the traditional U.S. textbook script, or do they consider multiple perspectives in a way that involves deep critical thinking? Can they map out the longer term consequences and legacies of war, or do they apply pat moral judgment framed by their contemporary or personal moral standards? This presentation highlights our findings, as well as lessons learned, which are applicable to both researchers and educators seeking to engage students as content creators for 21st-century thinking and learning and as the hoped-for next generation of promoters of peace or non-violent action.

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### **Guerra y crisis en el Colegio de España en París. Una institución en continuo “estado de excepción”**

Inmediatamente después de que acabara la Primera Guerra Mundial se creó al sur de París la Cité Universitaire (hoy Cité Internationale Universitaire) gracias a la iniciativa filantrópica de personalidades como Émile Deutsch de la Meurthe y la buena disposición de André Honnorat, que era por entonces Ministro de Instrucción Pública. Esta gran obra educativa, única en el mundo, tenía el propósito de promover y consolidar la paz entre las naciones después de tan terrible desastre bélico favoreciendo una estrecha convivencia y armonía entre estudiantes de todo el mundo. En este contexto se empieza a construir en 1929 el Colegio de España, institución académica que fortalecería las relaciones internacionales entre los diferentes investigadores, artistas e intelectuales españoles y extranjeros y que fomentaría la difusión de la ciencia, el arte y la cultura españoles.

Mientras en la Cité Universitaire se levantaban poco a poco los cimientos de sus pabellones, en España se proclamaba la II República. Justo entonces Alberto Jiménez Fraud, discípulo de Giner de los Ríos y heredero de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza, trabajó en estrecha relación con Ángel Establier para poner a punto el Colegio de España, que sería uno de los pocos reductos de libertad y tolerancia tras el estallido de la Guerra Civil española. Pío Baroja, Blas Cabrera, Severo Ochoa o Javier Zubiri son algunos de los muchos exiliados que encontraron refugio entre sus paredes durante esta primera etapa. Luego llegaría la Segunda Guerra Mundial a la Cité y con

ella la ocupación de las tropas alemanas y americanas y el consecuente cierre de sus diferentes casas. A partir del año 1945 se iría restableciendo un cierto orden hasta conseguir el normal funcionamiento también en el propio Colegio. Esta institución “extrañamente” continuó con su habitual ritmo de trabajo intelectual y artístico hasta que, a raíz de las revueltas ocasionadas en mayo de 1968 y bajo el pretexto de llevar a cabo unas reformas en el edificio, cerrara sus puertas durante casi veinte años.

Nuestro propósito no es otro que poner en valor y tratar de recuperar parte de la historia cultural de esta institución y, por lo tanto, parte de la historia de los intelectuales españoles, que nace tras el desastre de la Gran Guerra y que va a estar atravesada por los diferentes acontecimientos bélicos de la época.

No existen estudios monográficos previos que puedan servirnos de referente; por ello hemos seguido una metodología de investigación histórica basada fundamentalmente en el análisis directo del fondo histórico de los archivos del Colegio España, que contienen la documentación producida y reunida por la propia institución desde 1927 hasta 1968.

### **War and crisis in the Colegio de España in Paris. An institution in a continuous “state of exception”**

Just after the end of the First World War, the Cité Universitaire (Cité Internationale Universitaire today) was founded in the South of Paris, thanks to the philanthropic spirit of several personalities like Émile Deutsch de la Meurthe and the support of the Minister André Honnorat. This great educational project, unique in the world, aimed at creating a space where nations could promote and consolidate peace after such horrible events, facilitating cohabitation and harmony among students from all over the world. It was in this context that the construction of the Colegio de España started in 1929. This academic institution served firstly to reinforce the international relationships between Spanish and foreign researchers, artists and intellectuals; and secondly, to encourage the spreading of the Spanish Science, Arts and Culture.

As each pavilion at the Cité Universitaire was being built little by little, the Second Republic was proclaimed in Spain. At this very moment Alberto Jiménez Fraud – a disciple of Giner de los Ríos’s and an heir of the Institución Libre de Enseñanza – made real efforts, together with Ángel Establier, to turn the Colegio de España into one of the few bastions of freedom and tolerance after the Spanish Civil War. Pío Baroja, Blas Cabrera, Severo Ochoa or Javier Zubiri were some of the many exiled intellectuals who found refuge inside the walls of the Colegio. The Second World War reached the Cité and almost all the buildings were occupied by German soldiers or simply closed. After 1945, ordinary life in the Cité was restored little by little, also in the Colegio. “Strangely” enough, the artistic and intellectual activities at the Colegio continued at their usual pace until the social uprisings of the Parisian May’68, when it was shut down for almost twenty years, under the pretext that the building needed renovating.

Our proposal is partly to recover the cultural history of this institution and partly the history of the Spanish intellectuals who were born after the disaster of the war and that were crossed by the different violent events of the period. There do not exist previous monographs or studies which can serve as reference; therefore we have followed a methodology of historical research based on the direct analysis of historical sources from the archives of the Colegio España, which contains documents produced and gathered by the institution itself from 1927 to 1968.

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### **John Langdon-Davies and the teaching of history**

A conscientious objector during the First World War, John Langdon-Davies wrote ‘*Militarism in Education: a contribution to educational reconstruction*’. Published in 1919, it is an indictment of state-led direction in the interpretation of history and a criticism of the educational incorporation of military drill. Yet within this expostulation of militarism in the educational systems of Europe, Langdon-Davies acknowledged the fascination of the military past, particularly the poetic resonance of British naval prowess and the significance of great battles.

Almost 50 years later, following a career that included a remarkable contribution to the reporting of the Spanish Civil War, writings on popular science, and work as an instructor for the Home Guard during the Second World War, Langdon-Davies made another interjection in the teaching of history in British schools. He was the instigator of a series of educational publications on historical topics, many of them military, that disrupted the status of the textbook. Entitled ‘*Jackdaws*’, these compilations of surrogate primary sources sought to upturn established practice by inculcating debate, promoting collaborative learning, and in transferring emphasis from the textbook to both the teacher and the student.

This paper, based on new research in the archive of Jonathan Cape, explores the *Jackdaws* as a publishing phenomenon and considers the ways in which they provoked debate in the 1960s. It investigates the significance of the reproduction of historical artefacts as surrogate documents rather than as images in textbooks, and how their presentation as loose items in a folder, rather than bound, facilitated their rearrangement and circulation, the development of debate, and the acknowledgement of interpretative skill as a central element in the understanding of history. As commentators at the time observed, it was no use trying to approach a *Jackdaw* like a book, the impulse was to display the contents, to lay them on the floor, and to talk about them collectively.

Writing many of the early *Jackdaws* himself, among them the very first, *The Battle of Trafalgar* (1963), Langdon-Davies might appear to have contradicted the anti-militarism he propounded in 1919, yet a close reading reveals his driving belief to be independence in learning, and in teaching, and that by allowing teachers to foster debate by encouraging the objective interpretation of primary sources, students might derive from Britain’s military past a fascination with history, invaluable analytical skill, and a perspective on the past from which to better negotiate the future. Some of these ideas were pursued by the government-funded Schools History Project established in 1972.

Now, access to resources for the study of history has, ostensibly, expanded exponentially, with museums presenting their collections online and investing significantly in educational liaison. This article then, also seeks to ask what we might learn from the *Jackdaws* and the printed facsimiles they comprised, and their status between the original artefact and the contemporary digital resource. Might a consideration of their role as a disruptive learning technology and as designed objects, help us understand better the place of historical things in our understanding of the past?

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### **ANZAC women teachers at home and abroad**

This paper has a dual focus: Australian and New Zealand women teachers' work on their respective home fronts and their work as volunteers abroad during World War One. Both sets of efforts do not appear within historical accounts of the war yet as will be argued, the wide-ranging contributions of ANZAC women teachers provided opportunities for women teachers at home and abroad to exercise unprecedented levels of professional and personal autonomy. Unlike their sisters in many other countries, Australian and New Zealand women had also been enfranchised since the 1890s. Our paper explores their post-suffrage political activism as citizens during the war years.

At home in Australia and New Zealand women teachers supported the war effort in schools, and responsibility was devolved to them in determining what and how children should be taught about and incorporated into the war effort. This included establishing Children's Guilds, training school cadets and in the case of senior girls, facilitating student labour on farms and orchards. Women teachers also organised fundraising through the Children's Patriotic Fund and supported local community initiatives such as through the Red Cross and the Women's Patriotic Association. Many women teachers were Pacifists, advocating for peace through the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. For German women teachers in both countries and for others teaching in Australian German communities and schools, there were specific 'problem' issues to be overcome. In 1918, women teachers took on an additional load in nursing and supporting school families as the impact of the Influenza epidemic took hold. The work of women teachers generally during the war prompted teacher union membership and advocacy for women taking up more senior positions vacated by men and higher pay.

There were also single and married ANZAC women teachers, including headmistresses, who left their teaching positions and went to England or the Middle East to work as war volunteers. Such efforts were not encouraged by war office personnel who believed women should remain at home undertaking practical work to support overseas troops or fill jobs vacated by men serving overseas. Therefore women teachers, as an economically independent educated professional group were the cause of some anxiety for war contingent associations. By self-funding and travelling independently women teachers circumvented the regulations and sailed off, joining English women's VAD corps upon arrival in London.

The final part of our paper reflects briefly on the post war years. At a personal level ANZAC women teachers experienced post-war legacies such as loss of family members, the availability of marriage partners, incapacitated husbands and some having to relinquish teaching positions as male teachers returned home. After experiencing new levels of responsibility, ANZAC women teachers mostly returned to their original jobs and were relegated to subordinate positions. However, some were able to use their wartime experiences (overseas mainly) to consolidate their careers.

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### **History, civics and the development of New Zealand school textbooks**

In the aftermath of World War I the role New Zealand schools should play in teaching civics was widely canvassed. While this reflected a general concern among educators with the lessons to be learned from the war, a more immediate motivation was the fear of Bolshevism, the antidote for which the Government saw lying in increased efforts by schools to inculcate patriotism. Initially this led to regulations requiring, among other things, flag saluting and more regular singing of the National Anthem which the Senior Inspector of Primary Schools described as a “counterblast to the openly expressed disloyalty that would, if it could, tear the Empire asunder and wreck social peace.”

While contentious, the regulations were widely ignored by schools but did serve to provoke discussion over the role of schools in the development of citizenship – was there a place for Civics as a specific subject and if so, what should be its relationship with history and, to a lesser extent, with geography? One issue which emerged strongly was the lack of attention paid to New Zealand itself in most history classrooms. A Department of Education committee established in 1924 to enquire into the teaching of history emphasized this point and recommended that New Zealand history receive more attention. While that recommendation duly found its way into the official curriculum, the committee was less certain of the benefits of teaching Civics directly and its recommendations were equivocal in this regard.

While support for greater emphasis on the history of New Zealand was widespread, equally strong was the view that this should not come at the cost of a reduction in emphasis on the continuities between New Zealand and its British “motherland.” Thus, in as much as history might provide a vehicle for forming citizens, those citizens should come to regard themselves as inheritors of an essentially British (or English) tradition and, equally, as citizens in a *British* Empire.

The move towards including more New Zealand material was not without difficulties, for there was a dearth of textbooks dealing with New Zealand topics. In the past, the country had relied on British publications and those New Zealand publications which did exist, largely focused on British history. Despite this, by the end of the 1920s a thriving market in New Zealand textbooks had emerged.

First on the shelves were Bottrill’s *Civics* (1924) and Coad’s *The Dominion Civics* (1924). They were soon joined by others including, *Our Race and Empire* (1926), *The Young Citizen* (1926) and *The Young Dominion* (1928). By the end of the 1930s there were several dozen more. Some were primarily texts for teaching Civics as a subject, while others were written more with the regular History classroom in mind. Yet all of them clearly promoted particular ideas about what being a New Zealand citizen should mean and about how best such a citizen might be formed.

This paper will examine and analyze these books in terms of the ideas about citizenship and the education of citizens they incorporated.



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United States

### **University Women in Wartime: A Transatlantic Study, 1914-1918**

While it is often possible to see the life of a university in a vacuum, the events of the ‘real world’ will always have an impact on those in academia. Military conflicts often resulted in the emergence of new roles for university facilities and their students. The First World War led to vastly different experiences in the United Kingdom and the United States, but remarkably similar focuses on university campuses.

Both governments recognized the value of the infrastructure of academic institutions for two primary reasons. First, they could be easily used to recruit well-trained, or easily trainable workers. Calls were put forward for “women of intelligence and education” to fill positions vacated by men serving in the armed forces. Women were an obvious resource of workers for the government to turn to, and they filled any number of positions within the community. Traditional nineteenth-century roles of separate spheres also made their way into the wartime workforce. Women felt it was their duty to raise awareness of service that was “not strictly speaking military in nature,” such as nursing and food conservation. In this way, women did not threaten the social status quo of gender relations. These areas carried into the universities’ second main function during the military conflict. As educators of the citizenry, the assistance of universities enabled the government to disseminate information to the public quickly and efficiently. The practical, time-saving benefits of these schemes were additionally reinforced by the indirect nature of them. The eagerness of the universities to aid the war effort was clear. Additionally, the public had easier access to information to keep them abreast of the progress of the war.

In this paper the recruitment of female students for war work will be considered in a transatlantic context, looking at institutions in various areas of the United States along with each nation of the United Kingdom. Supporting topics will include student activism and interactions with the wider communities where they studied. Because university women were looked to by their nations as future leaders, their participation in the war effort during the First World War should not be underestimated as a reflection of national sentiment on the home front on both sides of the Atlantic.

**Myers, Kevin**

University of Birmingham

United Kingdom

### **Race relations in Britain, 1965-1981: discourses, practices and influences**

This paper is concerned with the discourses and practices of race relations in post-1945 Britain. It examines the emergence and consolidation of race relations as an area of academic research and a mechanism for intervening in important areas of social policy. The paper pays particular attention to the formulation and development of education for tolerance in Britain through a review and analysis of the groundbreaking but controversial work of Lawrence Stenhouse.

Race relations emerged as an interdisciplinary and international area of academic research in the period after 1939. The study of race relations drew on models and ideas from anthropology, social psychology and sociology, was strongly influenced by work conducted in the United States

of America and championed by various supra-national institutions that championed human rights and education for tolerance. However, if elements of this story can be found in a mix of biographical, disciplinary histories and thematic studies there is to date no detailed account for the ways in which race relations became embedded in British social science and the paper goes some way to correcting that omission. In particular, it examines the connections between 'New Commonwealth' immigration to Britain and the establishment of a race relations framework for social policy.

However, the discourses of race relations were more than a moment in intellectual history. They matter precisely because extensive claims were made for the efficacy of race relations in addressing prejudice and developing harmonious multiracial societies. The second part of the paper begins to critically evaluate these claims. Whilst there has been, and there remains, a longstanding political belief in the power of education, and of schools especially, to promote tolerance, there has been very little historical research into how this belief has translated into practice, and with what results. As the work of Stenhouse for the Social Science Research Unit demonstrates, race relations was an avowedly applied social science and this part of the paper critically reviews two major projects from the 1970s concerned with education for tolerance.

### **Naftali, Orna**

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem  
Israel

### **Gendering violence: Constructions of war and the military in Chinese children's media of the early 1950s**

War culture has had tremendous power in shaping modern Chinese understandings of the nation and memories of its past. In this paper, I examine the symbolic role of the child in the construction of China's national war culture during the formative years of the People's Republic, a time when China was actively involved in the Korean War (1950-53). Official PRC interpretations have justified China's military intervention in the war on the basis of Marxist conceptions of world revolution and proletarian internationalism. However, nationalistic and militaristic themes were paramount in the Chinese government's attempts to generate popular support for its war efforts. Drawing on an analysis of texts and images which appeared in official media and in children's magazines of the early 1950s, and comparing them to similar works of the Chinese Civil War (1946-49) and Anti-Japanese War period (1937-45), I consider the following questions: what role did Chinese media producers assign children within the prevalent narratives of national duty, self-sacrifice, and the 'sacred struggle against American imperialism'? Were boys and girls presented as innocent victims or as active perpetrators of military violence? In what ways were media representations of children as either victims or aggressors embedded in beliefs about masculinity and femininity, beliefs that were themselves being challenged and negotiated during the early years of the People's Republic? The paper will address these issues while situating China's war culture within the broader context of post-World War II conceptualizations of childhood, gender, and military violence elsewhere in the world.

**Nagy, Adrienn**  
University of Pécs  
Hungary

### **Secondary economic vocational education in Hungary**

My presentation shows the development of the fate of secondary trade schools created in the 19th century Hungary on German and French models. The research sought the answer on what effects the intensive growth of the sectors of Hungarian economy, that is industry, trade and transport in the second half of the 19th century inside the Austro-Hungarian Empire and then the giant enterprises created by heavy industry and manufacturing industry revaluing on the impact of continuous state orders following the outburst of World War I had on the structural transformation of Hungarian secondary economic vocational education. Did the secondary trade schools take into account the labour market needs transforming in the 1910s and prepared their students really for economic, trade careers? Did the qualification obtainable in secondary trade schools for girls, opening first in 1909, help the position of women in the labour market broadening for them – though temporarily due to the labour shortage caused by the war – as a consequence of World War I?

The research first examined the role of trade school type filled on the secondary school market following the outburst of World War I by the comparative analysis of available primary (registrations, minutes etc.) and secondary sources, then explores the social composition of students in schools (division by mother tongue, by denomination) with the help of statistical data collecting and analysis. Third phase of the research was the examination of the choice of career of those graduated from trade schools, on the basis of national statistical surveys.

Although secondary trade vocational education started with Western bases, it was rather transformed by the turn of the 19th-20th centuries, while in the institutions of the western vocational education mainly vocational training was in the foreground, the Hungarian schools filled a secondary school function, by putting the emphasis increasingly on general knowledge. To this greatly contributed the fact that, while the majority of European schools was founded and maintained by economic interests, the Hungarian state, beside controlling, undertook a greater and greater role in maintaining, too, the trade vocational education was formed along a unified structure, but the twofold fragmentation of trade schools in Western states did not develop in Hungary (the primary apprentice education was formed separately from the secondary training).

Overall, it can be stated that the upper trade school type meant a new mobility channel beside secondary schools and so-called real schools for both boys and girls, and this made them possible not only the further education and filling of certain office positions with the graduation exam, but also gave them profession, that is, qualification. Though the majority of sons of independent Israelite industrialists and tradesmen and of Christian denomination intellectuals and employees, who enrolled in significant proportion to trade schools, did not start an independent tradesman career after finishing school (who yet chose this, mainly continued family business), but they became officers mainly at financial institutions and different large industrial companies, by utilizing their gained economic knowledge.

**Nawrotzki, Kristen D.**

University of Education Heidelberg  
Germany

*Panel: Kevin, Kindertartens and Critique: Froebelian and Early Years Histories in Memory of Kevin J. Brehony (1948-2013) supported by the History of Education Society (UK)*

### **Mission(s) Accomplished? The Movement for US Public School Kindertartens, 1950-1980**

Historians of the American kindertartens have almost exclusively directed their attention to the years 1860-1920, from the introduction of the kindertartens to US shores to what is often referred to as the institutionalization of the kindertartens in state sector schools in the 1910s and 20s (Shapiro 1983; Beatty 1995; Lascarides & Hinitz 2000; Berg 2005). And yet, by 1920, only 1 in 7 US first-graders had attended a kindertartens (Goodykoontz et al 1931). In fact, the period of most significant expansion in US kindertartens provision and enrollments was 1950-1980, when attendance at kindertartens increased from approximately 50% to a steady 98% of US 5-year-olds. This paper investigates how this rarely-mentioned phase of kindertartens expansion may best be understood. Does it deserve its treatment as a postscript to the end of the “real” US kindertartens movement some years before? Was it a distinctive and indeed crucial phase of the century-old movement for public kindertartens? Or was it something else entirely?

To answer these questions, this paper first outlines the factors enabling the unparalleled expansion of kindertartens education in this period, including changes in early education professions and their professional organs, “competition” from Head Start and the private sector, and changes and challenges within state-sector education at large, not least the revolutions in state and federal education funding.

The paper then applies K.J. Brehony’s (2001, 2009) invocation of Raymond Williams (1973) and others in analyzing the extent to which the post-1950 kindertartens expansion may be characterized as complementary, alternative, or oppositional to the hegemonic conception of education in post-war America. This, in turn, informs the paper’s claims regarding the degree to which the three decades from 1950 onward may be considered continuous or discontinuous with the US kindertartens movement in decades prior.

The source materials for this paper include documents from the archived papers of the US National Kindertartens Association (held at Teachers College, Columbia University, New York) and the US-based Association for Childhood Education International (formerly the International Kindertartens Union, held at the University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland) as well as records produced by education-related state and federal government agencies, such as the Education Commission of the States, in this period.

**Negrín-Fajardo, Olegario**

Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia

Spain

### **Estudio de la depuración del profesorado del Instituto de Segunda Enseñanza de Alicante**

Dentro de la línea de investigación de la memoria histórica y la educación que venimos desarrollando desde hace años, en esta ocasión nos ocupamos del proceso de represión y depuración franquistas del profesorado de segunda enseñanza del Instituto de la ciudad de Alicante. Pertenece esta ciudad de la región valenciana a la zona del territorio español que permaneció todo el periodo bélico en manos de la República con lo cual la depuración franquista empezaría a partir de abril de 1939, cuando ya gozaba la maquinaria represora de una larga experiencia práctica.

En la provincia de Alicante había cuatro Institutos de enseñanza secundaria: Alcoy, Alicante, Elche y Orihuela, si bien el centro educativo histórico era el de la capital que se había creado en 1845. Por eso, en esta comunicación estudiaremos los resultados del proceso depurador y represor en Alicante, a partir de la documentación existente en el Archivo General de la Administración de Alcalá de Henares en Madrid, y teniendo en cuenta la escasa bibliografía especializada existente.

### **The purge of the professorship of the Institute of Secondary Education in Alicante under Franco's Spain**

Within a research programme concerned with historical memory and education, on this occasion we focus on the process of repression and purification of the professorship at the Institute of secondary education in the city of Alicante by Franco's supporters. Alicante is part of the Valencian region of Spain which throughout the war remained Republican. In 1939 Franco started a process of 'purification' using the repressive machinery of long practical experience.

In the province of Alicante, there were four Institutes of secondary education: Alcoy, Alicante, Elche and Orihuela. Although, the historical educational center was in the capital that had been created in 1845. This paper will study the results of Franco's repressive processes in the provincial capital from the existing documentation in the General File of the Administration of Alcalá of Henares, Madrid, and with reference to the scanty and specialized bibliography.

**Nehlin, Ann**

University of Stockholm

Sweden

### **Building bridges of trust – the use of Finnish children in Swedish wartime politics**

During WWII, approximately 70,000 children were transported from Finland to Sweden. This is one of the largest inter-country evacuations that have been undertaken in the western world during the 20th century. The evacuations of the children had both political and personal consequences for a lot of families in Finland and Sweden. In contrast to the evacuations of children that took place in Great Britain at this time, no plan for the children's schooling was made and the children were not sent away in the company of school or nursery teachers. The

intention was that they would remain in Sweden for only a short period of time. However, the development of the war changed this. A lot of the children remained in Sweden for many years. Some were sent back and forth between the countries many times. This affected the children's schooling and language, which was a consequence that no one had anticipated or prepared for. The official purpose to bring the children to Sweden was to protect them from the calamities of the war: as the war progressed political undertones for the evacuations surfaced as well. This paper will examine how the children were used in Swedish wartime politics and what consequences for this had for the children and their education.

**Nieminen, Marjo**

University of Turku

Finland

### **The secondary school for girls in Finland during the Second World War**

The consequences of war for children were in many countries, like Finland, very dramatic: children were evacuated to another country, and those who stayed in their home suffered various difficulties, for example the lack of food or clothes (Korppi-Tommola 2008). In the wartime situations, the school going was in many cases impossible or had temporal stoppages.

The purpose of this study is to examine one Finnish secondary school for girls called Turun tyttölyseo (The secondary school for girls in Turku) during the wartime. The school was established in 1882 and its upper secondary level was among the first girls' schools which especially aimed at the Finnish matriculation examination and gaining entry to the university. The paper explores the daily work in the school and various war efforts in which students took part. The study will clarify what kinds of educational goals the school had during that period, how pupils participated in war struggles, and what was the female students' role during the exceptional time.

#### **Sources**

The source material consists of the archives of the secondary school. The minutes of teacher meetings and the annual reports will highlight the work in the school. In addition to these, there are special records concerning wartime. Those archive documents consisted of, for example, letters and descriptions about girls' work duty, the records of matriculation examinations and the sources about the humanitarian aid which the school and students reserved from abroad after the war.

#### **Results**

The exceptional circumstances of war disrupted girls' school daily routines and the schooling was fragmentary. The school years were shorter than usual between 1939 - 1945. Even though the matriculation examinations could not be arranged in 1940 and 1942, pupils graduated and they reserved the school leaving certificates based on their previous grades and results. Because of the unusual situation, some concerns were presented by teachers about the students' knowledge level. Beside this negative image, the wartime was regarded having some positive consequences to girls' schooling and upbringing. The war efforts were described as valuable from the social points of view. The educational goals were not only defined as cognitive but the social activity and strengthening of the solidarity were set as the aims. The students participated in war efforts, for example, by collecting clothes for babies and children, especially for the evacuees from the war zone, Karelia. Some of the girls took part in food supplying activities: pupils had their own small

patches or they worked in the farms. Older students participated in the national defence duties or they did their compulsory work duty. The “normal” secondary school girls’ role enlarged at the wartime and it included more social responsibilities and obligations. After the war students received international humanitarian aid from Sweden and the United States which enriched the international connections of the school.

### **Nissanka, Marie**

National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Otago  
New Zealand

### **A problematic panacea: integrated education in post-conflict Sri Lanka**

There are numerous challenges for implementing policies, which foster a peaceful schooling environment, and equitable schooling opportunities for all students in developed and relatively peaceful nations. However, these challenges are multiplied in post-conflict nations. The historically, ethnically and linguistically segregated schooling in Sri Lanka, is a result of the societal divisiveness created during the British colonial rule. After the Government military victory against the rebel organisation Liberation of the Tamil Tigers Eelam (LTTE) in 2009, Sri Lanka is now a post-conflict nation which is in the process of increasing ethnic integration (between the majority Sinhalese and the minority Tamil students), through a Government initiated bilingual education system.

Peaceful, cohesive education practices have been used as a bridge to connect divided communities in many conflict and post-conflict societies including Northern Ireland, the Middle East, and South Africa, and Cyprus to name a few. There are multiple terminologies used to describe frameworks for creating peaceful integrated schooling environments. Some of these terms include peace education, multicultural education, anti-racist education, education for social cohesion, values education and bilingual education (aimed at promoting social equity through language instruction).

However, does integration alone actually contribute to a peaceful schooling environment and have the potential to create a more peaceful society? How is history depicted in text books? What are the divisive symbols, anthems and stereotypes which permeate the schooling environment? These are some context-specific questions which this paper aims to address while formulating an original conceptual framework for analysing the nature of integration in various types of schools in Sri Lanka in diverse geographic regions - some which were affected by the conflict, and others which were not.

### **Nóvik, Attila**

University of Szeged  
Hungary

### **Representation of the Treaty of Trianon in the history of education textbooks in Hungary**

Hungary participated in World War I as a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. After the lost war as one of the Central Powers it had to sign a peace agreement with Allies of World War I. It is known as the Treaty of Trianon and it regulated the borders of the country. As a result,

Hungary lost two-thirds of its former territory and population, many of its schools and two out of its four universities. Therefore the Hungarian school system had to be reorganized. The Treaty had a profound effect on Hungary's politics, economy culture and education. It is regarded as one of the biggest cataclysms of Hungarian history.

In my research I examined the representation of these aftermaths of World War I in the history of education textbooks in Hungary. The research was based on those 25 textbooks which were published between 1919 and 2010. I divided this postwar era into three periods. The first is the interwar period (1918 - 1945), the second one is the communist era (1945 - 1990) and the third one is the democratic period (1990 -). My main hypothesis was that the textbooks of each period discussed the treaty and its effects on Hungarian education in great details.

The textbooks from the first period, however, did not describe the aftermaths of the Treaty of Trianon. The communist textbooks gave a detailed and a rather negative description of the educational policy of the interwar period. The latest textbooks focused on the reorganization of the school system.

In my paper I analyze the narratives of the textbooks and how the history of education enforced the various political and educational ideologies.

### **Nogueira da Silva, Katiene**

Universidade de São Paulo

Brazil

### **Catani, Denice Barbara**

Universidade de São Paulo

Brazil

### **L'éducation morale. Et civique? Pratiques de conformité morale dans les écoles publiques brésiliennes (1948-1978)**

Cette recherche examine les pratiques et les représentations de moralisation dans les écoles publiques brésiliennes. Il s'agit de mieux comprendre comment se pratiquait la morale enracinée dans le comportement des gens et, couplée au discours civique, nécessaire pour former des citoyens utiles à la Patrie. La représentation par laquelle la morale intégrée dans le système d'éducation permettrait d'assurer le bon fonctionnement de la vie sociale revient à la théorie d'Émile Durkheim (1858 - 1917). Sa réflexion apparaît pendant une période durant laquelle le système éducatif français, selon lui, traversait une crise. Si l'école ne parvenait pas à conformer moralement ses individus, la moralité publique serait immédiatement affectée. La crise qui aurait visé la révolution pédagogique a eu lieu en France durant la Troisième République, la période correspondante aux années 1870 à 1940, lorsque l'école a commencé à offrir une morale purement laïque.

Exercé par l'Etat ou au «nom de la Patrie», cette forme de morale étant présentée dans les écoles, dans le cas du Brésil, ressemble à la morale laïque française, qui aurait construit la suprématie de la raison. Celle-ci ne concerne pas uniquement le désir de normalisation de comportements individuels, mais aussi assure la conservation de l'État. Selon ce qu'on peut remarquer par l'analyse de la législation sur l'éducation, les revues et les manuels pédagogiques, la Seconde Guerre mondiale semble avoir inspiré l'éducation brésilienne et son adoption d'une orientation morale patriotique qui a résonné dans une période qui a été marquée par la démocratisation de l'accès à l'éducation publique (1948-1978) envisageant à maintenir l'ordre



et à promouvoir la paix. Les valeurs et des objectifs sociaux que l'éducation morale proposait aux enfants pendant leurs processus éducatifs contribueraient à la perpétuation de l'idéal de la nation. L'occasion de cette guerre, par exemple, a contribué à l'intensification des relations entre l'école et l'armée, la discipline de l'école étant comparée à la discipline militaire, les enseignants à des soldats, la lutte pour la souveraineté nationale de lutte contre le combat à l'ignorance. Les sources consultées ont exprimé le besoin de veiller à l'éducation des enfants dans une époque caractérisée par une crise des valeurs et qui exigeait la coopération de tous les citoyens, de l'économie, de la discipline et du travail. Dans le cadre des célébrations du civisme, très encouragées pendant cette période, les étudiants défilaient comme des petits soldats. Preuve de la discipline nécessaire, leurs uniformes étaient comparables à ceux des militaires. Le gouvernement exigeait la présence des enfants lors des défilés et des célébrations publiques, tout en reliant des traditions militaires à des pratiques scolaires, dominant le corps et moralisant les étudiants. Les valeurs militaires inspiraient l'ordre et le civisme par lesquels on développait la fidélité au pays dans des circonstances de risques qui ont marqué les décennies 50 et 60. Ces valeurs sont remarquables par des défilés et l'insertion de la discipline de l'Education Morale et Civique dans les programmes scolaires.

### **Moral education. And civic? Practices of moralizing in Brazilian public schools (1948-1978)**

The paper examines practices and representations of moralizing in Brazilian public schools, seeking to understand how morality was practised, instilled in people's behavior, together with civic discourse, needed to form useful citizens of the country. The representation that morality inserted into education would guarantee the proper functioning of social life informs the theory of Émile Durkheim (1858-1917). Its reflection emerges in a period in which the French educational system, he said, was going through a crisis. If the school was failing to make its students morally compliant, public morality would be immediately affected. The crisis envisaged would have originated in pedagogical revolution that occurred in France during the third Republic, period between the years 1870 and 1940, when the school began to offer a purely secular morality.

Exerted by the State "in the name of the country", this form of morality presented within school, in the Brazilian case, resembles French secular morality to build the supremacy of reason. This does not concern only the desire for a standardization of individual behaviour, but also guarantees the preservation of the State. According to what can be seen through the examination of educational legislation, educational journals and teaching manuals, the second world war seems to have inspired, in the case of Brazilian education, the adoption of a patriotic orientation of morality that reflected the period of expansion of the public school (1948-1978) for the maintenance of order and the promotion of peace. The values and the social and moral education purposes proposed for children during their schooling would contribute to the permanence of his own ideal of nation. The occasion of such a war, for example, intensified a relationship between the school and the army: school discipline was compared to military discipline, teachers to soldiers, the struggle for national sovereignty to the fight against ignorance. The sources consulted expressed the need to take care of training children in an era characterized by a crisis of values and required of all citizens, economy, discipline, cooperation and work.

In the context of civic celebrations, much encouraged in the period, students paraded like little soldiers. They demonstrated necessary discipline and their school uniforms were comparable

to military uniforms. The Government demanded the presence of children in public revels, combining military traditions with school practices, educating the body and moralizing the students. The military values inspired order and civility, generating allegiance to the country in situations of risk, as in the 1950s and 1960s. These values are visible through parades and the introduction of Moral and Civic Education in the curriculum of schools.

**Normanton Erry, Jeanette**

Independent Researcher  
United Kingdom

**The impact of the Second World War on the education of children with a visual impairment in England and Wales**

The 'set of contradictory processes, events and values' Felicity Armstrong has identified in the history of the disabled was evident in the impact of the Second World War on the lives and education of blind children. The development of special schools and new fields of work and welfare, when it had happened, had been gradual, but, even more than was the case after 1914-8, war was to provide some positive consequences for the disabled. However, as Peter Gosden has demonstrated, the national imperative for the coalition government to survive resulted in attempts to avoid 'deeply divisive and controversial issues'. Educational and social reform which opened up equality of opportunity to all disabled groups was too radical to be achievable under these conditions.

In Educational Reconstruction, the White Paper declaring Government Policy issued in July 1943, reference to 'handicapped children' was cursory, with a simple admission that there would be a need for 'substantial modification' in provision. Historians of disability have interpreted the resultant 1944 Act in different ways. Revisionist views have recognised some changes but continue to stress the problems of a segregation which kept 'disabled' people in an inferior position. Sally Tomlinson has viewed the new structure as leading to 'selection by disability', with medical and psychological personnel gaining precedence over education in the new 'strategic power-play'.

This paper will focus on the manner in which the war accelerated discussion which had been taking place on the restructuring of special schools, but also looks at the role played by personal antipathies and conflicts between charities in helping to mould the decisions which were made. Using government memos and records of discussions, alongside details from Governors' minutes from some of the schools involved, it provides an assessment of how societal and personal factors interacted with pressures resulting from war to produce a structure which was then to influence development for the next forty years.

**O'Brien, Nancy**

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign  
United States

**Subtle Warfare: Mid Twentieth Century Images of War in Textbooks**

The world faced catastrophic conflict in the middle of the twentieth century, notably through World War II which involved many geographic locations, cultures, and belief systems. School children were affected by these conflicts even when not in the immediate vicinity of warfare. The

textbooks and lessons that were provided to children offered subtle, and sometimes not so subtle, reinforcement of a country's stance on the war. While often found in history or social studies textbooks, even mathematics texts were not immune from the images and ideas used to expose school children to prevailing values.

From swastikas scattered through German schoolbooks in the 1930s (Frey, 1937) to references to "peace lessons from the world war" after the first world war (Abbot, 1917; Freeland, 1936; Hayes, 1938), mid twentieth century schoolbooks depict both the optimism for peace and the inevitability of conflicts in the lives of children. This paper demonstrates how the subtle images of ruling parties, military equipment, and icons were used to influence school children into the beliefs of the predominant government.

Drawing on research that shows the connection between images in schoolbooks and acculturation (Kennedy 1997, 2000; Perlmutter, 1992; Jacobmeyer, 1984), this paper focuses on the subtle messages that expose children to war, nationalism, and patriotism. Examples of imagery are selected from a repository of mostly U.S. published schoolbooks spanning the mid-1800s to the present day. Examples have a strong emphasis on pictorial images from the 1930s and 1940s. While other research focuses primarily on history and reading textbooks, this paper demonstrates that images of war appear in a variety of subject-based schoolbooks.

### **Ogren, Christine**

University of Iowa  
United States

### **The Great Catalyst: The First World War and Teachers in the United States**

Wars appear often in histories of American teachers. Historians tend to use the Civil War and World Wars as bookends for particular time periods, suggesting that the conflicts changed the course of the teaching profession. Rarely, however, do historians delve deeply into the direct impact of the wars on the lives and work of teachers. On the centenary of its outbreak in Europe, this paper synthesizes scattered references to World War I in existing secondary literature and analyzes key primary-source material to theorize about the effects of the Great War – and possibly other wars – on teachers in the United States. The paper argues that American involvement in the First World War had only a few direct consequences for teachers; instead, it served mainly to exacerbate shifts already underway. The war was a catalyst for, more than a cause of, change in the teaching profession.

Historians of American teachers suggest several effects of the Great War, a few of which clearly resulted directly from home-front offenses. After the U.S. joined the Allies in 1917, teachers' responsibilities expanded to include inculcating patriotism. Some districts fired teachers who refused to sign loyalty oaths, and government efforts to root out political dissent in the post-war Red Scare created further restraints on teachers. Relative to war-related inflation, teacher compensation declined considerably. Other apparent effects of the war had been underway before 1917. Historians point to a severe teacher shortage as men joined the armed forces and women took positions in industry. While the war was a new distraction, men had been turning away from teaching and women's options had been expanding – albeit slowly – for decades. To stem the shortage, some districts hired married women teachers for the first time, but New York City had begun to do so as early as 1914. Regarding conditions in general, historian Wayne Urban summarizes: "The war had aggravated already deteriorating working conditions of teachers" (*Gender, Race, and the National Education Association* (New York, 2000), p. 11).

The war similarly aggravated shifts that were already underway in teacher unionization. As local unions and the American Federation of Teachers gained strength before the war, administrators worked to curtail their power. The National Education Association then capitalized on U.S. entrance into the conflict to present its anti-union, “professional” approach as the patriotic choice and capture teachers from the AFT. Activist Margaret Haley reflected that the war thus “accomplished” what earlier anti-union efforts “had not been able to do” (quoted in Kate Rousmaniere, *Citizen Teacher* (Albany, NY, 2005, p. 176-177). Finally, the war was only one of several reasons for enrollment declines in teacher preparation. At the renowned summer school for teachers at the University of Tennessee, which closed after its 1918 session, leadership changes and university opposition contributed to declining enrollments throughout the 1910s; it is also likely that fear of influenza kept students away during its last session. These shifts in teacher preparation and unionization illustrate the Great War’s role as a catalyst for rather than a trigger of change.

### **Okediji, Hannah Adebola Aderonke**

Ministry of Education, Ibadan, Oyo State  
Nigeria

### **The Role of Education in Fostering Peace and Unity in Nigeria between 1914 and 1938**

As the world marks the centenary of the outbreak of the First World War and Nigeria celebrates the centenary of the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates of 1st January 1914, when Nigeria became a nation, it is pertinent to examine the contribution of education to fostering peace and unity in the post War era in Nigeria, from 1914 to 1938. Through historical research this project analyzes primary and secondary sources such as journals, publications, textbooks and internet materials. The findings of the study revealed that Nigeria, like other participating British colonial territories felt the impact of the First World War which began in Europe in 1914 and ended in 1918. Much of the fighting took place among the central powers. In 1917, the USA joined the war against Germany as a consequence of her submarine activities and intrigues in Mexico. The War had a negative political, economic and social impact on all nations, leading to the peace conference in Paris and the treaty of Versailles in June 1919. Nigeria saw the need to foster peace and unity, and the restructuring of the educational curriculum played a very vital role in the drive to achieve this by providing military training as well as a training in citizenship for democracy, and political leadership. A culture of peace, education and non-violence has been the norm in Nigeria since the post-war period. The aims of the paper therefore are to understand the state and the role of education during the war and post-war period in Nigeria, to analyze the role of education in fostering peace, to examine the effect of the war on Nigerian education and to recommend ways of maintaining peace in the education sector in Nigeria. It is therefore recommended in this paper that the Nigerian Educational Research Development Council, should formulate policies that will bring cohesion with a bid to balancing the gap between the North and the South, that Labour Unions should resolve issues with government on a round table conference and not through violence and strike actions, i.e. the Nigerian Union of Teachers, and government should not mix educational matters with politics and education personnel should be well remunerated and given maximum encouragement to enhance productivity.

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**The educational impact of the Nigeria-Biafran War on the people of Eastern Nigeria**

The Nigeria-Biafra war popularly referred to as the Nigerian Civil war was fought from 2 July 1967 to 15 January 1970. The war was between the then Eastern Region of Nigeria and the rest of the country. The war was fought to re-unify the country when the then Eastern Region declared itself an independent state of Biafra. The area now called Nigeria consisted of about 400 differing ethnic and cultural groups with distinct social, religious and linguistic background. Between 1900 and 1914, these differing heterogeneous groups were either peacefully or forcefully annexed by the British Colonial Administration and were amalgamated for administrative convenience.

As a result of her historical background, Nigeria's growth of nationalism and subsequent emergence of political parties were based on tribal rather than national interests. No wonder during her first Republican governance, tribal intrigue for domination became intensive and eventually degenerated into military coups and counter-coups which culminated into a civil war. The bloody civil war had a great impact on the education of the people in the war affected zone. Some of these identified impacts were evaluated under the following headings in the paper.

- Destruction of school properties, and buildings
- Forceful enlistment of teachers, lecturers and students into the military.
- Closure of all schools-public and private institutions for over three years.
- Curriculum reforms and innovations.
- Educational Policy revisions

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***British Education After the War: Hope for the Future of British Children and Education During and Immediately After the First World War***

*British Education After the War*, a book written by Frederick J. Gould in 1917, was typical in many ways of the prolific assortment of books and pamphlets on educational reform and pedagogy, produced during and immediately after the First World War in Britain. The overall tone of these works was as hopeful as it was urgent. As F.H. Hayward wrote in the preface to that book, "We do not, therefore, necessarily prepare for an educational reconstruction, as if it were nothing but a repair of a shattered civilization. The soul of the world has been strong enough to bear the burden and tragedy of the great war. In that same strength it may grapple with the happier problem of the training of youth, not without faith that saner and purer ideals may be so far attained as to diminish, visibly and substantially, and with a hope of the for-ever, the likelihood of other such melancholy conflicts of national interests and wills." (3) Hope for the future rested in new educational strategies for children.

The goal of this paper is twofold: to examine the ideas of some prolific and prominent educationalists and legislators of the future of education wrought from war; and to highlight some of the ways used to guide children through the war itself, in terms of explaining the reasons for war, and the reasons for hope and the fight for peace. The sources used encompass a large body of educational literature written between 1914 and c. 1920, the 1917 Final Report of the Departmental Committee on Juvenile Education in Relation to Employment after the War (Cd. 8512), the Fisher Education Act (1918) and associated parliamentary debates, and other more ephemeral sources (songs, stories and pageant plays for children).

The Education Act of 1918 was based on the president of the Board of Education's recommendations from his observations of schools during the course of the war. In his preface to his collected political speeches, Herbert Fisher called for the raising of citizenship from ignorance, and pointed out that "the argument does not rest upon grounds of political prudence only; but upon the right of human beings to be considered as ends in themselves and to be entitled, so far as our imperfect social arrangements may permit, to know and enjoy all the best that life can offer in the sphere of knowledge, emotion, and hope." (Fisher, *Educational Reform Speeches*, 1918, xvi). That quotation, from such a prominent source, provides the impetus here. There is scope to look both at the architecture of educational reform during and immediately after the war and the intended wartime emotional resonance through educational strategies for children, focusing specifically on hope.

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**An exploratory study of the Second World War and its impact for educational reform and rejuvenation in Africa**

Much of the study of the World Wars have concentrated attention on the political implications. Yet war and peace including world wars have been of major interest to educational planners and education users throughout the world. The present panel will seek to draw attention to the relationship between the Second World War of 1939-1945 and educational provision in the British colonies. The Second World War was fought by African in Africa by peoples who did not immediately consider the War of any interest or benefit. A conscious effort was thus made through an active non-formal and informal education programme, involving the use of newspapers, the radio and letters, to explain the intentions of the super powers engaged in the War to the Africans. African troops were also given mass education courses involving literacy and liberal education to reinforce the view that the objective of the war was to ensure lasting peace in the world and confirm the permanent establishment of social justice, equity and freedom in all the nations of the world. The War also had wide ranging implications for educational reform and revitalization as the curriculum change, choice of textbooks and content of instruction

was influenced by the war propaganda in the colonies. The War also led to major changes in educational provision, including the displacement of educational institutions due to the war effort and the review of educational policy which led to an increased and enhanced educational provision. The war thus bred the new universities in the British colonies and terminated the founding of the educational colleges which the Africans had earlier rejected as second-rate. This panel, made of scholars from different parts of the world will consider the impact of Second World War on educational development in the sub-Saharan Africa. The diversity of the responses to the War will be a major thrust of discussion by the panellists. The panel will also seek to draw attention to the responses of the school authorities, the pupils, governments and education policy makers

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**La depuración del profesorado de las Normales (España, 1936-1942):  
problemas específicos de un proyecto de investigación**

“Juro por Dios y por mi honor decir la verdad y cuanto se en el presente pliego que he de suscribir, aceptando la responsabilidad en que incurriese por el fuero de guerra, si lo manifiesto fuese falso o sigilase hechos que conociéndolos, pueden auxiliar a la labor depuradora de la justicia”. Es así como comienza cada declaración jurada que debía hacer todo profesor interesado en continuar ejerciendo la docencia. Cada uno tenía que solicitar su depuración mediante una instancia acompañada de su correspondiente declaración sobre sus actividades políticas antes y durante la guerra, así como de su actuación concreta ante el llamado Movimiento Nacional.

Uno de los aspectos más desafortunados de la incidencia de la Guerra Civil española en la vida de las instituciones educativas fueron los procesos de depuración política a los que se vieron sometidos los profesores de todos los niveles, el alumnado de las Escuelas Normales y las universidades, los libros de texto y la bibliotecas.

La depuración de los docentes tras la Guerra Civil es un campo de investigación en expansión. En esta comunicación, mostramos los problemas específicos encontrados en un proyecto sobre la depuración del profesorado de las Escuelas Normales. La mayoría de los expedientes de depuración de los maestros de primaria y de los profesores de Instituto y Universidad se conserva en el Archivo General de la Administración, y esos expedientes son la principal fuente para el estudio de este tema. Sin embargo, no ha sido posible localizar NINGUNO de los expedientes de los profesores de las Escuelas Normales. En esta comunicación presentamos otras vías de aproximación al tema de la depuración del profesorado de las Normales usando otras fuentes como las resoluciones publicadas en el Boletín Oficial del estado, los recursos presentados, la documentación conservada en cada escuela Normal y en los archivos universitarios y el contenido de los escritos de estos profesores (artículos y libros, especialmente los manuales para la formación de los futuros maestros). Este trabajo forma parte del proyecto de investigación EDU2010-19255 financiado por el MINECO.

## **The Francoist purge of teacher-training colleges (1936-1942): specific problems of a research project**

“I swear to God and on my honor to tell the truth and all that is in this statement that I have to sign, accepting responsibility which incurs by military law, if the manifesto was false or suspected facts, which once known, can assist the purge of righteousness”. Every affidavit which the teachers had to swear in order to continue teaching, began in this way. Everyone had to ask to be debugged by an application including a statement about his/her political activities before and during the war, and any activities with the so-called National Movement. One of the most dramatic aspects of the impact of the Spanish Civil War on the life of educational institutions was the political purging of teachers from all levels, students of Teacher Training Colleges and Universities, textbooks and libraries.

The process of the teachers’ purge after the Civil War is an expanding field of research. In this paper, we show the specific problems that we have encountered in a research project about Franco’s debugging of teachers in Teacher Training Colleges. Most of the files on the purging of primary, secondary and University teachers are kept in the Archivo General de la Administración and those files are the main source for the study of this topic. However, it has not been possible to find the files of teachers in Teacher Training Colleges. In this paper we present others ways of approaching the topic of Debugging of Teacher Training Colleges. We have used other sources such as the resolutions published in the Boletín Oficial del Estado, the appeals filed, the documentation in each Teacher Training College, documents in the Universities’ archives and the content of the writings of those teachers (articles and books, especially textbooks for the training of future teachers). This paper is part of a research project EDU2010-19255 funded by MINECO.

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## **The consequences and legacies of Usman Dan Fodio’s 19th century Islamic wars on Nigerian education**

The 19th century has been referred to as a century of Islamic revival in West Africa. It was also a period when Europeans introduced Christianity and European ideas to the people of West Africa. Historical writers have published widely about Usman Dan Fodio and the Sokoto Caliphate. While some assessed his justification for the Jihad, others evaluated the political, economic and social consequences of his Islamic wars. However, no comprehensive study had been carried out on the consequences of the Jihad on the education of the people in West Africa, a study being focused in this research. Some writers acclaimed that the operations and social impact of Usman Dan Fodio’s Jihad, were similar to the earlier 18th century reformation movements in Saudi Arabia, Cyrenaica, Egyptian Sudan and Western Sudan. In the continent of Africa, Usman Dan Fodio’s jihad created the largest empire after the fall of Songhai in 1591. By the year 1850 when the Sokoto Caliphate was at the height of its glory, the empire stretched about 1,500 kilometres from Dori in modern Burkina Faso to Southern Adamawa in Cameroon and included Nupe lands as well as northern part of Yoruba Land.

The following educational impact of the Jihad on the people of West Africa would be evaluated in this paper.



- *Uniform language:* The Jihad gave stimulus to learning and literature as the language of Islam became popular as the official language through-out the empire. In addition, the need to explain and justify the Jihad and to educate followers in the traditional Islamic Sciences led to the extra-ordinary out-pouring of Arabic writing and Islamic teaching.
- *Scholarship:* Usman Dan Fodio's Jihad promoted intellectual literacy and scholarship.
- *Women Education:* The impact of the Jihad on girl-child education in the area was given full weight
- *Development in Islamic Education:* The rapid growth and development of Islamic education in the pagan or idolatry areas conquered by the Jihadists was enormous.
- *Access to Western Education:* The Jihad paved way to easy access to European penetration and introduction of European ideas through schooling in West Africa.

### **Otero-Urtaza, Eugenio**

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#### **The *Boletín de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza* in Spain. Discussion on peace education around the European war (1914-1918)**

This paper reviews news, opinions, notes and articles about pacifism and war published in the *Bulletin of the Free Institution of Learning (Boletín de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza, henceforth BILE)* in Madrid between 1877 and 1936. The *BILE* was largely an educational journal, but it was also the means by which American and European thought and science entered Spain at the time. On its pages, it is possible to find comments about the most important social and philosophical movements in the world, as well as scientific discoveries, geographical expeditions, and emerging trends in law, literature, sport or art. Moreover, of course, it is the best document to help us get acquainted with the modernizing project that Francisco Giner (1839-1915) was putting forward to Spanish society.

The educational ideas of the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza* have an undoubted Germanic origin, since they were based on Krause and Fröebel's thinking; however, Giner and his followers developed great admiration for the British educational ideas after Giner's trip to London in 1884. From this year onwards, there was an important and continuously rising flow of youths that wanted to know the foundations of such advanced welfare and culture in Britain. One of those youths was José Castillejo, who, after the First World War, would explain to his fellow citizens how the values conveyed by the British educational system were the key to understand Britain's victory against German expansion.

Almost since its beginnings, the *BILE* published articles, comments and book reviews against militarism and war. It was also in favour of an education that boosted understanding among countries and the rejection of weapons. During its sixty years of life, there was a large list of authors who established a pacifist discourse. In the 19th century there is a conspicuous rejection of school battalions and the interference of belligerent mentalities in the educational system. Nevertheless, it is during the period 1914-1918 that the debate on the war conflict from the perspective of education and pacifists becomes stronger. Accordingly, the pages of the *BILE* display a very interesting group of European intellectuals, such as Charles Cestre, Alice Pestana, Daniel Mornet, Victor Henri Friedel, Louis Liard, Herbert Fisher, Charles Chabot, Paul Lapie, Emile Boutroux, and even Mauricio Materlinck or A.W.G Randall. They show that Giner's followers knew very well the

international debate on what teaching could learn from war. One of these followers was Domingo Barnés, who wrote an important study about peace education in these years.

In spite of Spanish “neutrality” in relation to the armed conflict, there was strong arguing between “aliadófilos” (the Allies’ supporters) and “germanófilos” (German supporters) among Spanish intellectuals. The *BILE* was more “aliadófilo” than “germanófilo”, and after the end of the war, José Castillejo would become the greatest advocate of the virtues of the British in Spain. Finally, it is very important to highlight the leading figure of Rafael Altamira, who acquired international relevance by spreading peace education in subsequent years. In conclusion, the paper intends to stress that European intellectual discussions about the war were known in Spain, although Giner’s followers developed their own pacifist currents there outside the conflict.

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*SWG La Pensée Critique des Enseignants/ Teachers’ Critical Thinking*

### **Harold Rugg et la Modernité**

Harold Rugg (1886-1960) est une figure de l’Education progressive aux Etats-Unis. Il a été professeur à l’Université de Chicago et au Teachers Collège de l’Université de Columbia. Son apport à l’éducation progressive réside avant tout dans sa réflexion sur le « curriculum ». Il a produit des manuels renommés qui ont suscité des controverses au point d’entraîner leur censure. Ces controverses ont été amplifiées par l’approche de la seconde Guerre Mondiale.

En qui ce cas peut-il intéresser la pensée critique des enseignants, peut-il comporter des enseignements qui dépassent un point de l’histoire de l’éducation aux Etats-Unis ? Oui si l’on considère qu’Harold Rugg a été animé par le projet d’une éducation démocratique, au sens d’une éducation qui corresponde à l’idéal démocratique de justice et d’égalité, et d’une éducation qui permette la durée de l’expérience de la démocratie. Sa pensée gagne à être examinée précisément du point de vue de sa critique des modes d’éducation hérités du passé, et qui pour cette raison n’ont été forgés dans le contexte de la démocratie. Il est aussi important d’examiner les oppositions auxquelles il s’est heurté, et le rôle de bouc émissaire qu’il a joué face à l’accusation de communisme et de subversion contre le capitalisme.

Enfin, d’un point de vue qui concerne davantage l’histoire culturelle, il est important de s’interroger sur la notion de modernité même. Qu’est-ce qu’une éducation pour le présent, qui corresponde au monde nouveau qui s’est affirmé au XXe siècle ? Harold Rugg a participé, au-delà de l’éducation, à la formation d’une culture progressiste, l’éducation n’étant qu’un aspect du renouvellement des modes de pensée et même de sentir, ce qui se traduit dans son implication dans la modernité artistique. Il était membre du cercle d’Alfred Stieglitz autour de la galerie Camera Work qui a été l’un des centres des avant-gardes esthétiques.

Education moderne et progressive, par delà des rapprochements factuels, entretiennent des relations avec l’espérance d’un renouvellement plus profond de la société et l’ambition de cette « critique » américaine n’a pas toujours été comprise en Europe. Il nous paraît intéressant d’y revenir car l’exemple d’H. Rugg est celui d’une cohérence qui relie pensée éducative et réforme sociale, d’une vision globale de la formation de l’individu humain dans un monde bouleversé par l’urbanisation et la puissance technique, l’effacement des autorités traditionnelles et des repères symboliques. Ces défis sont toujours là et le ressourcement de la capacité critique apparaît comme une nécessité.

## **Harold Rugg and Modernity**

Harold Rugg (1886-1960) was a great educator in the movement for Progressive education. He had been a schoolteacher, then a professor at the University of Chicago and at the Columbia University (Teachers College). He contributed to this movement especially by theorizing the curriculum. He wrote famous handbooks; these books were harshly criticized, and were objects of violent controversy.

How does this concern the critical thought of teachers? This topic raises issues beyond the case of the United States school system. Harold Rugg had an idea of a democratic education, an education corresponding to the idea of justice and equality. He wanted an education that allows the duration of democracy. We must examine both his critique of education in the past, which proceeds from other than the democratic values, and the opposition that he encountered. He was accused of being communist.

Then, from the point of view of cultural history, it is important to consider the notion of modernity. What should be « modern » in education, in order to adapt it to the new world which appears in the 20th century? Harold Rugg contributed to the formation of a progressive culture, of which education is but an aspect. He was a member of the Alferd Stieglitz's circle, a group which met at the Camera Work Gallery. There are links between Progressive education and the artistic avant-garde. Both expected a renewal of social life.

## **James Mark Baldwin, un psychologue entre guerre et paix**

Notre proposition consiste à mettre en lumière le double rôle du psychologue James Mark Baldwin (1861-1934) au service de la paix, d'un point de vue historique et aussi philosophique. Son parcours personnel illustre en outre la coopération entre les nations. Il a participé concrètement aux secours apportés aux blessés de la guerre de 1914-1918, et il est en même temps auteur d'un projet social et politique favorisant la paix à long terme.

Ces aspects de sa biographie et de son œuvre sont généralement oubliés au profit de son travail de psychologue. En effet, James Mark Baldwin est un fondateur de la psychologie expérimentale en Amérique du Nord, États-Unis et Canada. Il est aussi un des créateurs de la psychologie génétique, et à ce titre Piaget l'a cité à de nombreuses reprises. À ce titre, c'est un penseur de l'éducation et du rapport entre éducation et développement. Il est en effet l'inventeur de la « réaction circulaire de Baldwin » aptitude à l'imitation observée chez le nouveau-né. Si l'importance de cette découverte est relativisée par certains historiens de la psychologie, cela ne diminue pas l'intérêt et le rôle historique de cette œuvre. L'ouvrage intitulé le Pancalisme propose une vision du futur de l'humanité et tente d'articuler les acquis de la science du développement à une réforme de la société.

Lorsque la Première Guerre mondiale éclate, Baldwin réside en France depuis 1910 et participe pleinement à la vie intellectuelle, notamment aux recherches en psychologie de l'enfant. Il fréquente la Société Libre pour l'Étude Psychologique de l'enfant (SLEPE) fondée en 1899 par Ferdinand Buisson, afin de relier recherche scientifique et éducation. Il est correspondant de l'Institut de France. Il rejoint l'initiative lancée au début de la guerre par l'ambassadeur des États-Unis Myron T. Herrick qui crée un centre de contrôle et de distribution des secours : The America Relief Clearing House. Parallèlement à ces activités, J.M. Baldwin milite pour l'intervention américaine dans le conflit, et publie plusieurs textes dont certains réunis dans *Paroles de guerre d'un Américain* (1919).

Nous voudrions préciser la nature des activités scientifiques de J.M. Baldwin à Paris, sa participation aux controverses concernant la place de la psychologie dans l'éducation et dans la société, et comprendre le lien entre son œuvre scientifique, sa théorie sociale et ses activités au service de nouvelles relations internationales à long terme. Le recours à l'histoire intellectuelle, à l'étude des sources dans leur contexte, sera complété par l'examen d'archives notamment parisiennes.

### **James Mark Baldwin, a psychologist between war and peace**

The aim of this proposal is to show the dual role of psychologist James Mark Baldwin (1861-1934) in the service of peace, a perspective that is both historical and philosophical. His biography illustrates the cooperation between nations. In practice he helped the wounded in the war of 1914-1918, and he was also author of a social and political project that promoted peace in the long term. These aspects of his biography and his work are usually forgotten in favor of his work as a psychologist. Indeed, James Mark Baldwin was a founder of experimental psychology in North America, United States and Canada. He was one of the inventors of genetic psychology, as Piaget mentioned many times. He was also a theorist of education and of the relationship between education and development: the "Baldwin effect" i.e. the ability to imitate observed in the newborn is well known. If the significance of this finding is tempered by some historians of psychology, this does not diminish the interest and the historical role of his researches. His book *Pancalism* offers a vision of the future of humanity and attempts to articulate the achievements of science in the development of reforming society.

When World War I broke out, Baldwin had lived in France since 1910, participating fully in intellectual life, including research in child psychology. He attended the Free Society for the Psychological Study of the Child (SLEPE) founded in 1899 by Ferdinand Buisson, to apply scientific research to education. He was a correspondent of the Institute of France. At the outbreak of war he joined the project ambassador of the United States Myron T. Herrick creating a control center and distribution of relief: The America Relief Clearing House. Parallel to these activities, JM Baldwin campaigns for American intervention in the conflict, and published several texts, some of them published together in *Paroles de guerre d'un Américain* (1919).

I wish to clarify the nature of scientific activities of JM Baldwin in Paris, his participation in the controversy on the role of psychology in education and in society, and to understand the link between his scientific work, his social theory and his activities in the service of new international long-term relationships. Intellectual history, the study of sources in context, will be complemented by the study of archives (some of them in Paris).

### **L'éducation morale à travers des documents de 1940 à 1950**

Nous proposons d'étudier l'éducation morale dans le contexte particulièrement difficile de la 2e Guerre Mondiale, sur la base d'un corpus d'archives de manuels, et un entretien, en privilégiant le point de vue des acteurs.

L'éducation morale est une question d'actualité en France puisque le Ministre de l'Éducation Nationale souhaite en faire un enseignement obligatoire à la rentrée 2014. Ce projet rencontre l'adhésion d'une grande partie de la population mais se heurte aux réserves de beaucoup d'enseignants et est l'objet de polémiques parmi les chercheurs. Mais la question de la transmission d'une morale et sa possibilité même dans le monde d'aujourd'hui se pose plus

largement que dans le cas français, même si les notions d' « éthique » et de « vivre ensemble » sont souvent préférées à « morale » .[1]

En effet cette question d'actualité est indissociable d'une histoire, et de la perte de légitimité de l'enseignement de la morale. Avant la guerre, l'éducation morale est encore une évidence et est discutée notamment dans des congrès d'éducation morale. La période de Vichy introduit une rupture en instrumentalisant la morale au profit du régime. L'éducation morale et la transmission des valeurs perdent alors de leur légitimité au profit notamment de l'éducation à la paix.

L'enjeu de cette recherche est d'apporter des éléments factuels pour enrichir ce débat. En effet s'il est possible de lire des textes politiques, philosophiques, pédagogiques sur cette question il est difficile de reconstituer en pratique ce qu'a pu être l'éducation morale. Les cahiers en ma possession constituent une source directe concernant la formation des normaliens en 1940.

L'entretien de R. Caron paru dans *le Télémaque* permet de situer cette formation dans le contexte de la guerre, et les manuels d'éducation civique et morale qui vont de la période d'avant-guerre à 1950 rendent visibles les retombées axiologiques et institutionnelles de ces événements.

[1] Congrès de l'Acfas. Colloque 501 - Colloque international conjoint GREE/AFEC - Éduquer et former au « vivre ensemble » dans l'espace francophone et ailleurs, 5 au 11 mai 2012, Université Concordia Montréal.

### **Moral education through documentary evidence from 1940 to 1950**

We propose to study moral education in the particularly difficult context of the 2nd World War, based on a corpus of archives books, and an interview, focusing on the perspective of the actors. Moral education is a topical issue in France following the Minister of Education's expressed aim for moral education to be compulsory from September 2014. This project is approved by a majority but rejected by many teachers and is a subject of controversy among researchers. But the question of transmitting a corporate morality and its very possibility in today's world raises wider problems than just the French case, even if concepts of "ethics" and "living together" are often preferred to "morality".

In fact this topical issue is inseparable from history, and the process of de-legitimization of morality. Before the war, moral education was still evident and was discussed especially in moral education congresses. The Vichy period introduced a break by exploiting moral argument in its favor. Moral education and the transmission of values then lost legitimacy particularly in favour of peace education.

The aim of this research is to provide facts to enrich the debate. Even if it is possible to read educational policies, philosophical texts on this question it is difficult to reconstruct in practice what might have moral education. The books in my possession are a direct source for the formation of a Normal School in 1940. An interview with R. Caron published in *Le Télémaque* allows us to locate this training in the context of war, and moral and civic education textbooks ranging from the pre-war period to 1950 make visible the axiological and institutional impact of these events.

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## **Der Einfluss des zweiten Weltkrieges auf die Pädagogik als Wissenschaft: das Beispiel Lettlands (1940-1945)**

In der Zeit von 1940 bis 1944 fand in Lettland dreimal ein Machtwechsel statt – die kommunistische Okkupationsmacht wurde durch die nazistische abgelöst, der wieder die kommunistische sowjetische Diktatur gefolgt ist. Außerdem war Lettland von 1941 bis 1945 auch in den Zweiten Weltkrieg einbezogen. Zweifellos waren es extreme Verhältnisse, in denen Veränderungen in allen Bereichen des Lebens stattfanden, darunter auch auf dem Bereich der Bildung. Die Bildung während des Krieges ist ziemlich viel erforscht worden (z. B. Cardozier, 1993), der Pädagogik als Wissenschaft ist jedoch in den Forschungen weniger Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet worden. Deshalb wurden folgende Forschungsfragen formuliert: Wie beeinflusst die Pädagogik als Wissenschaft eine extreme politische Situation – Krieg und Okkupation? Und: ob und wie die Wissenschaft in dieser Situation bestehen kann?

Ähnlich wie bei anderen Wissenschaftszweigen charakterisieren auch die Entstehung und Entwicklung der Pädagogik als Wissenschaft deren institutionelle, kommunikative und methodologische Dimension (Hofstetter & Schneuwly, 2002, 2011). Unter der kommunistischen und nazistischen Diktatur wurden sowohl die Gemeinschaft der Pädagogik-Wissenschaftler als auch die in der Vorbereitung der künftigen Pädagogik-Wissenschaftler und in der Lehrervorbereitung verwendeten Lehrbücher und pädagogischen Presseausgaben durch andere ersetzt. Somit erlebte auch die Pädagogik als Wissenschaft einen Paradigmenwechsel, ihre Kontinuität wurde unterbrochen.

Gerade der Krieg ist als der zweite Grund zu nennen, der die Entwicklung der Pädagogik als Wissenschaft in Lettland beeinflusst hat. Vorwiegend wurden durch den Krieg die institutionelle und kommunikative Dimension der Pädagogik beeinflusst.

Im Kontext der institutionellen Dimension ist bei der Analyse der Existenz eines Wissenschaftszweiges als eines selbstreproduzierenden Systems die Weitergabe des von der Wissenschaftlergemeinschaft systematisierten und zusammengefassten Wissens an die nächste Generation ein wichtiger Aspekt. Um nicht nur die Existenz eines Wissenschaftszweiges, sondern auch dessen Weiterentwicklung zu gewährleisten ist jedoch auch die Produktion neuen Wissens, beziehungsweise die Forschung wichtig. Eine Wissenschaft kann sich also nur dann vollwertig entwickeln, wenn die Universität als Institution beide Funktionen – sowohl die Weitergabe des Wissens als auch die Forschung gewährleistet, was die Universität Lettlands in allen politischen Verhältnissen auch immer versucht hat. Die Analyse der Quellen hat aber gezeigt, dass die Priorität der Abteilung für Pädagogik während des Krieges nicht die Vorbereitung der neuen Wissenschaftlergeneration, sondern die Vorbereitung der Lehrer für die pädagogische Praxis war und dass die Weitergabe des Wissens somit die Forschung und Produktion eines neuen Wissens überwog.

Eine wichtige Voraussetzung für das Funktionieren eines Wissenschaftszweiges ist das Kommunikationsnetz, mit dessen Hilfe die Wissenschaftler bei der Lösung der Forschungsprobleme ihre Meinungen austauschen. Während des Krieges hat sich in Lettland aber nur ein Element dieses Netzes weiterentwickelt – die pädagogische Presse. Die pädagogische Zeitschrift „*Izglītības Mēnešraksts*“ („Monatsschrift für Bildung“) hat aber vorwiegend als Lehrmittel gedient und über für die pädagogische Praxis wichtige Fragen informiert.

Somit zeigt die Analyse der Quellen, dass die Pädagogik als Wissenschaft während des Krieges bestehen und überleben kann, vorwiegend indem, dass sie Lehrer für die pädagogische Praxis vorbereitet.

### **The impact of the Second World War on educational sciences: the case of Latvia (1940-1945)**

Between 1940-1944 in Latvia, three changes in the governing power took place when the communists were replaced by the Nazis who were again followed by the Soviet Communist dictatorship. From 1941, Latvia was also dragged into the Second World War. These were extreme conditions which brought unexpected changes in all areas of life including the field of education. Schooling in the war-time period has been widely researched (e.g., Cardozier 1993) but much less attention has been given to the development of education as a scientific discipline. This presentation addresses the issues of how extreme political conditions like war and occupation influenced the development of education as a scientific discipline and whether and how science can function under such circumstances.

In common with other scientific disciplines, the formation and development of education can be characterized through institutional, communicative and methodological dimensions (Hofstetter & Schneuwly 2002, 2011). In addition to the replacement of pre-service teaching materials and pedagogical press used in the preparation of new researchers and teaching staff, the Communists and Nazis also transformed the educational science community itself. As a consequence, pedagogy as a scientific discipline, experienced a change of paradigm. Elements of war and conflict directly impacted upon pedagogy as a discipline, both in terms of institutions and relationships.

In analysing a scientific discipline as a self reproducing and institutional system, the transfer of systematised research and knowledge to the next generation, is crucial. New knowledge and research proved to be essential to the future development of the discipline as did the dissemination of knowledge. During war-time, at the University of Latvia Department of Pedagogy, preparing teachers tended to prevail over the preparation of a new generation of pedagogical scientists. As a result, the dissemination of existing knowledge outweighed the production of new knowledge and research. A further important aspect for the functioning of the scientific discipline was a network of communication which ensured the exchange of information among scientists. During the War, this was restricted to only one channel - the pedagogical press. The magazine, *Izglītības Mēnešraksts*, (Monthly Journal of Education) primarily served as a teaching tool and carried topical issues about pedagogical practice. My analysis confirms that education as a scientific discipline in Latvia during war time survived and functioned primarily through the training of teachers.

**Padilla, Antonio**

Universidad Autónoma del Estado de Morelos

Mexico

**Taylor, Xóchil**

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### **Un encuentro en el tiempo: Anton S. Makarenko, una pedagogía para la paz, una pedagogía para la acción**

El presente trabajo pretende una aproximación a una de las dimensiones de la obra de Anton S. Makarenko, la referente a su pensamiento y sus propuestas de nuevas prácticas pedagógicas, en particular aquellas vinculadas a sus experiencias educativas en las célebres colonias inspiradas en sus ideas, la Colonia Gorki y la Comuna Dzerzhinsky. Dichas instituciones no se pueden comprender ni explicarse sino a partir de las condiciones sociales, políticas y económicas que enfrentó el naciente Estado soviético tras el prolongado periodo de crisis que afrontó la edificación del régimen socialista y los conflictos bélicos, entre ellos la Revolución de 1905, la participación en la Primera Guerra Mundial, la Revolución de febrero de 1917 y la Guerra civil de 1917.

La devastación material y cultural de la sociedad rusa y, después, de la soviética se manifestó, entre otros aspectos, en el hecho de que miles de jóvenes y niños huérfanos, abandonados y sin posibilidades materiales de existencia pulularan por calles y campos de las ciudades, viviendo en la miseria y la orfandad, convirtiéndose en una amplia y profunda cuestión social. Sin duda, Makarenko estuvo consciente del enorme desafío que representaba ofrecer inéditas respuestas educativas que procuraran la reforma de esa “masa” de población desvalida y sin alternativas para salir de su condición. Precisamente, para responder a tal problemática, Makarenko concibió instituciones en las cuales habría que ensayar sus ideas pedagógicas, sus métodos innovadores no solo para ofrecer educación, sino para involucrar a esos jóvenes y niños en la construcción de una sociedad justa y libre que abandonara la pedagogía de la guerra y construyera una pedagogía creativa y activa para atender los problemas de la incipiente sociedad.

En este sentido, Makarenko se centró en pensar, diseñar e instrumentar una alternativa pedagógica y una experiencia educativa que concibiera la definición de fines comunes para reintegrar o integrar a los huérfanos, los infractores y delincuentes juveniles para convertirse en ciudadanos responsables y ejemplares. Mediante el acercamiento a la obra pedagógica de Makarenko es posible identificar las razones, los métodos, las experiencias, es decir, la formación, las vivencias, las necesidades, los sueños y las angustias que estuvieron presentes en una nueva pedagogía que enfatizara la importancia de la paz y de la acción para construir “el hombre nuevo”.

### **A meeting in time: Anton S. Makarenko, peace pedagogy, a pedagogy for action**

This investigation aims to be an account of one of the dimensions of the work by Anton S. Makarenko, referring to his ideas and proposals for new teaching practices, particularly those linked to his teaching experiences in the celebrated colonies inspired by his ideas, the Gorki Colony and the Dzerzhinsky Commune. These institutions cannot be understood or explained without taking into account the social, political and economical conditions that the emerging Soviet state had to face, after the prolonged period of crisis that had faced the socialist regime and



the military conflicts, among them the Revolution of 1905, the participation in the first World War, the Revolution of February, 1917, and the Civil War of 1917.

The material and cultural devastation of Russia and, later, the Soviet Union, manifested itself in, among other things, the fact that thousands of orphan children and young people, abandoned and without material possibilities of living, populated the streets and areas of the cities, lived in misery, becoming a broad and deep social issue. Without doubt, Makarenko was conscious of the huge challenge in offering novel educational responses aimed at reforming that “mass” of population devoid of apparent value and without any alternatives to improve their condition. That is precisely why, in response to this issue, Makarenko conceived institutions in which his pedagogical ideas were to be rehearsed. His innovative methods were not only meant to provide education, but to involve that young population in the construction of a just and free society that would abandon the pedagogy of war and build a creative and active pedagogy to address the issues of the incipient society.

In this sense, Makarenko centered himself in thinking, designing and instrumenting a pedagogic alternative and an educational experience that conceived the definition of communal goals to reintegrate or integrate the orphans, the offenders and the juvenile delinquents, making them into responsible and exemplary citizens. Through the approach to the pedagogic work of Makarenko, it is possible to identify the reasons, methods, experiences, in other words formation, the needs, dreams and anguishes that were present in a new way of teaching that would emphasize the importance of peace and the action to build “the new man”.

**Padrós, Núria, Collelldemont, Eulàlia, Casanovas, Josep and Gómez, Anna**

University of Vic  
Spain

### **Learning in wartime: what images tell us and what they evoke**

*Background:* The work done within the framework of the research project has allowed us a glimpse of the wartime experiences of the pupils at the Grup Escolar Lluís Vives during the period 1936-39, work we presented at ISCHE 34 in Geneva. Aware that these childhood experiences were not lived out in a context where the school was politically neutral, we have recently been analysing the structural conditions that shaped the artistic and political development of these children so as to transform their experiences into a space of historical memory.

*Research framework:* Consequently, we have introduced into our research an analysis of the school’s theoretical, discursive and practical positions – that is, the structural factors – in order to understand which of these elements played a determining role in the learning that is reflected in the drawings the children created. This research allows us to understand some of the key elements in wartime learning (and, specifically, during the Spanish Civil War).

*Methodology:* To be able to understand the impact that the pedagogic position of the school had on these children, we felt it necessary, as a research methodology, to introduce the analytical tools developed in cultural history to study ‘third texts’, that is, to analyse historical textual sources that are related to the children’s drawings. This methodology allows us to compare the conclusions drawn from our visual analysis of the drawings (...) with the documentary texts written by the adults at the school which form the basis of our institutional analysis (...). In this way we have been able, on the one hand, to redefine the methodological process involved in researching images of educational contexts, particularly where those images are provided by children’s drawings and, on

the other, to uncover greater levels of complexity that reflect more clearly the pedagogic density of a period in which schools lived through civil conflicts.

*Conclusions:* This study has allowed us to move toward the creation of a more complex historical overview that incorporates elements of analysis of the educational system that were proposed by political authorities, other elements that reflect the ongoing debates of the time about the concept of 'contextualised learning' and the applicability during wartime of the principle of the '*escuela viva*' (that is, the idea that the school should respond actively to the realities of its pupils, and position itself in favour of a particular social ideal), while also analysing references to the development of the children who, with the school's help, were engaged in creating their own ways of thinking, being and doing during a time of crisis.

## **Paksuniemi, Merja**

University of Lapland

Finland

### **The impact of the Second World War on education in Finland**

The purpose of the research is to point out how the Second World War influenced education in Finland. During the war years Finland fought twice against Russia and at the end of the war time there was a battle between Finnish and German soldiers in Lapland. During the Lapland war almost the whole population of Lapland was evacuated. (Junila 2000; Kortelainen 2008; Paksuniemi 2013) The main focus of this study is on the primary school system and teacher training colleges in Finland. The purpose of this research is also to describe how Finnish children were educated during the wartime. The aim of this historical research is to draw a picture of the contemporary reality in the light of the various data: the archival sources, interviews and other studies. The following research questions were set to the study: 1. How did the war time impact on teacher training? 2. How was primary school education arranged? 3. What kind of school memories do the children have from that time? According to the data, the wartime affected primary education strongly. The school buildings among the teacher training colleges were needed for different purposes such as on military use and war hospitals. The National Board of Education gave instructions to schools how they should arrange teaching in these exceptional circumstances. Education was provided anywhere possible depending on a situation. There was also a lack of teachers because the male teachers and teacher students were defending the country. The women teachers and students on the other hand were working on the home front in different voluntary works. This influenced educational levels: there were unqualified persons teaching children in schools. (Heikkinen 1995; Hyyrö 2007; Kuikka 2001; Nurmi 1989; Paksuniemi 2009) During the war time there was also a lack of materials. This brought other challenges to schooling.

**Palluau, Nicolas**

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France

### **La régénération par les enfants héros. Le cas du scoutisme français (1912-1915)**

Dès la fondation du scoutisme en France, l'enfant héros prend place comme figure de la régénération de la société par son sacrifice. La revue *L'Eclaireur de France* recense de nombreux *actes de courage* accomplis par des adolescents pour sauver des vies dans des accidents. Les récits montrent la fréquence des inondations et des incendies, véritable métaphore d'un désir de catastrophe. La mort brutale des enfants est ainsi perçue comme l'accomplissement précoce d'une vie dédiée à la régénération de la patrie. Le modèle demeure celui des enfants-héros de la Révolution française, Joseph Bara et Agricol Viala, morts en 1793. Ceci répond aussi à l'angoisse devant la société de masse qui rationalise les comportements individuels. La mort au seuil de l'âge adulte est une hypothèse des pédagogues nationalistes des Eclaireurs de France pour qui l'éducation civique en plein air décrite par Baden-Powell dans *Scouting for boys* renouvelle la préparation militaire par son projet totalisant. Les enfants héros ne sont-ils que des figures rhétoriques. En effet, avec le conflit mondial, la guerre de mouvement épuise cette singulière violence. On ne compte qu'une dizaine de cas d'enfants héros sur le front dont le plus célèbre est Théophile Jagout, fusillé par des soldats allemands en Alsace en septembre 1914. Les Eclaireurs se conforment davantage à l'Union sacrée en participant aux services collectifs de guerre et en rendant possible l'essor des cadres éducatifs.

### **Regeneration by hero-children: the case of French Scouts (1912-1915)**

When Scouts are founded in France, the hero child becomes a figure of social regeneration through his sacrifice. The youth newspaper *L'Eclaireur de France* reports many courageous acts by teenagers saving human lives in accidents, specially fires and floods. This is a metaphorical desire for catastrophe. Brutal death of children is perceived as the precocious accomplishment of a life dedicated to regeneration of the fatherland. The models are child heroes of the French Revolution, Joseph Bara and Agricol Viala who died in 1793 while defending the Republic against their enemies. Death on the threshold of adulthood is a hypothesis for the nationalist educators of Eclaireurs de France (French Boy Scouts), for whom civic education in the open air as described by Baden-Powell in *Scouting for Boys* renews military training through its totalising project. The child heroes are not simply rhetorical figures. Indeed with worldwide conflict warfare exhausts this particular violence. But when war begins, there are only a few cases of hero-children in the French Scouts, of whom the most well-known is Théophile Jagout, shot dead by German soldiers in Alsace in September 1914. The Scout organization serves only to help the community, not at the front. Are hero-children only a rhetoric model?

**Pálmai, Dóra**  
University of Pécs  
Hungary

*SWG Gender: Gender, Power Relations and Education in a Transnational World*

**POSTER: Together or side-by-side? Co-education in 19th century Hungarian higher education**

In the nineteenth century, as a result of social and economic changes, women's sphere of activity changed and expanded. Until this time, their responsibilities included keeping the family together, taking care of the children and doing the housework. Due to the development of factories, they were freed from the burden of such activities. From the middle of the century, goods that had been previously produced by women at home were mass produced by industry at a lower cost. Everyday needs gradually extended, so that supporting a family through a single, traditionally male bread-winner, became more difficult. This was the primary reason why many women took up jobs, but there were other reasons also.

Today, co-education is considered normal, whereas previously it had been neither allowed nor accepted. From the end of the eighteenth century, the co-education of female and male students began to take place at primary school level. In the second half of the nineteenth century, this extended to higher education. In 1837, in the USA, the first higher education institution opened to female students. However, the female population of Europe had to wait until 1864 for this turning point. In 1895, Gyula Wlassics, who was one of the greatest Ministers of State for Religion and Education in Hungary during the era of the Dual Monarchy, opened up universities to women. This was in itself a significant change given that, in the 19th century, the natural duty of women was idealised as a mother and a wife. This helps to explain how Wlassics's order, which contributed greatly to the widespread acceptance of female education within universities and colleges, took many years to achieve.

In the press of the time, many articles dealt with the reception of female students at the institutions of higher education, but the same topic can be also found in monographs, studies and theses of the era. Given the relatively late acceptance of co-education within higher education, several foreign references, beyond the local Hungarian sources and practices, can be identified. The content of these sources are compared in this qualitative analysis. The introduction of female university education has been dealt with by several scholars (Katalin Kéri, Andor Ladányi, Katalin Nagyné Szegvári, Béla Pukánszky), but this literature does not focus upon the reception of women at institutions of higher education. As a result, my presentation will offer new perspectives on Hungarian female education during this era.

**Panayotidis, Lisa**  
University of Calgary  
Canada

**Fighting the Good War on Campus: Contesting and Defending Military Deferment of English-Canadian University Students during the Second World War**

During the Second World War, numerous male university students at the University of Toronto and across most Canadian universities were deferred from military service, as they were enrolled

in programs deemed essential to the national interest. Military deferment on campus was seen as necessary to maintain an “intelligent” society in wartime and in the planning for future social reconstruction. What constituted “essential courses,” however, was highly contested among students in the faculties of arts/humanities, social sciences, and pure and applied sciences, as well as among the broader public who saw military deferment for other than medical reasons as an unwarranted privilege. Debates on and off campus cast male students as unpatriotic and “unmanly” and their universities as unfeeling and elitist. As one student president from the University of Alberta noted, military deferment as negotiated between government and universities in the name of war and peace was the cause of the “anomalous position in which university students [were] . . . placed in regard to active service.”

Concerned with the profile of their institutions, university administrators were troubled about how such exemptions from national duty was viewed by society as a whole. Across English-Canadian universities, administrators continually promoted war research, teaching, and training work on campus. In community and campus speeches, and in university yearbooks and newspapers, University of Toronto president Henry John Cody elucidated the close partnership between the Director of National Selective Service and universities in Canada, in particular when designating courses in Medicine, Dentistry, Engineering, Forestry, and Science that were deemed “essential to the national interest or contributing to the prosecution of war.” In 1943, Cody counseled new students that “[y]our country recognizes the value of trained intelligence both in war and in peace, and therefore gives you the opportunity and indeed almost the obligation to continue your educational course.” Cody noted that “[t]he university was never meant to be a hiding place or safe retreat for those seeking to escape their patriotic duty, but is rather a place of training where men and women become better prepared to serve their country.”

This paper examines how some members of the campus, public, and the media were not entirely convinced of the need for the deferment of students, and the university reaction to this perception. These counter-arguments about military deferment prompted a reflective and introspective focus on the students’ lived experiences and if students were not taking advantage of their social and educational positions. In discourses defending deferment, rarely had the campus come under such intense scrutiny. Restricted to the space of the campus, students were pressured to mediate their behaviour, cultures, and activities to underscore and promote the importance to the wartime effort of students who did not enlist directly into the armed forces and fight overseas. This paper links discourses on military deferment and the spatiality of the campus by examining the shifting conduct of university life during these complex and vociferous on- and off-campus debates.

### **Panayotidis, Lisa**

University of Calgary  
Canada

### **‘After the war, who knows?’: Imagining a Gendered Post-War World of Tomorrow, 1939-1947**

University yearbooks have historically served as evocations of ‘remembrance’ and ‘memory’, functioning to signify a student’s attachments and affiliations to their *Alma Mater*. Incorporating multiple intents that were contextually laden and situationally specific, yearbooks provided graduating students with myriad ways of recalling one’s heady days at university. Yearbooks

also acted as future portends when university presidents, faculty deans, college principals, and department and program heads customarily offered their glowing congratulatory hopes and sentiments for student success, prosperity, and a meaningful life.

During the Second World War, the annual faculty 'greetings to the graduating class' in the yearbook resolutely cited the urgent need for a united defense along with the expected roles, responsibilities, actions, and duties of university students and alumni to God, their communities and nation, and to Great Britain and the Empire. Unlike the pre-war buoyant greetings, during the war years, the greetings took on a distinctly different tone replete with gendered implications. As early as 1943 with the war raging on several fronts, social reconstruction was already on the minds of administrators on campus. Traditional well-wishes and declarations of duty and honour were juxtaposed with more somber and gendered counsel about how to morally and effectively embrace and conduct a life of service and action in the post-war world, challenges for which students were educated and qualified. Drawing on the Aristotelian idea that human existence is a life of action conducted for some noble end, the greetings constructed gendered understandings and normative definitions about one's destiny in the world. Sounding the clarion call for students to assume "leadership" in the impending new post-war world, women students were encouraged to lead in the familial and cultural sphere – as well as in the 'helping professions' – while men were directed to pursue politics, civil service, and professions such as law, medicine, and engineering.

Students' own comments in the yearbook, particularly in the biography section, illustrated their resistance to overly gendered categorization. Unlike their university faculty and professorial elders, students were much less optimistic about the post-war world and their imagined place within it. Women students were especially troubled by assertions about what was implied to be best for them. They took to noting dismissively: 'After the war, who knows?' This paper examines the intersections among these gendered and layered discourses on the supposed post-war world yet to come that was fuelled by wartime depictions of a future ordered and peaceful society – after all, the world after war must be better than its dystopian present. To women students in particular, what peace was going to look like for them was in the end highly interpretive. I seek to investigate the tension between imposed identities and reflexive subjectivities and the function of "active leadership" in these gendered socio-intellectual discourses in higher education. Not only in war but in peace, ascribed hegemonic notions of masculinity and femininity were well entrenched both on and off campus and were idealized by some commentators in the university yearbooks to remain that way.

### **Papadopoulos, Panagiotis**

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Greece

### **Greece's involvement in World War II in Greek education: a comparative study of primary and high school books**

Although Greece was one of the weakest members of the Allies in World War II, it fought both Italy and Germany. Mussolini's plans to 'crush Greece's kidneys' ended in disaster while Hitler's divisions met, in some cases, with stubborn resistance before the capitulation of the Greek Army and the evacuation of the Allied Expeditionary Force. This paper considers how these events were, and are currently, presented in Greek primary and high school books. The presentation will draw upon past and present schoolbooks, teachers' manuals and well-known history books

and documents from this era. The main differences in historical approaches since the War will be explained. It is argued that there are important improvements in new textbooks which generally offer a better and more comprehensive analysis than in the past.

### **Park, Youn-Ho**

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### **Silla's education before and after the Unification of 676**

Over seven centuries, from the first century BC until the late 7th century AD, Three Kingdoms divided the Korean peninsula. The Three Kingdoms of Silla, Paekche and Koguryo were regularly at war with one another, from which Silla ultimately triumphed. Silla destroyed Paekche in 660 and Koguryo in 668, in alliance with the forces of Tang China. Following these battles, Tang China attempted to annex the conquered territories, including Silla, but this was resolutely resisted and Silla eventually expelled Tang forces from the Korean peninsula in 676. The unification of 676 by Silla was a very significant historical event in that it brought together the Korean people as a nation.

Prior to unification, Silla had no school. Instead, it started to institutionalize *hwarang* (literally “flower-like handsome boy”) in 576, with the purpose of discovering the good soldiers and administrators of the future. *Hwarang* comprised teenager bands, ranging from 15 to 18 year old boys. They made pilgrimages to beautiful mountain and river sites in Silla, cultivating moral order and values on the one hand, and enjoying singing and dancing, on the other. But the most important function of the *hwarang* band was military rather than educational. In times of peace, the *hwarang* exercised the military arts and virtues, and in times of war they joined in the fighting at the front lines. In the *History of Three Kingdoms*, there are several tales of valour and prowess of *hwarang* heroes in battle.

After the unification in 676, with the cessation of war, it was thought that warrior youths like *hwarang* would have no use. However, the demand for administrators exploded with the expansion of territory and the increasing number of people to be ruled. The changing demand for human resources in the Unified Silla dynasty led to the development of a new educational institution in the shape of a National College in 682. It was a typical Confucian school modelled on Tang's National University. Its curriculum consisted of the Analects of Confucius, the Classic of Filial Piety, and other literary Sinic texts on rites, history, and literature. Entrance was limited to the elite aristocracy. This national educational institution led to the inauguration of a state examination system for the selection of government officials in 788. The candidates who passed this examination were appointed on the basis of their proficiency in reading literary Sinic texts. The establishment of the state examination system, as the basis for selecting government officials, reflected an emphasis upon Confucian learning rather than the military arts like archery. These two forms of education reflected the wider context of Silla society. When war was frequent, the *hwarang* band emerged while the ending of war brought about a shift of human resources, and eventually a new educational institution, that would ultimately lead to school education.

**Pedraza Picón, Susana María**

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Spain

### **Literatura e ideología. El canon literario durante la guerra civil española (1936- 1939)**

Durante los años 1936- 1939 se produjo en España la llamada Guerra Civil, que supuso el triunfo del fascismo en los siguientes cuarenta años. Además del impacto que tuvo en la población (aún hoy hay 114.000 desaparecidos), la extrema represión que sufrieron muchos españoles, el exilio de otros, y las graves consecuencias económicas, sociales, políticas y culturales que ya han sido ampliamente estudiadas, merece especial atención la educación, pues se va a constituir en el lugar propicio de control, adiestramiento e ideologización de la población.

En nuestro trabajo estudiamos la conformación del canon literario durante la Guerra, a través del análisis de los manuales escolares y de las disposiciones oficiales, así como las lecturas recomendadas. Nuestro objetivo es comparar la construcción de dos corpus de textos literarios que representan posiciones ideológicas antagónicas y ver cómo funcionan en este plano, en una coyuntura histórica que marcará la vida de los españoles hasta hoy.

### **Literature and ideology. The literary canon during the Spanish Civil War (1936- 1939)**

During the years 1936 - 1939 the Spanish Civil War took place, which involved the success of fascism during the next forty years. Apart from the impact it had on the population (today there are 114000 missing people), the extreme repression that many Spaniards suffered, the exile of others and the serious economic, social, political and cultural consequences, which have already been widely investigated, education deserves special attention, since it is going to become the favourable place for people's control, training and ideologization.

In this work the conformation of the literary canon during the Civil War is studied through the analysis of the school textbooks and the official orders and regulations as well as through the recommended readers. The goal is to compare the construction of two corpora of literary texts which represent two antagonistic ideological positions and see how they work on this level, in a historical situation which will determine the course of the Spanish people's lives up to the present time.

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Brazil

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Brazil

### **La Guerra da Triple Alianza y la creación del Colegio Militar de Rio de Janeiro**

Este estudio resulta de una revisión bibliográfica cuyo objetivo fue evaluar el impacto del pos guerra en la creación de una institución de enseñanza, y cómo, a largo termo, ese hecho influyó la educación en Brasil.



En 1853 el senador y general Marqués de Caxias ya había propuesto la creación de un colegio destinado a niños, hijos varones de militares fallecidos o mutilados, pero fue necesario que el país participase de una guerra de grandes proporciones para que se instaurase el clima necesario a que esa idea saliera adelante.

Años después, Brasil - en alianza con Argentina y Uruguay - participó de la Guerra de la Triple Alianza (1864-1870) contra el Paraguay. Ese fue el conflicto más largo y sangrento librado por el país, resultando en decenas de miles de muertos y mutilados. Al fin de ese conflicto - cuya más ilustre figura fue el Marqués de Caxias - se realizó una suscripción popular con el objetivo de creación de un asilo para los inválidos y un instituto de educación para huérfanos e hijos de militares que estuvieran destacados en regiones lejanas del inmenso país. Esa iniciativa fue el punto de partida para la fundación del Imperial Colegio Militar de la Corte, por el Decreto 10.22 de 9 de marzo de 1889, en la ciudad de Rio de Janeiro, capital del Imperio.

La creación de ese colegio fue la referencia para la posterior creación de otros colegios, que hoy día constituyen el Sistema Colegio Militar de Brasil, reuniendo doce colegios en importantes ciudades del país. En la actualidad, el acceso a esos colegios no está restringido a hijos de militares y también está abierto a niñas. Los Colegios Militares se tornaron referencia de enseñanza, y el acceso a ellos se da mediante disputados concursos.

### **The Triple Alliance War and the creation of the Military School of Rio de Janeiro**

This paper is a literature review aimed at evaluating the impact of the post-war on the creation of an educational institution, and how that fact influenced education in Brazil in the long term. In 1853, Senator and General Marquis of Caxias had already proposed the creation of a boys' school for the sons of deceased or mutilated soldiers, but it was necessary for the country to take part in a major war so that idea would go on.

Some years later, Brazil - in alliance with Uruguay and Argentina - took part in the Triple Alliance War (1864-1870) against Paraguay. That was the longest and bloodiest conflict waged by the country, resulting in tens of thousands of dead and maimed soldiers. At the end of that conflict - whose most illustrious general was the Marquis de Caxias - a popular subscription was made with the aim of creating a home for disabled soldiers and an educational institution for orphans and children of soldiers who were stationed in remote regions of that vast country. This initiative was the starting point for the foundation of the Imperial Military School of the Court, by Decree 10.22 of March 9, 1889, in the city of Rio de Janeiro, capital of the Empire.

The creation of this school was the reference for the subsequent establishment of other similar schools, which today constitute the Brazilian Military School System, gathering twelve schools in major cities. Recently, access to such schools has not been restricted to military personnel children and is also open to girls. Military Schools became an educational reference, and access to them is given through highly disputed contests.

**Peng, Huan-Sheng**

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**Japan's colonial policies – from national assimilation to Kominka movement: A comparison study of primary education in Taiwan and Korea (1937-1945)**

In 1937 Japan launched the Sino-Japanese War and then in 1945 it surrendered unconditionally. During the eight-year war, Japan not only exhausted its economic, industrial and technological resources in war affair; but also incorporated Taiwan and Korea into its territory in the name of Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere. By means of education, Japan's colonial policies as national assimilation and Kominka movement expanded to the majority of society members. The policies aimed to assimilate colonials in forceful ways such as conversing in Japanese and behaving as Japanese. Compare the implementation of Kominka movement in Taiwan and Korea, both school attendance rate and Japanese user percentage in primary schools of Taiwan were obviously higher than in Korea. In fact Taiwan and Korea were implementing "National School Order" in 1941 and initiating primary education hereafter. However, educational equality was all a means to win colonials' trust. The access to school was to educate colonials with Japanese ideology and militarism so that people of Taiwan and Korea would become "Kominka", who vowed their loyalty to the Japanese Emperor. In other words, the ultimate goal was to create an environment conducive to wars, which asked for civil and military supplies.

**Perlstein, Daniel**

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**The Dewey Dilemma: Imperialism on the Literary and Educational Frontier**

Active processes that built on student interest, engaged children in authentically purposeful activity and connected learning to life, John Dewey argued, enabled the school to serve as "an embryonic community life...saturating [the child] with the spirit of service, and providing him with the instruments of effective self-direction." For more than one hundred years, Dewey's educational thought and the "progressive" pedagogical tradition it epitomized have influenced visions of democratic schooling.

A substantial body of scholarship affirms not only the impact of Deweyan pedagogy on educators and educational activists in the United States but also its contribution to democratic education across the globe. However, even as this scholarship has demonstrated Dewey's global reach, it has tended not to analyze progressive education as a global project. Instead, historians have focused on the ways that Dewey's thought articulated with national discourses and traditions. Even critical accounts of middle class and corporate interests and ideology in American progressivism remain tied to the nation as the unit of analysis. Moreover, critical accounts of Dewey and American progressivism have paid relatively little attention to the methods of progressive pedagogy. Similarly, historians examining the articulation of Deweyan education

with capitalist projects of modernization outside of the US have focused on national educational histories.

Locating Deweyan education in the history of American imperialism, this study addresses only marginally the global reception of progressive education. Rather, it demonstrates the centrality of imperialism as a source of progressive education. Thus, this paper extends that scholarship in two ways. First, it focuses on the progressive pedagogy rather than content and second it locates Dewey's educational ideas in imperialism.

American progressive education emerged at precisely the moment when the United States had fully subdued Native Americans and was establishing a global empire. Dewey and other progressives saw in the pioneer frontier homestead the archetype for modern schooling. There, they claimed, children engaged in authentic activities through which they participated in and gained knowledge of the entire economic process. And yet, this study argues, rather than illuminating the fundamental economic activity on the frontier – primitive accumulation through conquest and genocide- Deweyan schools rendered it invisible. In this, progressive educators echoed wider American efforts to reconcile imperialism and democracy.

Relying on sources ranging from the published writings of Dewey, progressive educators and other academics to newspaper cartoons and popular fiction, along with letters and other archival evidence, this study locates Deweyan notions of activity in a broad ideological and cultural field that ranges from lessons in progressive schools to the historical writings of Frederick Jackson Turner and the children's novels of Laura Ingalls Wilder. The paper concludes that Dewey constitutes a dilemma for educators and historians precisely because the same elements of his pedagogy which democratic educators embrace were reflections of an imperial project. In order, then, to be true to Dewey's democratic claims, they must confront that imperial foundation.

### **Pernet, Corinne**

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Switzerland

### **The War after the War: Unicef and the Feeding of the World's Children in the Context of the Cold War**

While much of the post-war discourses about saving children was geared towards turning them into peaceful, globally minded citizens, after World War II this situation was complicated by the emergence of the Cold War. This paper examines how the Cold War left its traces in Unicef's work, not only on the level of headquarter discourses, but also specifically, in terms of Unicef programs in Central America. Current interpretations of Unicef accept the importance of the Cold War in explaining the establishment of the organization in the sense that it expressed a consensus that working for children should be a topic above and beyond political tensions. Nevertheless, a closer reading of Unicef pronouncements make evident its role in Cold War politics. In Central America, cold war tensions ran high. The United States supported the Somoza regime in Nicaragua, viewed the situation in El Salvador with caution and supported the violent coup against the Guatemalan president Jacobo Arbenz – turning the region into a Cold War arena well before the 1959 revolution in Cuba. In the aftermath of the overthrow of Arbenz, the United States tried to turn Guatemala into a showcase of “liberal developmentalism” – however, to no avail. Also children were the target for a myriad of interventions. We need to investigate to which point it was possible for Unicef to remain a “children's advocate” in this

constellation and how the organization participated in – or attempted to bypass – Cold War politics. Analysis of discussions about different feeding and vaccination programs, collaboration and competition with a variety of other organizations (other UN institutions, national programs and/or NGOs) shed light on this important issue. Moreover, as we move into the 1960s, broader questions of societal structures and care for children emerged, and Unicef was an important actor in shaping debates about the responsibilities of states and families for their children. This paper is based on research in multiple archives (Unicef, FAO, Unesco).

**Pessina, Mattia**

University of Trento

### **‘If you want peace, prepare for war’: Scouting and the monopoly of education in Fascist Italy**

One of the goals of Totalitarian regimes is ‘the formation of a political orthodox second generation that will keep the Regime in power and carry out its political program’ as T.H. Koon stated in her 1985 work on education in Fascist Italy. A condition sine qua non of this process is the construction, either through hegemony or through coercion, of a monopoly on the education of the youth. It can be defined as a monopoly, as all Totalitarian regimes not only extended their control over formal education (school), but also on all the other aspects of young people’s lives from their birth until they entered adulthood.

In Italy scouting, in particular the non-religious associations of CNGEI (National Corp of the Young Italian Boy Scouts) and its female counterpart UNGEI (National Union of the Young Italian Girl Scouts), instead educated young people towards a different model of citizenship than the one theorized by Mussolini and his Party. CNGEI was founded, funded and supported by the so-called ‘national-liberal’ elite that was the main actor in the process of Italian unification, and ruled Italy since its foundation as a nation State until Mussolini’s coup. Their core-values were the ones of Cavour and the other ‘Founding Fathers’ of Italy: a moderate liberalism that favoured a constitutional Monarchy and a secular State; and a nationalistic spirit forged in the new myths of Italy’s nation-building.

Scouting was replaced in 1925-28 by the Balilla, the official Fascist youth organisation that although without compulsory attendance saw its numbers rapidly growing. The Balilla, like the Hitlerjugen in Germany and the Pioneers in the Soviet bloc, mocked the scouts in the style of their uniforms and in some of their activities. The perversion of the scout method by the Totalitarian youth organisations is another theme of the paper.

The life of CNGEI from its founding in 1912 until its self-dissolution in 1927 is an interesting case-study to analyse in order to look at the Fascist Regime’s educational policies in its process of building a totalitarian state. The choices made by the CNGEI adult leaders, summarised in an article published in 1927 by the then-Chief Scout of CNGEI Roberto Villetti and titled ‘Obey’, tell us more on the real consensus the Regime had in Italy at that time than one might be led to believe.

**Pherali, Tejendra**

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### **Historical prejudices and symbolic violence in education: What can be learned from Nepal?**

Historical representations in post-conflict societies often involve contested processes. This is more so where political forces and ideologies compete for re-establishing their versions of historical narratives that are rehearsed through the school curricula, media sources, social policies and other forms of non-formal and informal education. This paper will discuss the role of education in legitimising the repressive culture of dominant social groups in an ethnically diverse society. Drawing upon politico-historical developments and post-war ethnocentric political debates in Nepal, it will challenge the project of national assimilation that represents cultural hegemony of privileged ethnic groups in fragile or post-conflict societies. In Nepal's case, the formal education played a crucial role in pursuing political intentions of the prejudiced State whereby implicitly legitimising social and political exclusions in multiple domains of society including, education. This practice of exclusion ultimately played a complicit role in the emergence and growth of the 'People's War' (1996 - 2006). The paper will employ Bourdieu's notion of symbolic violence to examine systemic exclusion as well as the habitual manifestations of discrimination against ethnic and indigenous nationalities in the educational settings. Finally, the paper will consider educational imperatives in the contexts of post-conflict societies that often face challenges in incorporating new socio-political character within education while having to correct the contentious role of education in generating and fuelling violent conflict.

**Pierre, Eric**

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France

### **Une jeunesse oubliée dans l'après première guerre mondiale, les jeunes délinquants en France**

Depuis la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, la justice des mineurs traverse en France une crise profonde que ne parviennent pas à résoudre la loi de 1912 sur les tribunaux pour enfants et les quelques tentatives de réforme des établissements de correction. Avec la guerre l'Administration pénitentiaire, en charge des établissements, pense avoir traversée le plus dur car les établissements se sont vidés des jeunes les plus âgés, engagés dans l'armée. L'Administration affirme même que la conduite héroïque au front de nombreux jeunes valide a posteriori l'éducation correctionnelle qu'ils avaient reçue. Pour ses membres, le système ne fonctionnait pas si mal puisque les jeunes détenus ont souvent fait de bons soldats. Cette interprétation ne favorise pas l'esprit de réforme et elle est un des éléments qui expliquent l'amplification de la crise des établissements dès le début des années 1920.

A la frilosité de l'Administration pénitentiaire s'ajoutent la crise financière de l'Etat et les choix politiques qui l'accompagnent : il est alors décidé de ne pas relever le prix de journée attribué aux établissements, laissant ceux-ci dans une situation catastrophique. Les jeunes détenus connaissent alors la précarité la plus extrême : les rations alimentaires sont réduites, la vêtue élimée, les

bâtiments délabrés, etc. Les conditions de vie sont rendues encore plus difficiles par la présence d'un personnel de garde mal payé, pas formé et souvent alcoolique.

Il faut enfin mentionner un dernier élément important : le faible intérêt du ministère de la justice et de la magistrature, un corps dont les éléments les plus jeunes ont été décimés lors de la guerre, pour les mouvements de réforme. La France, en dehors de quelques personnalités emblématiques, mais finalement peu représentatives, tels le juge Rollet, demeure largement en retrait du mouvement international de protection de l'enfance. Ses délégations officielles souvent chétives sont composées de personnalités de second plan. La France reste donc ignorante des nouvelles pratiques et des nouvelles normes définies par ces instances. En conséquence, elle se retrouve progressivement en décalage, voir en opposition, avec elles.

### **A Forgotten Youth after WWI, Juvenile Offenders in France (1918-1930)**

From the end of the XIXth century, juvenile justice in France had been in deep crisis; the 1912 law creating juvenile courts and some attempts to improve the correctional establishments were not enough to resolve this crisis. The penitentiary administration in charge of these establishments thought that the war offered a kind of solution, because all the older offenders were sent to the army and in the event were often praised for their heroic attitude in battle: proof *a posteriori* for the administration of the validity of their correctional education; the system was effective enough if young offenders could evolve into good soldiers. But this analysis failed to encourage further reform, which is one of the reasons why the correctional establishments were in even deeper crisis at the beginning of the 1920s.

At the same time a general economic crisis and political choices made by the government (for example a refusal to make any increase in the budget for the establishments) combined to cause a disastrous financial situation. The young offenders therefore lived in a very poor environment: reduced meals, worn clothes, ruined buildings, etc. Everyday life was made even more difficult because the staff in charge of the pupils were not well paid, not properly trained (educated), and often alcoholic.

A last important factor must be mentioned: a lack of interest in new reforms within the Ministry of Justice and the judiciary, perhaps because most of the younger civil servants and judges had died during the war. Apart from some emblematic, but atypical personalities, as Judge Rollet, France mostly lagged behind the international movement for the protection of youth. Its official delegations, often very sparse, mostly comprised second-rate figures. France therefore remained ignorant of new treatments and new regulation as defined by this international movement. Consequently its system appeared gradually out of alignment and even in opposition to these innovations.

### **Pietsch, Tamson**

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### **Mobilising knowledge: WW1 and the University of Sydney**

The First World War was the first war that really mobilized expert scientific and technical knowledge. The conflict was unprecedented for the large number of university-educated men and women who took part either in a professional capacity or at the front. This mobilisation of the universities extended to the universities of the colonies as well. Over 2600 students,

staff and graduates of the University of Sydney served overseas, with many others contributing to the war effort locally through their research and intellectual endeavours in various fields including science, medicine and the humanities. This paper will examine the war-time and after-war careers of the members of the University of Sydney, uncovered through The Book of Remembrance Online biographical database project. It reveals that not only was knowledge, the professions and academic expertise central to the war effort, but the war played an important role in reshaping both the university and society in the 1920s and 30s.

**Pine, Lisa**

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**Education for War in Nazi Germany: Schooling and Youth Groups**

This paper will examine the education of German youth for war under National Socialism, both through formal education in schools and through the Nazi youth groups. The Nazi regime was bellicose and belligerent in its aims. It was concerned not only with the existing borders of the nation and fatherland, but also expansion and the acquisition of *Lebensraum* or 'living space'. In international affairs its concept was of might is right. It had no qualms about taking Empire and plundering, in particular in territories in the East. The regime was concerned to win over the minds of the young. Hitler believed that the old were too old and spent, but that it was the youth that mattered. They were to be 'tough and hard as Krupp steel'. This entailed a militaristic version of manliness for boys and men, whilst at the same time girls and women had their role to fulfill for the nation albeit a different one. Sacrifice for the nation and fatherland were at the heart of the ethos of the regime.

The paper will discuss educational imperatives in schools, for example general learning about the nation and nationalism. It will examine examples of education for war, in particular, in German history and geography books. War was glorified in Germany literature. In addition, the concepts of race and the conquest of 'living space' were common themes in German textbooks. The paper will then turn to a discussion of the Nazi youth groups. In particular, the role of the Hitler Youth in the preparation of German youth for war will be examined. The paper will discuss the ethos, uniform, training and activities of the Hitler Youth, as well as preparedness for sacrifice of its members. It will consider the role of the Hitler Youth in war, such as anti-aircraft work and other auxiliary work, the part played by very young members of the Hitler Youth in the battle for Berlin right until the very end of the war and the notions of sacrifice and death for Nazi ideology that its members embraced.

**Pineau, Pablo**

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**“Guerra a la guerra”. La obra de Pablo Pizzurno, un maestro pacifista argentino (1865-1940)**

Pablo Pizzurno nació en Buenos Aires en 1865 y falleció en 1940. Ingresó tempranamente como alumno a la Escuela Normal y egresó en 1882. Como contaba con tres condiciones importantes

para ascender posiciones en un sistema en expansión -era varón, era nativo, y tenía un título habilitante- a los 19 años de edad ya había alcanzado el puesto de director de escuela, y luego ocupó varios cargos. La biografía de Pablo Pizzurno encarna el modelo típico de los egresados de las Escuelas Normales argentinas: de origen social medio bajo, la opción por la docencia le abrió posibilidades hasta entonces negados por su extracción de clase. La escuela fue su trampolín social y cultural, y por tal dedicó su vida a afianzar y difundir su obra.

Dentro de los debates político-pedagógicos, se ubicó en las posiciones políticas liberales, defensoras del republicanismo, el laicismo y la tolerancia, en una articulación importante con las ideas de la Escuela Nueva y con el feminismo. A lo largo de su vida se enfrentó tanto con las posturas pedagógicas más autoritarias y retrógradas como con las más libertarias y aperturistas. A las primeras les cuestionó el chauvinismo, la xenofobia y el dogmatismo, y a las segundas la confianza “absoluta” en el niño y en las posiciones autogestionarias. Sus peleas con los grupos más retrógrados fueron muy fuertes y sonadas. Hacia 1910, al cumplirse los cien años de la independencia del país, los grupos oligárquicos en el poder llevaron a cabo una campaña de disciplinamiento de las masas nativas y fundamentalmente de los inmigrantes mediante dispositivos de “patriotización” de la población, con fuertes resonancias bélicas. Por el contrario, Pizzurno bregaba por la paz y la tolerancia, por el debate y el disenso. Sus posiciones pacifistas – que se fueron fortaleciendo cada vez más, sobre todo después de la Primera Guerra Mundial- no coincidían con las posiciones oficiales, con las cuales se enfrentó en reiteradas oportunidades.

Es notable el peso que va teniendo en su obra la problemática del pacifismo, objeto de análisis de esta ponencia. Pizzurno sostenía la necesidad de vincular la situación educativa con el contexto social y político contemporáneo. En un discurso inscripto en el iluminismo y el liberalismo, la educación era la herramienta privilegiada para la construcción de la paz. La guerra, entendida como “crimen e imbecilidad”, se construye como el gran enemigo principal, al que se opone a la “luz”, la “moralidad de los pueblos”, y al “progreso y el bienestar general”. “Guerra a la guerra”, nombre de un texto escrito en 1928 y muy difundido, fue probablemente la máxima que guió la obra de Pizzurno. Walter Benjamin ha señalado que los soldados de la Gran Guerra regresaron mudos a sus hogares, porque el horror que habían presenciado les había quitado las palabras. Pizzurno, maestro y no soldado, ante el mismo espectáculo, decidió levantar su voz con más fuerza para evitar su repetición.

### **“A war on war”. The Works of Pablo Pizzurno, an Argentine pacifist and educator (1865-1940)**

Pablo Pizzurno was born in 1865 and died in 1940. Early on, in 1882, he became a teacher. He possessed three important attributes which promoted him quickly within an expanding system – he was male, Argentine-born, and he had a qualifying diploma. He became school principal by the age of 19, and kept moving up ranks ever since. Pablo Pizzurno’s biography is typical of ‘normalistas,’ the students of Argentine ‘Normal’ (teacher training) schools: coming from of a lower class background, the option for teaching opened up possibilities otherwise denied to members of his class. The school was his social and cultural springboard, and he dedicated his life to strengthening and spreading the work of that institution.

In debates on pedagogic policy, he took a liberal approach, defending tolerance, laicism, and republicanism, and articulating New School ideas with feminism. Along his career he stood up against both the most authoritarian pedagogic and retrograde positions, and the most libertarian ones. He questioned the former for their chauvinism, xenophobia, and dogmatism; the later for their ‘absolute’ confidence in children. His struggles against the most recalcitrant groups were loud and noteworthy. In 1910, for the Centennial celebrations of the country’s independence, the oligarchic groups in power



carried out a campaign of discipline the native masses, and mainly the immigrants, by means of a 'patriotización' of the population, with strong warlike resonances. On the contrary, Pizzurno stood for peace and tolerance, for debate and dissent. His pacifist inclinations – – strengthened particularly after World War I – – did not coincide with official politics, which he contested at various moments.

His works highlight the weight of pacifism, object of this presentation. Pizzurno supported the need to link education to contemporary social issues and politics. In his discourse, imbued by Illuminist and Liberal ideas, education was the favored tool for the construction of peace. War, seen as 'crime and imbecility,' was the main enemy of 'enlightenment,' of 'people's morality,' and of 'progress and general well-being.' 'A war on war,' title for a widely read text written in 1928, was probably the maxim that guided Pizzurno's work. Walter Benjamin said that the soldiers who survived the Great War returned to their homes mute. The horror they had witnessed rendered them speechless. Pizzurno, not a soldier but a teacher, watching the same spectacle, decided to raise his voice louder to avoid its repetition.

### **Pinheiro, Ana Regina**

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Brazil

### **Education under vigilance: censorship and propaganda in the Caetano de Campos School in 1940**

This presentation addresses the impact of censorship and propaganda in the Caetano de Campos School in the 1940s. It is based on the initial results of research on the mediation strategies of educators linked to this public school and the Catholic Professors League of São Paulo which defended a model of education in that State. Both of these constituted privileged spaces that educators had established in support of policies of nationalization of education that were implemented in the 1930s and 1940s. This was the period in which the President, Getúlio Vargas, established the "New State" amid the debates over Brazil's participation in World War II. Rich insights into the various dialogues and conflicts, the shifts in memory, the political alliances and values all arise from an analysis of sources such as letters, journals, and the written work of educators. I examine the School Journal, *Nosso Esforço*, produced by students and teachers, that published news of day-to-day school life, commemorative ceremonies, the inauguration of social projects and events and also carried advertising on Brazil's participation in the War, including the visit of civilian and military authorities to the School. These institutions articulated a tension between education and politics that was also apparent in the "invented forms" (de Certeau, 1994) which educators developed to deal with the contradictions arising out of an adverse environment. These actions were mediated by the policies and censorship that marked the "New State" and the restructuring of the national state, "indicating the presence and control, but not the exclusivity, of the state in the field of school education" (Hilsdorf et al, 2004, p. 134). Subjectivities are revealed in the interpretation of unique documents such as personal correspondence or those that mention topics often considered trite by the canons of science. These educators associated the present with the glorious past in helping to form and diffuse memory. Ideas and values expressed in brochures and commemorative magazines and photo albums, functioned as a kind of subtle and symbolic resistance to tradition. There were ambiguous appropriations of policies and discourses according to the memory of the Paulista teaching which claimed to be a legitimate representative or a spokesperson for the nationalist politics and censorship imposed by the Vargas government.

**Pintassilgo, Joaquim**

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Portugal

### **Educating for war or educating for peace: the debate in the Portuguese pedagogical field in the first decades of the twentieth century**

The republican discourse produced in Portugal in the transition from the nineteenth century to the twentieth century emphasized the figure of the soldier citizen as part of the civic cult of the Nation, promoted then as an alternative to the beliefs and rituals of Catholicism. Following the implementation of the 1st Republic, in 1910, a project was developed in the primary schools aiming the Preparatory Military Instruction [Instrução Militar Preparatória - IMP] of young Portuguese. Beyond military training of the future citizens, which allowed them, if necessary, to defend the Homeland bearing arms in case of danger, the IMP had equally among its goals to persuade those young men to acquire by interiorizing a set of values and skills considered essential. The ideal citizen of the new Republic should be orderly, disciplined, morally exemplary and physically fit to address the harshness and needs of the war, besides being an unconditional lover of his Homeland. Thus, the IMP arises strongly articulated with both physical education, which contributes to their development during an early stage, and moral and civic education of a secular bias reinforced in that period. It also underlies the ritual exhibition of scholar battalions within the public space during moments of civic festivity. The warmongering context that then emerges, from 1916 on, associated with the Portuguese participation in the Great War, creates a favourable environment to the proliferation of the discourses touting the educational potential of military preparation, as exemplified by those disclosed by Frederico Ferreira Simas or António Aurélio da Costa Ferreira. Nevertheless, this context also contributes to inspire, in the pedagogical field, a set of discourses with the opposite meaning. Many educators, including some that were more connected to the renewing pedagogical movement, known for its expressions such as Education or New School, as Adolfo Lima and Álvaro Viana de Lemos, appear as harbingers of the pacifist positions that begin to proliferate within the internationalist teaching associationism of socialist or anarchist inspiration, and that have wide repercussions in Portugal. The acclaimed virtues of the republican project of youth militarization are strongly questioned by those sectors that outline an alternative ideal of citizenship based on values as peace and solidarity. This paper thus intends to reflect on the debate around the issue of war and peace, as expressed in the Portuguese pedagogical field during the Republican period. We will seek to identify the contrary arguments that are here expressed, the underlying values and ideals, as well as the actors (military and educators) that serve them. We will do an inventory of the articles on the topic in some of the major educational journals of the years 10 and 20 of the twentieth century [Revista de Educação: Geral e Técnica; Educação Social; Revista Escolar; etc.] and we will analyze the content of specific publications produced within the IMP context and the societies organized to broadcast it [reports, brochures, etc.], in addition to a set of other pedagogical publications.

**Pinto Díaz, Ivan Alexis**

Universidad Autonoma de Chiapas

Mexico

**Burgos, Rafael**

Universidad Autonoma de Chiapas

Mexico

### **Directores y configuracion historica de sentidos de formacion de profesores rurales en la Escuela Normal Rural Mactumactza, Chiapas, Mexico**

En esta ponencia se aborda el proceso de configuracion historica del sentido de intervencion que construyeron los directores de la Escuela Normal Rural Mactumactza (ENRM), ademas de revisar como influyeron en la determinacion de las particularidades socio-culturales y de formacion en dicha institucion. El periodo de estudio abarca de 1956 a 1980. En Mexico, las escuelas normales rurales son instituciones formadoras de maestros para la educacion primaria, se crearon como escuelas con formacion integral, internado y para estudiantes de bajos recursos economicos; su desarrollo historico fue cincelado por su identidad y articulacion con las causas que acicatearon la Revolucion Mexicana.

La ENRM (Chiapa, Mexico) se funda en 1956 con una mística particular: formar a profesores para las comunidades rurales. En esta tarea, los directores de esta institucion jugaron un papel central, en tanto fueron ellos quienes deliniaron las características y procesos que marcaron el rumbo de la institucion. Al marcar el rumbo formativo, construyeron formas de organizacion, practicas educativas, condiciones de ingreso (para formar parte del grupo de formadores de la institucion), un lenguaje y un saber pedagogico y social.

La estructura de la ponencia, ademas de la revision historica de las practicas educativas que sentaron las bases para inaugurar el normalismo rural en Mexico, revisa las condiciones, particularidades y procesos que los directores de la ENRM construyeron, entre finales de los años cincuenta y hasta la decada de los setenta, a partir de identificar las condiciones sociales, culturales y educativas, que identifican a dichos actores educativos. Por su fundamental importancia, se rescatan las biografias de los directores de la epoca, cuestion que permite rastrear y recuperar las “ huellas” que fueron dejando por su paso en la Escuela Normal Rural Mactumactza.

### **Principals and historical configuration of senses training of rural teachers in Mactumactzá Rural Normal School, Chiapas, Mexico (1956-1970)**

This paper addresses the process of creating a historical sense of agency that built the directors of the Rural Normal School Mactumactzá (ENRM) in addition, it reviews how they influenced the socio-cultural characteristics and training in this institution. In Mexico, rural colleges are institutions that train teachers for primary education. They were created as schools with comprehensive training and boarding for economically disadvantaged students; its historical development was shaped by its identification with the causes of the Mexican Revolution.

The ENRM (Chiapas, Mexico) was founded in 1956 with a particular mission: to train teachers for rural communities. In this task, the directors of this institution played a central role, as it was they who outlined the features and processes that defined the institution. By recording the training courses, they built forms of organization, educational practices, and conditions of entry (to join the group of trainers of the institution), a language and pedagogical and social knowledge.

The structure of the paper identifies the social, cultural and educational conditions which shaped those involved through the biographies of the directors at the time which allows for the recovery of footprints left by the Mactumactzá Rural Normal School.

**Polenghi, Simonetta** and **Debè, Anna**

Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milan

Italy

### **Assistance and education of mutilated soldiers of World War I. The Italian case**

The devastating experience of the Great war was a crucial moment in the history of orthopaedic, but also in that of special education. There were great progresses in surgery and in the techniques of amputation, as well as in the research about prosthesis. More lives were saved, but a huge numbers of young adults ended up permanently disabled, so that nations had to face the great difficulty of integrating them back into society. That posed problems of welfare and, more generally, stimulated a humanitarian attitude towards the cripples, who could definitively no longer be seen as morally guilty and deceptive by birth. Quite the opposite, deformity was a visible sign of patriotism that compelled the government to intervene in their aid. A propaganda in favour of the mutilated soldiers was carried out, that gradually altered the idea of crippled, removing the traditional bias against the deformed. Vocational teachers and officers helped the veterans to find the profession and the training most suitable for them. Assistance to mutilated soldiers and their inclusion back into society as working men, rather than invalids, became mandatory for Italy in 1915 as for the States that had already joined the War. War crippled had to be persuaded they could and should be active again, and sane people were to be moved to help them with donations, but it soon became evident the State had to intervene granting a work or a pension.

The Institute for rickets sufferers of Milan and the Rizzoli Institute of Bologna, directed by the famous orthopaedists Riccardo Galeazzi and Vittorio Putti, were leaders in Italy and abroad in surgical and in educational care. The Industrial School for war cripples of Milan became a national model, as well as the one of Bologna. Galeazzi opened a National Prosthesis Workshop for mutilated soldiers and directed the Military Orthopaedic hospital of Milan. He had already developed a theory about cripples' education that stressed the importance of labour. Galeazzi thought private and public charity was not the solution, labour was. Galeazzi knew French and English orthopaedists, like Robert Jones, but was especially influenced by Konrad Biesalski' work and Hans Würtz's *Krüppelpädagogik*. For him, though, working did not simply coincide with earning a living, it was the sheer fact of working, and the effort that it implied, that gave back human dignity. Galeazzi clearly said it was not a question of the economic value of men, but a moral question that a civilized State could not refuse to face. Hence assistance and welfare to mutilated soldiers were a duty (and he was deeply involved in them), but they were not enough. Every invalid had to be able to work again. Rehabilitation meant both physical and vocational training. He also backed vocational schools for the blind (S.Polenghi, *Educating the cripples*, Macerata, EUM, 2009).

The paper highlights the Italian case (welfare, education and propaganda for mutilated soldiers) and Galeazzi's work.

**Poucet, Bruno**

Université de Picardie Jules Verne  
France

*SWG La Pensée Critique des Enseignants / Teachers' Critical Thinking*

**Antoine Prost, une histoire critique de l'éducation?**

Dans la continuité des sessions de Genève et de Riga, nous poursuivons notre investigation sur la pensée d'A. Prost en matière d'éducation et son apport à la pensée critique. Il ne s'agit plus ici d'examiner les positions de l'acteur syndical ou politique, mais du chercheur en histoire de l'éducation qui a largement renouvelé le champ de l'histoire de l'éducation depuis trente ans. Or, sa pensée est d'abord critique par rapport à celle de ses prédécesseurs qui procédaient à une analyse des institutions scolaires et non à une histoire de l'enseignement et de l'éducation. Sa pensée est critique ensuite par rapport à la pensée de Bourdieu et à ceux qui ignorent de façon délibérée la dimension pédagogique de l'enseignement, la limitant à une transmission des savoirs. C'est cette pensée, critique en une double façon, que nous analyserons depuis *l'Histoire de l'enseignement* jusqu'au *Du Changement dans l'école* en centrant l'essentiel de notre analyse sur les ouvrages.

**Antoine Prost, a critical History of education?**

Continuing from the SWG sessions in Geneva (ISCHE 34) and Riga (ISCHE 35), we continue our investigation into the educational thought of Antoine Prost and his contribution to critical thinking. Here we consider not his positions as a Union or political actor, but as a researcher in history of education who widely renewed this scientific field for around thirty years. In fact, his thinking is critical firstly compared with his predecessors who analyzed schools and institutions but not teaching and the education process. Secondly it is critical compared to the thought of Bourdieu, another important critical thinker in the same period, and those who deliberately ignored the pedagogical dimension of education, restricting it to transmission of knowledge. We will pursue our analysis of Antoine Prost's thinking, critical in this twofold way, as discussed in his writings from *Histoire de l'enseignement en France* (1968) until *Du changement dans l'école* (2013) by focusing the bulk of our analysis on the books themselves.

**Poveda Sanz, María**

Universidad Complutense de Madrid  
Spain

**From the Second Republic to the Post War in Spain: teachers in Madrilenian high schools**

This paper analyses three key moments in the History of Education in Spain: the growth of secondary education during the Second Republic, the changes produced by the Civil War (1936-1939) and secondary reorganization in Spanish Post-War period with the abolition of coeducation and the purge of teachers from high schools. An outline of the path followed by exiled high school teachers of both sexes is offered: concentration camps in France, political asylum in European and/or American countries, family reunification and integration in those host countries, participation in associative networks (political, cultural, educational, etc.), and, finally, the decision to stay or to return to Spain.

Between 1931 and 1939 there were thirteen institutes operating in Madrid. The dissolution of religious orders and the removal of their educational functions in 1932, was accompanied by a commitment to public and secular education, which was manifested with the opening of new high schools, curriculum changes, improved selection and academic training of teachers, and an increase in the number of students attending. The progress of secondary education in the capital during the Second Republic was significant for the education of professional women whose citizenship rights were recognised (universal suffrage, labor rights, social, etc.) and they were able to advance as professionals through access to skilled jobs, promotion and visibility in the public sphere. The Baccalaureate was also introduced during the Civil War. The views of teachers in high schools about the legitimacy of the government demonstrates that the republican project did not permeate the minds of this entire professional group. Through an analysis of the documentary heritage preserved in Spanish and foreign archives, changes relating to the Republican defeat are also explained: the road to exile for some of them, and the arrival of the Franco's dictatorship for others.

The findings presented are the result of a doctoral thesis "Women and teaching in Madrid (1931-1939): female staff in secondary schools", in which I investigated the personal, academic and professional career paths of women who worked in secondary schools in Madrid during the Republican period. Furthermore, to understand the impact of the Second Republic upon these women I looked into their lives during the Spanish Civil War and the Spanish Post-War (exile and dictatorship), extending my interest to their family and close friends.

**Poveda Sanz, María and Rabazas, Teresa**

Universidad Complutense de Madrid

Spain

### **Exile and dictatorship in Spanish Pedagogy. Progress and setbacks considered from a gender perspective**

As a result of the research project I+D+i entitled "Origin and development of the educational theoretical knowledge in Spain" (EDU2010 - 17367), in this paper we study the continuities and ruptures in Spanish Pedagogy before and after the Civil War, with a focus on the advances and setbacks occurred, and with an analysis from a gender perspective. By considering those professors who played an important role in the institutionalization and consolidation of Pedagogy in the university field, we demonstrate the reduced presence of female university professors in a professional sector formed largely by female teachers.

The proclamation of the Second Republic brought a series of reforms in the educational system that, in the university context, led to the creation of the Section of Pedagogy in the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters. We have wanted to show what kind of students passed through its classrooms and the training and work experience of teachers who taught in this branch of knowledge prior to the Civil War (1932-1936). With the Republican defeat in the War a significant part of the intellectual capital of the country was lost. Many professors were forced into exile and had to resume their careers elsewhere. In our case, we will examine what happened to some of the people associated with the Section of Pedagogy (teachers as Lorenzo Luzuriaga, María de Maeztu and Gonzalo R.; students as Manuela Sánchez Escamilla).

After the War, Spain presented a different pedagogical project in terms of the professors, students and curriculum. Those who stayed had to overcome the Francoist purging of teachers and a reorganization of Pedagogical Studies (1944). Among trustworthy university teachers who stayed,

we present the cases of Juan de Zaragüeta and Carmen Gayarre. In addition, Pedagogy during Francoism had an additional aspect to consider: students who were pedagogically trained in the Republican regime became prominent in the teaching of this discipline (Victor García Hoz, Anselmo Romero Marín and Ángeles Galino Carrillo).

### **Prochner, Larry**

University of Alberta  
Canada

*Panel: Kevin, Kindergartens and Critique: Froebelian and Early Years Histories in Memory of Kevin J. Brehony (1948-2013) supported by the History of Education Society (UK)*

### **Channeling Froebel: Kindergarten and New Education in Canada and the United States, 1890 to 1920**

This paper investigates the role of kindergarten education in the new education movement in the United States and Canada, with a focus on private kindergartens in the period 1890 to 1920. Using different terminology to describe new education, Kevin Brehony observed: “In the USA the tendency to cite Dewey as the originator of progressive education tends to obscure the role of the kindergarten movement both generally but also in relation to Dewey’s own formation as an educationist.” This paper examines the first part of this claim, aiming to explain the role of private, progressive kindergartens in the progressive education movement.

Tracy Steffes described the development of the idea of new education from its earlier association with “radical pedagogical theories and practices” to a more generic and loosely defined “reformist orientation.” Experiments with the first idea of new education emerged in private preschools in the United States established by Francis Parker and John Dewey in Chicago, and in later experimentation by teacher Patty Smith Hill and her colleagues at Teachers College in New York City. The second idea of new education as “reformist orientation” is identified in a larger range of preschools including philanthropic programs operated as social welfare supports for poor families and their children. As I will show through an analysis of a program that developed from a charity service to an elite kindergarten in the United States and a charity kindergarten in Canada, new education in preschools took different forms in the two types of settings. Experiments with radical practice, i.e. ‘free play,’ were mainly carried out in elite private preschools. Reforms in charity-run preschools, influenced by practical and social pressures, were less likely to involve ‘free play’ methodologies. Moreover, in Canada both types of kindergartens adopted new education ideas comparatively late: changes were eventually made in the 1930s, brought about through the influence of nursery school education and the psychology-driven child study movement.

The paper begins with a description of new education before moving to a look at the old and new in discourse surrounding the kindergarten. The statements on theory and method set out by a committee of the International Kindergarten Union (IKU) in 1913 are used as contemporary accounts of the old and new approaches. One kindergarten in each country is then examined to explore the local development of new education in two programs, which were influential in their local contexts. The focus is on curricula, defined in terms of what children were meant to do, and on how teachers were prepared to guide or instruct children in what they were meant to do. Historical sources include curricula for teacher training, teacher-authored program guides, and materials related to the institutional history of the schools such as annual reports and published curricula.

**Pruneri, Fabio**

Università degli Studi di Sassari

Italy

**The “Convitti scuola della Rinascita”(the Boarding Schools of Rebirth) an innovative pedagogical laboratory during the Italian post-war era (1945-1955)**

At the end of World War II, after twenty years of fascism, the Italian education system was in crisis. The conflict, aerial bombing and partisan offensives caused many problems for the civil population. Some anti-fascist intellectuals gave rise to the interesting pedagogical experiment: the “Convitti scuola della Rinascita” (Boarding School of Rebirth). These institutions addressed themselves to adult learners, mainly partisan, who had been engaged in the conflict and now wanted to come back to school to improve their opportunities and development in a post-war environment.

The background against which these innovative schools evolved retained the traces of war: the debris littering the streets, public buildings destroyed, the hunger and poverty of the population was palpable. The absence of a really new concept of education, after years of dictatorship, impinged on the material rebuilding. The ruling class fluctuated between pedagogical beliefs inspired on the one hand by the restoration of the liberal secular education and, more often, the Catholic tradition which pre-dated Fascism and on the other hand by the adherence to new principles from American educational reformers – such as John Dewey and Carleton Washburne. The post-war period was full of hope but also rife with tension. After the collapse of fascist propaganda, populism and ideological controversies persisted most of all between the new political forces: Christian Democrat Party (DC) and Italian Communist Party (PCI).

The aim of my paper is first of all to reconstruct, in the general framework of relationships between education and war, the birth of “Convitti”, in its qualitative and quantitative aspects. Then I would like to emphasize the arduous journey in search of a curriculum suited to the ethical and political reconstruction of adult students, outside the traditional models. I would also like to explore the huge dilemmas that affected both the ruling classes and the teachers called to redefine, their role in a State that was ushering in democracy. I want to highlight the ideological international ties and the influences of the protagonists. Lastly, I would discuss the economic and mainly political difficulties experienced by the founders, who were forced to deal with the constraints of the ministry of post-war reconstruction.

My sources will include the archives of Movement of Liberation and two as yet unpublished direct testimonies: the first one made orally by Angelo Peroni (1993) about the “Convitto” of Milan and the second represents the final account by Mario Alighiero Manacorda. Manacorda was a distinguished scholar in Marxist education, who founded the “Convitto” of Rome and died in February 2013. The conclusion of my paper will be the interpretation of the failure of “Convitti Rinascita” that related not only to the defeat of the Italian Communist Party (PCI) in the years of the Cold War, but also the internal difficulties in left wing movements.



**Puchowski, Kazimierz**

University of Gdańsk

Poland

### ***Mars or Apollo? The Ideal King presented in Jesuit Colleges in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth***

The present paper aims to analyse the evolution of the notion of the exemplary monarch as presented in Jesuit colleges in the Poland and Lithuania. In the Jesuit schools problems of war and peace were frequently discussed and even more so during various military conflicts. We shall argue, that the principal plan of these establishments was to prepare an eloquent politician who would „offer the Kingdom some invaluable advice during parliamentary debates and local discussions, at home and abroad, in war and peace”. Knowledge of war and peace was deemed essential in the process of perfecting one’s oratorical skills. Various speeches, discussions, ordinary mealtime conversations and plays staged by school theatres would focus on this subject, their main concern being the deeds of kings, princes and magnates. The ideal monarch praised in the sixteenth and the seventeenth century was pious, belligerent but wise.

War became incorporated in the divine plan of the history of salvation.

The subject of war was ever present on the Jesuit schools’ reading lists. The seventeenth century witnessed the appearance of various publications wholly devoted to Polish national history, e.g. *Lechias, ducum, principum ac regum Poloniae* (Cracow 1655, Frankfurt 1680, Poznań 1733) by Albert Ines. It is clear that the poet was trying to present an ideal ruler: a pious, brave and wise sovereign who respects the political status of the gentry. Albert Wijuk Kojalowicz in *Historia Litwana (pars prima, Dantisci 1655; pars secunda, Antverpiae 1669)* would often expose the treachery and cruelty of the Teutonic Knights as well as stating unequivocally that the war waged by them was clearly unjust. On the other hand, the war pursued by Kiejstut was considered to be the war of independence.

Many performances in Jesuit school theatre were based on various events from the history of Poland and Lithuania and depicted various military conflicts. In 1629, for instance, the inhabitants of Kalisz could see a performance about Władysław Jagiełło’s victory over the Teutonic Knights (Grunwald/Tannenberg 1410). Plays of a panegyric character showed the antiquity and the splendour of noble coats-of-arms as well as stressing the kings’ piety and courage.

In the period of Enlightenment the ideal of a monarch underwent a discernible change. A pious warrior – conqueror being replaced with a wise lawgiver, a patron of scholars and artist. It has to be stated clearly, however, that the monarch’s main concern had always been the maintenance of the religious unity of the country.

The Jesuits presented their students a vision of Europe in which, from time immemorial, nations have been engaged in peaceful, chivalrous competition to perfect the science, the knowledge and art. The ideal of a king and that of a citizen was shaped for these purposes of this vision.

**Purvey, Diane**

Kwantlen Polytechnic University  
Canada

### **Social Work Schools and Cold War Domesticity: Teaching Tolerance for Abuse**

In the early post-WW II era Canadian women were urged by media and experts alike to create close, emotionally fulfilling families. To stray from this ideal was to threaten the stability of individuals, the family, even nations as a whole. In the later 1940s and through the 1950s Canadians were anxious about the Cold War and the fragility of world peace. At the same time, the unprecedented postwar economic boom led many to claim that affluence promised a progressive future that would include everyone, thereby ending economic inequalities. This combination of fear and hope served to orient Canadians to home, family, and stability. Coupling family stability to national security was a powerful and persuasive rhetorical device; the boundaries of acceptable family living were set, facilitating the marginalization of unacceptable forms of family living.

The University of British Columbia's School of Social Work in the 1940s and 1950 was a crucible for the development of 'expert' advice on family behavior. Faculty and students in Bachelor and Master of Social Work degree programs consistently understood poor family dynamics as the fault of wives, going so far as to blame wives for their husbands' violence. Course curricula, student projects, and graduate theses suggest that, initially, social workers believed that the fragility of the family was a hangover from the stresses of the Second World War. Yet, as family problems persisted and even deepened, and as the Cold War filled the void left by the end of WWII, Canadian social workers realized that their role was not simply to implement stopgap measures while the family returned to peacetime norms, but rather to reinforce the inviolability of the family. Influenced by developments in psychological and psychiatric analysis, these UBC social work students believed that scientific remedies would be brought to light as soon as empirical, objective research was undertaken. Their earnest efforts to examine and to treat maladjusted families were aimed at both strengthening family life and securing national stability. The task of repairing troubled Cold War-era families, however, was to fall to wives.

In their exploration of family breakdown, social workers and social work students uncovered significant evidence of men's violence against women. However, women were held responsible for this violence for two reasons: a failure to accept their inherent femininity, and a masochistic desire for punishment. The solutions offered to women were clear: embrace your femininity, and submit to counseling in order to uncover your unconscious desire for abuse. These prescriptions point to a consensus regarding postwar attitudes towards the family. Family togetherness was the overarching goal: women were counseled to sacrifice their own needs, contentment, and personal wellbeing to the aspirations and safekeeping of their families and, ultimately, of their nation. The UBC School of Social Work was an important agency in building and disseminating the view that family violence was a female problem that needed to be tackled within the context of an intact family and as a critical step in building a bulwark against Communism and establishing world peace.

**Pusztafalvi, Henriette**

University of Pécs

Hungary

## **Health education in Hungarian secondary schools at the time of the Great War**

Hungary went through fundamental changes both in economic and educational fields during the Great War. By the beginning of the 20th century, administrative structures had been established and the developing educational system helped to increase the literacy of the population. In the early years of the 20th century the signs of preparation for war could be perceived implicitly in public education, by a series of military training practices established in the physical education of secondary school boys. (Szabó, 2002). The expanding and changing secondary school subjects included a brand new element, health education was to be taught by doctors appointed by the government.

**Research aim:** The study aims to demonstrate how the preparation for war and conflict itself influenced secondary education, particularly with regard to the content of health education. Furthermore, I examine how the daily routine in education became established and what instructions were carried out by school doctors.

**Materials and methods:** This educational and medical history research was carried out by exploration, evaluation, correlation analysis of primary and secondary sources, including Hungarian and foreign documents, books, bulletins, brochures and magazines. -.

**Results and conclusion:** The unusual feature of health education was its optionality from the introduction of the subject (1885), that is, the student could decide, if he studied the subject or not. Tuition occurred once or twice a week, around 3 or 4 p.m. The focus of education was on understanding the human body and its functioning. The description of housing conditions, nutrition, physical education, infant care, avoidance of mental fatigue and congestion was linked to the functioning of the human body. The health education textbooks did not address the issue of sex and sex education. During the war, to recover this deficit, school doctors were obliged to provide sex information and education on the sexually transmitted diseases for students in the seventh and eighth grades. They were paid extra to deliver this education. The sex education was mainly about syphilis, and the prevention of other infectious diseases. It should be noted that school doctors were not compelled to do military service, but they could be enlisted to perform medical services. The educational booklets regularly recorded and reported the war. In the schools which functioned during the war, only core subjects were conducted. Some schools became military sites therefore education was suspended. Despite this, health education according to military regulations was conducted for boys. As part of the many casualties of War, school doctors lost their lives as well as many secondary school students.

**Rafoery, Deirdre**

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Ireland

*SWG Gender: Gender, Power Relations and Education in a Transnational World*

**‘Cover the earth with houses’: female agency, transnationalism, and the establishment of international networks of convent schools.**

While the concept of transnationalism gained currency in the early twentieth century, it can be identified in the sophisticated operations of religious Orders of nuns involved in education, from the early nineteenth century. In this paper I will argue that these Orders probably formed the first truly transnational female education networks. They were involved in every element of education including finance and budgeting, personnel management, school design and building, and the creation of global networks of schools and colleges that provided education for millions of females. The astonishingly effective machinery of convent life, with its hierarchies, routines, and rules, has been eclipsed within Church histories that see female Orders and their convents as part of the landscape of the institutional (male) Catholic Church. However, recent scholarship has begun to reposition the work of such Orders, by utilizing the approaches of feminist history and women’s history. This paper takes a further step, placing such female-centered analyses within discourse around transnationalism, and claiming a prominent position for research into the global reach of female teaching Orders within such discourse.

This paper is the first of a two-part study, in which primary sources from Canada, North America, Australia, South East Asia, and Europe are examined, to demonstrate the intricate social and professional connections between convent schools in the early nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The economic transnationalism, or globalization, to which these female institutions has contributed has been overlooked: this paper deploys historical sources to claim a space for tens of thousands of women who traversed the globe, often at great personal risk, to found schools, to teach, and to expand education networks across nations.

**Ramos Zamora, Sara**

Madrid Complutense University  
Spain

**Mujeres rurales y educación no formal en tiempos de guerra y postguerra**

Durante la Guerra Civil Española la Sección Femenina inició iniciativas de educación no formal dirigidas a las mujeres rurales a través de la Hermandad de la Ciudad del Campo. Apoyando la política agraria del gobierno franquista, la Sección Femenina desarrolló un plan de formación agropecuaria y en industrias rurales para las mujeres a través de las Cátedras Ambulantes, los Hogares Rurales y las Granjas Escuelas. Este trabajo pretende realizar un análisis e interpretación de estas actuaciones de educación destinadas al colectivo femenino durante la contienda bélica y posguerra.

**Women and non-formal education in rural areas in wartime and postwar**

During the Spanish Civil War the Women’s Section of Falange began a series of non-formal education initiatives for rural women through the Country and City Brotherhood. Supporting

the agricultural policy of the Franco government, the Women's Section developed a training plan for agricultural and rural industries for women through the "Itinerants professorships", "Rural Households" and "Schools Farms". This work aims to conduct an analysis and interpretation of these educational activities aimed at the female population during the military conflict and war.

**Ranck, Edna**

Independent Researcher

United States

**The U.S. Emergency Nursery Schools Leading to the Lanham Act Centers in World War II**

American early childhood educators, parents, and policy makers have struggled for three centuries to establish a high-quality, inclusive early education system. In particular, the federal government has been viewed as a primary support of programs for two-to-five-year old children of working parents. Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, kindergartens moved from Europe to North America and day nurseries operated in cities. Continuing through the twentieth century with nursery schools and childcare centers, and into the present with pre-kindergartens under private and public sponsorship, efforts have ebbed and flowed around establishing a system. The individuals and institutions have examined both the overt and unexamined interconnections among inherent beliefs, values, attitudes, and practices about early education. Thus, federal government support has been implemented only under persistent national crisis conditions. Such support, provided only when early education programs are perceived as a solution to family-related national problems, is especially visible when examined through the dual lenses of poverty and war.

Furthermore, American views of public support for families, especially where young children are concerned, have trended consistently within a preference for mothers to stay home with young children. Often the maternal attitudes have been linked to employment so that whatever the crisis is perceived to have ended, federal government support for early education diminishes or ceases.

Although efforts to garner support were attempted during the years prior to and including World War I, this paper traces the development of policies and practices particularly during the period between the early 1930s and the Great Depression and the end of World War II. Although federal support for early education programs ceased when the war ended, the need for it continued in the Cold War that followed, grew throughout the twentieth century, and persists into the present time. The paper concludes by describing policies and practices that reflect the persistence of the same beliefs, values, attitudes, and behaviors. The United States perpetuates its ambivalence toward employed mothers and its suspicion of programs designed to share the socialization and education of its youngest citizens with the parents who are needed and want to be both at home and in the workplace.

**Rao, Parimala**

Jawaharlal Nehru University  
India

### **Complex Policies and Complicated Responses: Education and the Revolt of 1857 in India**

In May 1857, a number of battalions of soldiers in the Bengal army of the East India Company rebelled against their immediate British officers and the British administration in the North Western Provinces, Oudh and Bihar provinces of British India. The protracted conflict which stretched over a year was extremely violent which killed thousands of British military officers and civilians and provoked an equally ruthless suppression. It ended the Company's rule and the British Crown assumed administration in 1858. The British and Indian historiography has variously described the revolt a 'clash of civilisations,' 'religious war,' 'major peasant revolt,' and 'war of independence.' These diverse narratives concentrate on the background of the soldiers and military strategies as well as attempt to find 'religious fanaticism,' or 'nationalism' behind the actions of the soldiers and others involved in the revolt. These narratives are silent on the system of education and schools. An analysis of educational policies and schools important for two reasons, firstly, during the revolt, the rebels attacked students and teachers as well as destroyed schools in many places. Secondly, the senior British officials held the 'spread of education,' which according to them provoked 'religious fanaticism,' as the sole cause for the revolt. Sir George Russell Clerk, in March 1857 and Lord Ellenborough in April 1858, much before the British victories over the rebels, declared that the chief cause for the revolt was the introduction of modern education and advised the government not to reopen the schools destroyed by the rebels. Ellenborough was the Governor-General of India during 1842-44 and Clerk stayed and worked in India from 1817 till 1850. He was the Lt. Governor of the North Western Provinces during 1843. Therefore, they were considered to have been experts due to their experience in India and their suggestions formed the basis of education policies in the following decades after the mutiny. This paper attempts to analyse how far the opinions of Clerk and Ellenborough were valid. It will evaluate the education policies before the Revolt of 1857 in the North Western Provinces, Oudh and Bihar, the kind of schools established and the public response to them. It will also look into the condition of schools during the violent conflict and people's response after the revolt.

**Raptis, Helen**

University of Victoria  
Canada

### **"My job was to teach": Educators' memories of teaching in British Columbia during World War II**

Substantial historical research indicates that during World War II Canadian schools were considered optimal sites for instilling nationalistic sentiments in teachers and learners through various activities to support the war effort. Policy-makers encouraged students and teachers to undertake initiatives such as collecting scrap metals, purchasing war savings certificates, saluting the flag, singing the national anthem, and undertaking marching drills and air raid rehearsals. Since much of the literature has tended to rely on "official" information sources, such as curriculum documents and government directives, one is left with the impression that

schools were considerably reshaped by Canada's involvement in World War II. Few Canadian publications have tapped the memories of former teachers and students to determine the extent to which individual schools and classrooms promoted nationalistic sentiments and activities. Furthermore, existing histories tend not to be classified by geographic area (such as rural versus urban, or coastal versus central Canada) or school level (elementary versus secondary). Consequently, there is an implied "unity of purpose and experience" among all teachers and children across the nation.

This paper challenges the suggestion in some of the literature that throughout Canada all children and teachers in schools fervently engaged in nationalistic behaviour to support Canada's war effort. To supplement "official" perspectives found in curricular documents, government directives, memos and other publications of the Department of Education, as well as newspapers and magazines, I have interviewed two-dozen teachers who taught in 40 schools throughout the province of British Columbia between 1939 and 1945. Only 33% of the teachers interviewed for this study participated in activities to support the war effort, either in their schools or their communities. In only 11% of the schools did children and teachers directly support the war effort. Despite policy-makers' intentions, wartime schooling reflected the intersection of many factors, including the input and values of students' families; communities' positioning as rural or urban as well as their proximity to the coast; the judgment of individual teachers and their relationships with students and parents.

### **Read, Jane**

University of Roehampton

United Kingdom

*Panel: Kevin, Kindergartens and Critique: Froebelian and Early Years Histories in Memory of Kevin J. Brehony (1948-2013) supported by the History of Education Society (UK)*

### **Digging for victory and supporting families: Froebelian pedagogy and the British war effort in World War One**

This paper explores two examples of practical responses to World War One made by Froebelians, one group studying at the premier Froebelian training college in the UK, the Froebel Educational Institute in London, and the second, working with families in two central London voluntary nursery schools. It also interrogates rhetoric espoused by these two groups of Froebelians across the period from 1914-1918 and in the immediate aftermath to the war.

A practical response made a group of FEI students was to 'enlist' in a national scheme for female non-combatants to take up agricultural work to ensure continuity in food supply, thereby supporting the British war effort; from 1917 the scheme was known as the Women's Land Army. For FEI's middle class students gardening was a central element in their training, nevertheless, working on the land constituted a qualitatively different experience. The paper also investigates how Froebelians running the two nursery schools attempted to mitigate the war's impact on children and families. Supporting families was the underpinning principle for these schools but the war presented a new set of challenges. For both groups, implementing Froebelian pedagogy in a war-time context necessitated new interpretive approaches; in this respect the paper builds on Kevin Brehony's work in illuminating the flexibility of Froebelians in responding to children's diverse needs in very different contexts from those in which Froebel lived and worked (Brehony 2000, 2003).

This empirical qualitative research draws on the archives of the FEI and the nursery schools. Documentary analysis of primary written and photographic sources is employed to interrogate students' motivations in signing up in support of the war effort and rhetoric employed by teachers as they described their work.

The paper draws on theoretical literature interrogating the interface between war and gender (Braybon 1981; Braybon & Summerfield 1987; Elshain 1987; Higonnet et al 1987; Goldstein 2001; Braybon 2005) which has drawn attention to women's sometimes conflicted engagement in the war effort, in particular the implications of militaristic discourse for subjectivity (Summerfield 1998). As workers in what had been a male arena, status was a key issue; men's responses were deeply ambivalent to women workers (Thom 1998). Ouditt (1994) points out that farmers were conservative in their response to land girls; educated women were preferred to manual workers, yet pay was notoriously low. The paper also considers whether Froebelian writing reflects feminist arguments which contextualise the issues as highly politicised, at a point in time when the campaign for women's suffrage was put on hold. In this respect, for the FEI land girls, propaganda framed women's participation in a Janus-like moral imperative, firstly demanding active participation in the labour market, and then, after the war and on into the long years of slump which followed, as passive non-participants (Grayzel 2002).

An irony at the heart of this story is that a German pedagogy was employed in support of the British war effort against the German nation which, in nascent form, Froebel himself had fought to defend some hundred years earlier.

**Reh, Sabine, Scholz, Joachim, Gippert, Markus and Kabaum, Marcel**

Research Library of the History of Education

Germany

### **Mobilization of Knowledge in the “Cold War” – Education, Technology, and Science in West-German School Magazines in the 1950s and 1960s**

The conflict between the two superpowers during the Cold War led to an enormous mobilization in the production and distribution of knowledge, the goal of which was to demonstrate the superiority of each side's political, social, and economic system over the other (see Greiner et al. 2011). In the 1950s and 1960s, almost across the globe governments supported scientific and especially technological research that could be of use for the military. The numbers of graduates with higher degrees increased as well. Simultaneously, curricula were changed in order to put a greater focus on naturally scientific and technological knowledge. Although the divided Germany repeatedly stood in the spotlight during the global conflict of the Cold War, and although the mobilization of knowledge in the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) competed with that in the GDR (East Germany), the West German concept of education was often rather “traditional.” It focused on the relationship between education and scientific-technological developments. Key representatives of the pedagogical establishment defined technical rationality as a special form of alienation from external and internal nature.

Against this background, it is particularly interesting to examine how disputes about education and technology, new technologies, military-, research-, and educational policies evolved in West German school magazines during the Cold War, especially in the 1950s and 1960s. What stands did students take on these issues? To what extent did their attitudes resonate with official reports about the conflict between the East and the West as well as about actual wars elsewhere? Funded



by the German Research Foundation (*Deutsche Forschungsgesellschaft*, DFG), our research project analyzes a body of 7,000 school magazines mainly from secondary schools. We reconstruct the spectrum of approaches from leisure-time perspectives on the part of technology-loving adolescents to ethical reflections. In our paper, we demonstrate how during those two decades texts from school magazines came to represent an area of knowledge on its own that assumed its shape apart from classroom perspectives. In contrast to the West German pedagogical establishment, school magazines appear to have had a rather optimistic take on subjects like the “conquest” of space, nuclear research and control of atomic power, or the question of human beings and technology. We argue that this is not a mere echoing of the public’s enthusiasm for technology that was so common at the time. Rather, we see it as a turn toward a preference of functional cultures of expertise and thus indeed an expression of an “Americanization” in the sense of a scientification of politics that started during the Cold War.

**Reily, Lucia**

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**Kassar, Mônica**

University of Mato Grosso do Sul  
Brazil

**Palatable images of the Paraguayan War for school children**

The Paraguayan War, or Triple Alliance War, was the major military conflict in South America involving Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina against Paraguay, lasting from November, 1864 to March, 1870. Argentina remained involved during the first years of the war until the Paraguayan army was expelled from their territory, while Uruguay’s participation was mainly symbolic. Brazil bore the main costs of the war. Vanquishing the Paraguayan enemies came with a price: Brazil exhausted its monies and became deeply indebted to England. Though precise statistics are lacking, historical research has shown that the death toll was extremely high. The Paraguayan male population between ages 10 and 60 was wiped out, leaving only five percent of the male population. The estimate for Brazilian army loss of life is between 50,000 and 100,000 deaths. For all countries involved, the causes of death were related mainly to famine and diseases such as diarrhoea, fever, cholera, yellow fever, and gangrene, due to terrible hygiene and sanitary conditions.

At the time, Brazil was an empire under Dom Pedro II’s rule. When Solano Lopes, the Paraguayan leader, declared war on Brazil, the Brazilian army was unprepared to respond, and “Homeland Volunteer” campaigns were set in motion to recruit men, with promises of freedom for slaves and financial rewards for free men who signed up. The elite paid for substitutes from society’s lower echelons to occupy their positions in the army. Many “volunteers”, including recently freed ex-slaves and the very poor, were taken into service by force. Solano Lopes had invested in readying the Paraguayan army which was much better equipped for war in 1864. His foot soldiers were mainly Guarani indigenous peoples who had been fully catechized by Jesuit missions.

Against this backdrop, our aim is to analyse the representations of the Paraguayan War in pedagogical material for teaching national history used in Brazilian schools, including a wealth

of official paintings meant to express heroic and patriotic ideals, critical political cartoons and lithographs published in newspapers, and wartime portraits and group photographs.

The study was developed based on the analysis of iconographic material that is part of the rich heritage of images produced during and shortly after the war years, some in favour and some opposed to the Imperial position. This material was researched in public libraries, historical and art museums in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Corumbá, Mato Grosso do Sul, which was one of the major war zones, having been under Paraguayan occupation for many years.

We examined ten government approved 8th year history schoolbooks examining the portrayal of the Paraguayan War. Do the books present palatable ideals of heroism, with Alliance regiments in impeccable uniforms, heroically carrying their flags, as history was taught forty years ago? Or do images tell the story recent studies have uncovered of soldiers lacking proper clothing, exposed to the elements; Guarani children engaged in warfare; ex-slaves fighting the white man's war; soldiers on stretchers in precarious field "hospitals"; many soldiers with physical disability abandoned after the war?

### **Richardson, Alasdair**

University of Winchester  
United Kingdom

### **Beyond Belief: The challenge for students encountering the Holocaust at the edge of living memory**

Research concerning Holocaust Education pedagogy is plentiful, yet there remains a dearth of evidence about *how* children engage with this topic and the processes they go through to assimilate this knowledge *affectively*. This paper considers the particular challenges for young learners as the Holocaust slips from living memory, to simply being part of 'history'. Drawing on empirical research with Secondary School students in the UK, this presentation will look at the different 'types' of learning that occur when students encounter the Holocaust, and particularly at the role that their emotional engagement plays in this process. The focus will be on the educational materials that have emerged over the last few years as the Holocaust moves from being within living memory and as survivors become less able to deliver their testimony in person. This paper will critically engage with attempts to 'globalise' the Holocaust into a simpler, compound narrative through texts such as *The Search* (published by the Anne Frank House). As such texts become the 'accepted' Holocaust narrative; this paper will question both the legitimacy of these sources and the ability of students to discern between different, complex, challenging and sometimes contradictory narratives. It will ask whether we are both doing a disservice to the victims, the survivors and to the students themselves if we attempt to sanitize the experience to make it more palatable for a young audience, or whether this is a necessary - and inevitable - consequence of a constrained curriculum and the passing of time.

By drawing on the empirical research findings, based on a constructivist methodology, this paper will seek to ask uncomfortable questions about representations of the Holocaust in the media and in textbooks aimed at children. More broadly, it will consider the cultural context and organisation of official and cultural memory in the classroom now and in the future.

**Riondet, Xavier**

Université de Lorraine, Université de Genève  
France

*SWG La Pensée Critique des Enseignants/ Teachers' Critical Thinking*

### **Enjeux et controverses autour des prolongements de la pensée critique d'Élise et Célestin Freinet**

Dans cette communication, nous souhaitons nous intéresser aux enjeux et luttes historiques autour des prolongements possibles de la pensée critique des Freinet (ce qui correspond à la problématique : comment garder la subversion d'une pensée critique). Plus particulièrement, l'objet de notre présentation porte sur la manière dont le réseau d'acteurs (Élise Freinet puis Madeleine Freinet, et d'autres proches) de l'École Freinet de Vence, seule école ouverte par les Freinet (en 1935), a lutté pour que cette école reste un *conservatoire* d'une pensée pédagogique en marge des tentatives d'assujettissement, d'appropriation ou de récupération à l'œuvre durant plusieurs dizaines d'années.

En 1977, dans la revue *Société Alfred Binet & Théodore Simon*, Élise Freinet constatait la permanence de l'évocation de la pratique des techniques Freinet en faisant remarquer néanmoins que l'œuvre théorique de Freinet avait connu « une éclipse regrettable » (Freinet, É., 1977, p. 185). Selon elle, une certaine forme de pragmatisme avait effacé la véritable « portée intellectuelle » du legs de Freinet. Pour lui, rappelle-t-elle, « le combat théorique devait doubler la lutte pragmatiste militante » (*Ibid.*, p. 186).

Nous reviendrons sur les enjeux épistémologiques d'une distinction entre la pensée originelle de Freinet et la / les pédagogie(s) dérivée(s) de Freinet, ainsi que sur les nombreuses actions effectuées par certains acteurs et réseaux pour maintenir la spécificité de l'École de Vence, comme notamment l'atteste un récépissé de déclaration instaurant une association École Freinet en 1970 indiquant le but de cette association : « assurer la conservation, le développement et l'application pratique des méthodes pédagogiques de Célestin Freinet ». Nous insisterons sur la durée et la permanence de ces luttes et controverses que l'on retrouve même après le rachat de l'école par l'État dans les années 1990.

### **Issues and controversies surrounding the long-term impact of and Élise and Célestin Freinet's critical thought**

In this paper, we focus on the issues and historical struggles around the possible extensions of Freinet's critical thought (corresponding to the problem: how to maintain the subversion of critical thinking). More specifically, the purpose of our presentation focuses on how a network of actors (Élise and Madeleine Freinet, and others) around Freinet's School at Vence (the only school opened by Freinet in 1935), fought for this school to remain a repository of educational thought for several decades in the face of attempted subjugation, taming, or reconstruction.

In 1977, in the journal *Société Binet & Theodore Simon*, Elise Freinet noted the permanent evocation of practical techniques by Freinet whereas his theoretical work had experienced “an unfortunate eclipse” (Freinet, E., 1977, p.185). According to her, some form of pragmatism had erased the real “intellectual reach” of Freinet's legacy. For him, she recalls, “The theoretical fight should redouble the militant pragmatist struggle.” (*Ibid.*, p.186).

We return to the issues of epistemological distinction between the original thought of Freinet and the pedagogy(ies) derived from Freinet's thought, as also the many efforts made by certain

actors and networks to maintain the specificity of the Vence school, especially as evidenced by a declaration establishing the Freinet School Association in 1970, indicating the purpose of the association as: “the conservation , development and practical application of Célestin Freinet’s teaching methods “. We will emphasise on the duration and permanence of these struggles and controversies found even after the takeover of the school by the state in the 1990s.

**Riondet, Xavier**

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France

**Hofstetter, Rita**

Université de Genève  
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**The bellicist textbook. International institutions and school textbooks in the interwar period**

Between the late nineteenth and early twentieth century the explosion of nationalist passions deeply disturbed the various forms of internationalism that had developed by that time. During the interwar years, the field of education was significantly affected by these nationalist and internationalist tensions. In worlds traumatized by the experience of the Great War, education took on ideological, political and diplomatic meanings. The teaching of history was particularly affected by these tensions and debates which were representative of wider issues of conflict but also included elements of peace education.

Many scientists and historians were called to account for their acceptance of these hawkish tendencies and for the role they played in such catastrophic developments. As a result, intellectuals, pacifist and feminist movements, educational and internationalist associations became convinced that the teaching of history, its methods and textbooks, had helped to spread a nationalist and militarist spirit. In the postwar period, they mobilized to “de-nationalize” textbooks. The peace settlement, and in particular the Treaty of Versailles, produced similar feelings among the victors and the vanquished (Krapoth, 2004) which also impacted upon textbooks. Alongside the League of Nations (SDN), internationalist institutions initiated a “war on hawkish manuals”. The International Bureau of Education (IBE) in Geneva was created by the Rousseau Institute in 1925 to promote education by promoting mutual understanding between peoples, and the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC) was “offered” by France in 1926 to the International Commission on Intellectual Cooperation (ICCI) of the League of Nations to carry out its internationalist work. Both the IBE and IIIC actively worked to promote the revision of textbooks. We will report on the negotiations, confrontations, tensions and cooperation between actors and institutions over the complexities of revising textbooks.

**Robène, Luc**

Université de Bordeaux

France

**Attali, Michaël**

Université Grenoble 1

France

### **Le corps comme lieu de pensée critique: Jean-Marie Brohm, le courant freudo-marxiste et la critique radicale d'une Education physique sportive**

Jean-Marie Brohm occupe une place à part dans le champ de l'éducation physique et sportive (EPS) comme pourrait en témoigner nombre de copies d'étudiants de CAPEPS et d'agrégation qui associent invariablement sa trajectoire d'enseignant à l'émergence d'une pensée alternative surgie au cœur des années 1968. Il est vrai que Brohm, surtout connu pour ses positions radicales à l'égard du sport (en particulier la critique du sport de compétition), n'a eu de cesse de porter le fer contre l'institution sportive et ses normes de production d'un corps performant, et par extension contre l'utilisation du sport devenue quasi hégémonique dans la leçon d'EPS à partir des années 1960. Cette pensée critique, qui a largement puisé à la source du freudo-marxisme, s'exprime d'abord dans la revue *Partisan*, puis dans la revue *Quel corps ?*, ainsi que dans divers ouvrages (dont sa thèse de doctorat « *Sociologie politique du sport* », publiée avant d'être soutenue). Ce positionnement, en condamnant les errances d'une discipline scolaire, l'EPS, traversée par les exigences de la compétition sportive, a valu à son auteur la reconnaissance d'une partie des enseignants et étudiants lorsque l'autre partie, sans doute la plus importante, lui tournait le dos voire l'excommuniait des STAPS (Sciences et Techniques des Activités Physiques et Sportives - 74ème section du CNU). Un tel barrage professionnel et universitaire permet d'ores et déjà de souligner la forte dimension polémique de cette trajectoire et des enjeux qui lui sont associés. Devenu *persona non grata* en STAPS, Brohm accède néanmoins au statut de professeur de sociologie à l'université de Montpellier. Fédérant peu ou prou le courant de la critique radicale du sport qui demeure encore aujourd'hui actif, cet enseignant d'EPS atypique a indéniablement marqué son époque sans toutefois que sa position échappe à une forme de mythification voire de martyrologie. Cette communication voudrait dès lors tenter de mesurer l'impact, les apports et la réception de la pensée originale de J.-M. Brohm en EPS. C'est-à-dire cerner les contours et le contenu de cette pensée critique, évaluer son poids réel dans le champ scolaire et éducatif. On tentera notamment d'identifier les axes principaux de la critique et les contre-propositions éducatives qui furent formulées en observant éventuellement leur actualisation dans le champ scolaire contemporain. Le travail de recherche s'appuie sur le dépouillement systématique des revues de référence du courant critique (*Partisan*, *Quel Corps ?*) mais également des revues professionnelles comme la revue *EP.S* et les publications syndicales (dont Jean-Marie Brohm sera un leader de tendances autour des problématiques pédagogiques), sans négliger l'analyse des différentes productions et les ouvrages de J.-M. Brohm. Plusieurs entretiens permettent de compléter la recherche.

### **The body as a place for critical thinking: Jean-Marie Brohm, the freudo-marxist current of thought and the radical criticism of physical education**

Jean-Marie Brohm holds a very special position in the area of Physical Education (PE) as can be witnessed by a quantity of essays by CAPEPS (PE teaching capability certificate) and Aggregation (highest teaching diploma) students who inevitably link his teaching career to an emerging alternative thinking generated during the 1968 period. Brohm is best known for his radical stance

towards sport (in particular his criticism of competitive sport) and he has kept battling with the sport establishment and its production of the ideal performing body. By extension, he fought against the utilization of sport in PE teaching, as this had become widespread from the years 1960 and on.

Such critical thinking widely drew on « Freudo-Marxism » and was exposed in different reviews such as « Partisan » and « Quel corps ? » as well as in different works (among them Brohm's doctorate thesis « Sociologie politique du sport »). This stance, by condemning the driftings of a particular educational matter, namely EP, which was then altered by competition requirements, won the author gratitude from teachers and students alike. Others turned their back on him even excommunicating him from the « STAPS » course of study. (Sciences et Techniques des Activités Physiques et Sportives - 74th section of CNU).

Such professional and academic obstruction already shows evidence of the strong polemical dimension of that move and the issues associated therewith. Even though regarded as a « persona non grata » in the STAPS domain, Brohm managed to be appointed as a Sociology Professor at the Montpellier (France) university. He acted as a unifier of the the radical critical trend in Sport (still active nowadays), this atypical PE teacher undeniably stood out in his own era but could not avoid being subject to a certain form of myth-building, not to say martyrdom.

My current research sets out to measure the impact, contributions and appropriation of J.-M. Brohm's original thoughts in the area of PE. In other words, I attempt to discern the outlines and contents of this critical thinking and evaluate its actual weight in the school and educational fields. I especially try to identify the main lines of the criticism and the educational counter-proposals which were put forward whilst observing how they have evolved within today's school domain. The research was based on a systematic and close scrutiny of the reference reviews but also of professional reviews such as « EPS » and trade union publications - Jean-Marie Brohm had been a leader as regards trends around the pedagogical issues.

## **Robert, André**

Université Lumière Lyon 2  
France

## **La première commission française de réforme de l'école pendant la Seconde guerre mondiale: La commission Cathala et le modèle anglais, Londres 1942-1943**

Le 8 juillet 1942 se réunissait pour la première fois à Londres une assemblée comptant une trentaine de participants, chargée par la France Libre de traiter des questions intellectuelles et d'enseignement. Le commissaire national à la Justice et à l'Instruction Publique, René Cassin, qui dirigeait l'ensemble, avait confié la présidence de la 'section enseignement' à un professeur de chimie de l'université de Toulouse passé en Angleterre, Joseph Cathala, qui insistait pour sa part lors de la même séance sur le fait que « l'enseignement britannique pourrait donner d'utiles suggestions ». Cette instance se réunit une quinzaine de fois en un an du 8 juillet 1942 au 23 juillet 1943 (4 Carlton Gardens et 4 St John Square). Parmi les membres, on trouve notamment des noms célèbres de la Résistance comme Maurice Schumann, alors lieutenant, futur ministre, ou Jean-Louis Crémieux-Brilhac (qui apparaît ici sous le seul nom de Brilhac), H. Hauck, le syndicaliste Vangrévelinghe.

La communication visera à: – rendre compte des travaux de la commission en s'appuyant sur un fonds d'archives identifié (ANF, 71 AJ 62) et à les mettre en perspective par rapport aux commissions réformatrices ultérieures (commission d'Alger, commission Langevin); – effectuer une prosopographie d'un certain nombre de membres de la commission; – analyser les raisons de la référence au modèle anglais d'enseignement et, en relation directe avec la problématique de la guerre, les raisons de l'intérêt porté par la commission au transfert d'élèves britanniques des villes vers les campagnes au début de la guerre.

### **The first French commission for school reform during World War II. The Cathala committee and the English model, London 1942-1943**

On July 8th, 1942 in London an assembly of around thirty participants met for the first time, charged by “*La France Libre*” to consider intellectual and teaching problems. The national commissioner for Justice and for State Education, René Cassin, who managed the group, had entrusted the chair of the ‘teaching section’ to a brilliant chemistry professor of Toulouse University, staying in England, Joseph Cathala. During the same session, on his own part, this personality insisted on the fact as “the British teaching could give off useful suggestions “. This committee met about fifteen times in one year (at 4 Carlton Gardens and 4 St John Square) between July 8th, 1942 and July 23th 1943. Among its members, we find in particular prominent names of the French Resistance such as Maurice Schumann, Lieutenant and future Minister, or Jean-Louis Crémieux-Brilhac (who appears here under the single name of Brillhac), H. Hauck, and the union activist Vangrévelinghe.

This paper will aim to: – report the work of the commission, drawing on an identified Archives Collection (ANF, 71 AJ 62) and putting them in perspective with regard to later reform commissions (Algiers committee, Langevin committee); – making a prosopography of important committee members; – analyzing precise reasons for reference to the English teaching model and, in direct relation with the problematics of the war, reasons for the committee’s interest in English pupils’ evacuation from towns to country at the beginning of World War II.

#### **Roberts, Siân**

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United Kingdom

#### **Parker, Stephen**

University of Worcester  
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*SWG Gender: Gender, Power Relations and Education in a Transnational World*

### **Gender, transnational exchanges, and Christian youth leadership: the entangled history of Westhill Training College, Birmingham 1907-39**

In 1907 a group of Quakers based in Birmingham, UK, collaborated with the Canadian Sunday School reformers George Hamilton Archibald and his daughter Ethel J. Archibald to establish Westhill Training College in the city’s Selly Oak suburb. Based on the model of Hertford College in Connecticut, new psychological approaches, and Froebelian ideals, the ‘Westhill method’ aimed to train a professionalised workforce of British Sunday School teachers who would put the child at the centre of their pedagogy. In the years immediately before and after the First World War, the Archibalds and their supporters further developed the Westhill curriculum to offer a highly gendered model of training in Christian youth leadership and practical work with adolescent

boys and girls. Taking his own boyhood in rural Canada as an inspiration, George H. Archibald together with Arnold Hayes Burrows (who was killed in action in 1916) developed the Pioneer, or Peace, Scouts for boys, whilst Ethel Archibald and her colleague Margaret Backhouse translated the North American inspired Camp Fire Girls into an English context. During the 1920s and 30s Westhill increasingly attracted international students from Europe and the Empire, and in return its graduates exported Westhill ideas and methods across the world. This paper will consider how adopting a transnational methodology enhances our understanding of Westhill as a space in which to explore the construction of very particular Christian masculine and feminine identities in times of peace and war. It will conclude with brief reflections on Westhill as a site of entangled history.

**Robinson, Wendy**

University of Exeter  
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### **The Impact of War on Twentieth Century Teacher Professional Development in Britain: a Catalyst for Change or Inhibitor of Progress?**

This paper will focus on patterns of teacher professional development in Britain as they emerged in the first half of the twentieth century, punctuated by the impact of the First and Second World Wars on educational priorities and purpose. Though it could be argued that these wars had an immediately restrictive consequence for a very embryonic system of teacher professional development at this time, it could also be demonstrated that they served as important catalysts for systemic change in the organisation, funding and promotion of further training opportunities for serving teachers.

During the First World War the Board of Education began to organise courses for teachers in technical schools aimed at improving their subject knowledge or craft skills. These courses were dropped for a time during the conflict, but were partially re-instated in 1915, and were supplemented in 1916 by a course in Modern Languages for secondary school teachers. During the next few years, provision grew considerably. In 1918, for example, two courses were held, one in Advanced Dressmaking at Bournemouth Technical College, and the other in Needlework at St Anne's-on-the-Sea, on a full-time, short course basis during the summer vacation period. This model of short courses and vacation courses which emerged from the period 1914-15 dominated the professional development landscape for much of the inter-war period. Like the First World War, the Second World War represented a period of considerable disruption for all educational provision, as for other areas of civilian life, as many male teachers joined the armed forces and many schoolchildren and their teachers found themselves evacuated to rural areas. In such circumstances, it is no surprise that the organisation of in-service teacher training also suffered as the normal programme of courses was suspended for the duration of the conflict. It is interesting to note, however, that where there were very modest new initiatives in in-service training, these reflected some of the contemporary political concerns highlighted by the War - such as in a programme of special short courses for teachers focusing on American History, aimed at promoting a positive view of the United States, along with others focusing on the USSR and the British Empire, all held during 1942 and 1943.

Two very significant government reports relating to teacher professional development emerged following both periods of conflict: The 1925 Departmental Committee Report; and the 1944 McNair Report, 'Teachers and Youth Leaders'. This paper will examine teacher professional development as it was conceived and envisioned in the war and post-war periods drawing upon original documentary analysis and historical investigation.



**Rocha, Alessandro** and **Futata, Marli**

Universidade Estadual de Maringá

Brazil

### **Guerra y paz en la prensa de Río de Janeiro en el siglo XIX: un análisis del periódico *Revolución Pacífica* (1862)**

En la segunda mitad del siglo XIX, el imperio brasileño pasó por momentos en los que diferentes ideologías comenzaron a inspirar las páginas de la prensa periódica. Entre estas ideologías, podemos destacar las que se refieren a las tendencias progresistas que pretendían elevar al país al nivel de las naciones civilizadas. Sin embargo, para que se produjeran avances era necesario que el país se mantuviera en orden. En esta perspectiva, este trabajo presenta un análisis de las ideologías de la Guerra y la Paz en el periódico **Revolución Pacífica: periódico político, literario y agrícola**. El periódico, que circulaba en la corte de Río de Janeiro y en la ciudad Niterói, era impreso por la tipografía de la Concepción y contaba con cuatro páginas para componer varios temas, sin tener secciones fijas. Durante el año 1862 el periódico publicó una serie de artículos que guió al gobierno sobre las actitudes que se deben seguir para mantener la paz en un contexto de exaltación en favor de las ideas republicanas que cuestionaban la monarquía aún reinante. El periódico tenía una circulación diaria y sugería al ministro de la guerra que la paz era el objetivo de todos los brasileños. Otros términos también remitían a actitudes pacíficas que eran verificadas en los artículos que trataban temas como la intolerancia, la política de la guerra y reservaba a los militares para los levantamientos esporádicos que se incubaban en el imperio. A partir del análisis documental de dicho impreso, y recurriendo a la procedimiento bibliográfico, es posible contemplar las tendencias ideológicas presentes en el segundo reinado de Brasil que, sutilmente, se hacían públicas a través de la palabra impresa, como en el periódico **Revolución Pacífica**.

### **War and Peace in the press in Rio de Janeiro in the nineteenth century: an analysis of newspaper *Peaceful Revolution* (1862)**

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Brazilian Empire went through times when different ideologies began influencing the pages of the periodical press. Amongst these ideologies, we can highlight some progressive tendencies which attempted to raise the level of civilized nations. However, so that progress could be made, it was necessary that the country was kept in order. From this perspective, this paper presents an analysis of the ideologies of War and Peace in the newspaper *Revolution Pacific: political, literary and agricultural* which circulated in the court of Rio de Janeiro and Niterói city. During 1862 the paper published a series of articles that guided the government on attitudes that should be followed to keep the peace in a context of exaltation in favor of republican ideas which questioned the reigning monarchy. The paper had a daily circulation and suggested to the minister of war that peace was the goal of all Brazilians. Other themes suggest peaceful attitudes toward issues such as intolerance, the politics of war. Drawing on documentary analysis of this media and bibliographic analysis, it is possible to analyse the contemporary ideological trends in Brazil and second reign as revealed in the printed word of the *Revolution Pacific*.

## **Rodrigues, Elsa**

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Portugal

### **Portugal in wartime**

How to raise a new society strongly based on «God, Motherland and Family» traditional virtues? By education. For that purpose in 1936 Salazar issued a law regulating the *Mocidade Portuguesa* which means Portuguese Youth to build up a young generation with a strong sense of patriotism, to lead them to morality and to make them see family as a unit cell. Membership was compulsory to children from 7 to 14 years old in order to teach them how to march, how to sing and to let them have some physical activity practice. However those who wanted to could stay in till the age of 25 and have military training. Moreover adolescents could be trained in special centres such as aeromodelling, cartographic orientation, to go on horse riding and on sailing classes on sailboats, or to go on music lessons to learn how to play an instrument or even fencing, for example.

By the same year 1936 was created the *Legião Portuguesa*, a paramilitary organization of civilians who wanted to serve the nation to combat against the communists and anarchism and to defend the spiritual heritage of the Portuguese nation. *Legião Portuguesa* was under the control of the Ministry of the Interior and War, so membership was compulsory to every man who worked for the state.

Due to Oliveira Salazar's extremely wise strategic plan Portugal kept its neutrality during the second world war. Nevertheless the country suffered the consequences of the war in its daily routines. People had to be prepared for war just in case of sudden threat.

This paper will explain in which ways it was possible to emerge values in a young generation through *Mocidade Portuguesa*. On the other hand the intent is to give a glimpse on how *Legião Portuguesa* helped the government coordinating the civil defense on civil territory. Among their duties were the coordination of air raids simulacrums, evacuation of citizens into underground galleries, blackout simulacrums, protection of monuments as well as of civil and religious buildings and to guard industrial buildings. I will also mention the civil work of the scouts in this protection of the country.

My research will be based on documents from the National Archive - Torre do Tombo, from the Portuguese National Library, from the Lisbon Photographic Archive, from the Diplomatic and Historical Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and from the Historical Archive of the Ministry of National Education.

### ***Museu do Combatente, a war and mission legacy***

The Portuguese colonial war lasted from 1961 to 1974 in Angola, in Mozambique and in Portuguese Guinea. In spite of being seen as an anachronism from most other European countries and even from the non-aligned nations, Portugal did not abandon its colonies which were seen as an integral part of Portuguese territory. Almost nine thousand soldiers lost their lives fighting. On the 25th April 1974 a revolutionary coup put an end on the fighting operations in Africa and started up the decolonization process. It contributed to the end of 48 years of dictatorship in Portugal. However this was purely a political decision and did not reflect the military situation on the ground or even respect the will of the majority of the local population.

The Soldier Museum, located in Bom Sucesso Fortress is an evocation of the effort of the Portuguese nation and its armed forces during the colonial war. Its aim is to share memories as well as to pay homage to the survivors, to the death and to every single victim involved in the conflict.

In the year 2000 a memorial was inaugurated dedicated to everyone who died during the «overseas war». On the national holiday there is a meeting in remembrance of those who died during the war and their families. The veterans gather to reinforce their emotional bonds.

This war affected a large range of families. For that reason there are still physical and psychological wounds in Portuguese society. In which way can a museum work on this recovery? In which ways can the museum contribute to developing knowledge, understanding and acceptance? How can young generations get in touch with our recent history but one which is almost completely unknown to them? Is this museum doing its educational service? What do we want to tell to the next generations?

I don't believe the museum is going in the right direction. For this reason in this paper I will analyze the content of this museum, its collections and its approach to the public. I will draw a strategy to reinforce the mediation between veterans and young generations, and to propose guidelines for a masterplan to the museum.

My research will be based on books from the library of *Liga dos Combatentes*, on documents from the National Archive and by inquiring elements from the military forces. At the same time I will be helped by museology manuals.

### **Rodríguez, Sofia**

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Spain

### **School during the Spanish Civil War. The case of Valladolid**

With the proclamation of the Second Spanish Republic in 1931, the new Government embarked upon a series of reforms. Educational reform stands out as particularly important and changes were outlined in a series of measures, including the regulation of bilingualism in schools; suppression of compulsory religious instruction; coeducation; regulation of teacher training; the reform of secondary education and an ambitious five-year plan for school building. These reforms of the Republican government were supposed to modernize the educational system. But they were soon cut short by the Civil War and the counter-revolutionary activities of the Franco regime, which step by step, dismantled the changes made by the Republic. With the uprising of July 18, 1836, that led to Civil War, schools increasingly became conceived as ideological weapons and some adopted a belligerent attitude based upon a culture of combat at the service of the revolution. On the Republican side, there was a popular fight to counter fascism. As a result, there was a renewed enthusiasm to reform secondary education. However, while the Republic had introduced co-education, the Pro-Franco side imposed sex segregation and the restoration of church privileges. With the Republican defeat and the total triumph of the dictatorship of general Francisco Franco, the return to a traditional model of schooling was imposed across Spain. The presentation will examine educational changes during the Civil War in the case of Valladolid. The city enthusiastically welcomed Republican reforms. The effects in different parts of the city will be assessed, on both public and private establishments, many of them religious. Significant changes to daily life took place. In some cases classrooms were turned into war hospitals and students had to attend classes as they were being bombed. Teachers were influenced by both political and pedagogical factors. Ultimately, they suffered harsh repression.

**Rodríguez Alcántara, Carmen M<sup>a</sup>** and **Díaz Molina, M<sup>a</sup> Belén**

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### **Educación durante el Franquismo: materias y contenidos de enseñanza a través del análisis de un cuaderno escolar de las escuelas Salesianas de Santa Teresa de Ronda**

Después del golpe de estado fascista en el año 1936 y de tres años de periodo bélico, comienza la dictadura franquista que introdujo importantes cambios en todos los aspectos de la vida diaria y, por supuesto, también en educación. Durante este periodo, el país sufre un retroceso, un gran paso atrás en todo lo alcanzado hasta entonces en educación, utilizada ahora más que nunca como uno de los canales de adoctrinamiento ideológico de la sociedad. Era misión esencial del estado mediante una disciplina rigurosa de la educación, conseguir un espíritu nacional fuerte, unido a instalar en el alma de las futuras generaciones, la alegría y el orgullo de la Patria.

Con la Ley de Enseñanza Primaria de 1945, se intenta orientar a los escolares según sus aptitudes, para la superior formación intelectual o para la vida profesional del trabajo de la industria y el comercio o en las actividades agrícolas.

En aquellos años los maestros en las escuelas impartían y calificaban una serie de materias, distribuidas en tres grandes bloques, tal y como ha quedado reflejado en las cartillas de escolaridad de los alumnos de aquella época.

En primer lugar, las materias instrumentales entre las que se encontraban lectura, expresión gráfica (escritura, redacción y dibujo) y cálculo; materias formativas; Religión, F.E.N (Formación del Espíritu Nacional, que incluye Geografía e Historia) Lengua nacional, Matemáticas y Educación Física; materias complementarias; Ciencias Naturales, Artísticas (música, canto y dibujo), utilitarias (trabajos manuales, taller y labores); y por último, un apartado de hábitos entre los cuales puntuaban los deberes, la conducta, la puntualidad y el aseo.

Retomando un material tan habitual en las escuelas como es un pequeño cuaderno escolar, en este caso concreto, de un niño de la ciudad de Ronda del curso 1955-56, alumno de las Escuelas Salesianas de Santa Teresa, realizaremos un análisis sobre las materias impartidas, metodología de la época,... complementando dicha información con los recuerdos y experiencias vividas por el protagonista y autor de aquel pequeño cuaderno. Una historia de vida capaz de acercarnos a la realidad de aquel entonces.

### **Education during the Franco regime: materials and content teaching through the analysis of a school notebook of Salesian schools of Santa Teresa de Ronda**

After the fascist coup in the year 1936 and three years of war, the Franco dictatorship began and introduced important changes in all everyday aspects of life and, of course, also in education. During this period, the country suffered a big setback in everything achieved up until this point in education and became nothing more than a channel of ideological indoctrination in society. It was an essential mission of the state through a rigorously disciplined education, to instill a strong national spirit and a joy and pride in the homeland in the soul of future generations.

With the law of Primary Teaching of 1945, there was an attempt to guide students according to their aptitudes, for higher intellectual training or professional life working in the industry and trade or in agricultural occupations. In those years teachers in schools taught and graded a number of subjects, divided into three sections, as is reflected in school primers of students of

that time. First, the key subjects including reading, graphic expression (writing, composition and drawing) and calculation; training subjects; Religion; F.E.N (Formation of National Spirit), which includes Geography and History, National Language, Mathematics and Physical Education; complementary subjects; Natural Sciences, Arts (Music, Singing and Drawing), utility (crafts, works and household chores); and finally, a section of habits which should be considered, including homework, behavior and cleanliness.

By using common school materials such as small school notebook of a child of the town of Ronda in the school year 1955-56, student of Salesian School of Santa Teresa we will make an analysis of the subjects and methodology of the time. We will also use the memories and experiences of the protagonist and author of the little notebook as a life story, which can give insights on the real lived experiences of this time.

### **Rogers, Rebecca**

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*SWG Gender: Gender, Power Relations and Education in a Transnational World*

### **Religious teaching orders and French school culture in an anticlerical age: suggestions for a transnational history of girls' education**

This paper explores a spate of recent publications on the “civilizing mission” that female French teaching orders undertook in the 19th and 20th centuries, opening girls' schools in foreign countries. This scholarship addresses the transfer of French educational models to both colonial and non-colonial situations, while highlighting how specific political and national contexts constrained or facilitated the action of French orders. In particular, the paper will focus on the period 1880-1920 when French orders became the object of anticlerical legislation that first pushed them from teaching in public primary schools in 1886 and then forced them either to close or to secularize their private schools in 1904. In response to this legislation, Superior mothers established schools in neighboring countries but also in the colonies, gradually transferring their teachers outside of metropolitan France. Interestingly, however, the French government continued to encourage and support missionary orders in certain colonies and French nuns continued to receive recognition for their teaching activities in such official venues as universal and international exhibitions.

Through an analysis of studies in missionary, colonial and gender history, the talk will investigate the characteristics of these transplanted schools exploring the power dynamics that existed between the French government and teaching nuns as they spread knowledge of the French language throughout the world.

The historiographic focus of the paper will use existing scholarship to emphasize how recent approaches to transnational history, through an interest in the circulation of people, ideas and educational models, raise new questions and perspectives. In addition, however, I will describe a series of published sources in French missionary history suggesting the ways historians could use these documents to write a transnational history of teaching nuns operating on foreign soils. Finally, I will draw on the material from an ongoing project on women in universal exhibitions to highlight the showcasing of French religious schools in the colonies at moments when these schools were banned in France. These examples suggest how universal and international exhibitions offered religious women teachers the opportunity to challenge national power dynamics within the transnational framework of the exhibition.

**Roith, Christian**

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**Gerdes, Teresa**

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**Representations of the Spanish Civil War in early National-Catholic war and post-war textbooks**

Textbooks are effective tools to understand the idiosyncrasies of certain historical time periods as they allow us to examine the ideologies, concepts and values of the particular social groups in power. Those textbooks which were in use in the areas occupied by the Fascist National troops under the insurgent General Francisco Franco's command and in all of Spain after his victory permit us to draw conclusions about the characteristics of the Francoist ideology. The analysis of original material collected and classified by the Spanish research project of textbooks (MANES), as well as the review of theoretical studies demonstrates that Francoist schoolbooks to a large extent reproduced contents proceeding from the monarchic period before the Second Republic. In this context, the thesis that Francoism mainly restored the former social order will be discussed. We will also examine the more aggressive attitude held by the Falangist wing, which Francoist schoolbooks depicted of the Spanish Civil War. Furthermore, some of these texts reinforce the impression that the ideological indoctrination through schoolbooks was an essential element of the totalitarian efforts of the Franco regime.

**Roldan-Vera, Eugenia**

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Mexico

**Representations of the U.S.-Mexican war in nineteenth century history textbooks: Mexico and the USA in comparison**

This paper compares the narrative of the U.S.-Mexican war (1846-47) in a handful of U.S. and Mexican history school textbooks from the second half of the 19th century. This episode had crucial historical consequences for both countries: for Mexico, it meant the loss of half of its territory and forced the development of a new national awareness; for the US, this enlargement brought access to new natural resources, marked the beginning of problematic social relations among the Mexican, Indian, African-American, and Anglo-Saxon population in those territories, and affected the balance of Southern and Northern States which eventually impacted on the civil war (1861-65). Representations of the U.S.-Mexican war contributed to define group identities and to establish the fundamental difference between *us* and *them* (Pingel, 2010: 38). In my analysis of a sample of textbooks from 1850 to 1900, I will examine how these representations differed in each country and changed over time. I will argue that the weight given to that war differed widely in both countries, and that they changed at the pace of their processes of nation-building rather than at the pace of their bilateral relations.

I will be drawing on instruments designed for bilateral textbook research that emphasize decoding the values associated with national history teaching (Pingel, 2010; Fuchs, 2010). I will further consider these textbooks as historiographical narratives, as they have claims about truth

derived from sources, provide short, medium and long-term explanations and interpretations, engage with a regime of time by making specific connections between past, present and future, and appeal to some notions of space. Brief consideration will be given to the circumstances of textbook publication, circulation and teaching in both countries at the time, although this is not the focus of the paper.

Preliminary selection. U.S. history textbooks: Goodrich (1850) *Pictorial History of the United States*; Lossing (1854) *A pictorial history of the United States for schools and families*; Quackenbos (1857) *Illustrated school history of the United States and the adjacent parts of America*; Wilson (1857) *American History*; Swinton (1872) *First lessons in our country's history*; Eggleston (1889) *A first book in American history*; Saville (1911) *An American History*. Mexican history textbooks: Ríos (1852) *Compendio de la historia de México*; Arróniz (1858) *Manual de historia y cronología de México*; Roa Bárcena (1862) *Catecismo elemental de la historia de México*; Payno (1870) *Compendio de la historia de México*; Pérez Verdía (1883) *Compendio de la historia de México*; García Cubas (1890); *Compendio de historia de México y de su civilización*; Zárata (1893) *Elementos de historia general de México*; Prieto (1886) *Lecciones de historia patria*; Sierra (1894) *Elementos de historia patria*.

### **Romeiras Amado, Maria**

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### **War sculptures: Disability and Social Learning**

“il semble y avoir deux logiques: la logique médicale et la logique sociale” Sticker, 2005: 162

“When it comes to the language that will be used to describe ourselves, each of us is a half-breed of imagination and reality” Hacking, 1988: 233

This paper focuses on the image of the altered body of war veterans with disabilities and the ways in which those bodies created a new concept of human acceptance. The paper centres on the way in which disabled war veterans in Portugal changed popular understandings of the social norm, thus acting as active educators of popular understanding. In this way, I refer to those veterans as sculptures, or active constructors of social norms.

Drawing on the personal published and unpublished diaries, photographs, rehabilitation programs, formal educational experiences and informal social experiences of Portuguese military veterans from World War I to the 60's, I will examine how the words and actions of adult men with war time disabilities educated the public in different conceptions of normative beauty. I argue that veterans educated the public through social interaction in familial circles, military hospitals, associative life and school assistance teams, changing visual concepts of humanity and of beauty.

So, if visual concepts of humanity and of beauty can be altered, starting from familiar circles, military hospitals and school assistance teams, either individual, social or rehabilitation movements are able to generate powerful education skills. The statement of visual differences is smoothed when experiences are shared and naturalized, particularly in situations that imply unusual presentations of our selves. Thus, the larger social question behind my research is: how can dramatic events, such as wars, impact on social learning or formal education?

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Madagascar

### **Langue d'enseignement à Madagascar durant et après la colonisation – Malgache ou français?** [presentation in English]

*L'éducation pour tous* devient un concept complètement vide si l'environnement linguistique de l'apprenant n'est pas pris en considération, a relevé Birgit Brock-Utne (Brock-Utne 2000). Cependant, la langue d'enseignement (LDE) dans plusieurs pays est encore la langue de l'ancien pouvoir colonial.

Avant la colonisation par la France en 1896, la plupart des enfants malgaches scolarisés avaient fréquenté des écoles dirigées par des missions protestantes. La LDE était la langue malgache Merina, une langue écrite développée avec l'aide de missionnaires britanniques à partir de 1820. Elle était celle du groupe clanico politique dominant. La colonisation imposa alors la langue française comme LDE .

Le pouvoir colonial avait considéré la langue comme un instrument important dans la politique d'assimilation et à la création d'élites qui pourraient servir la puissance coloniale. L'administration coloniale dans les pays colonisés influençait fortement l'exécution de la politique éducative. Madagascar est d'ailleurs un cas pertinent dans ce sens à cause de l'existence et le statut de la langue écrite Malgache. La politique assimilatrice dominante n'a pas empêché des désaccords au sein de l'administration coloniale sur la place de la langue malgache dans l'éducation. L'argument majeur était que cette langue renforcera le groupe Merina et alimentera davantage le nationalisme malgache au détriment de l'assimilation.

Depuis l'Indépendance en 1960, la LDE a évolué selon les régimes politiques. Pendant les années soixante, le Français est resté LDE malgré les essais pour introduire le Malgache. Le Malgache est devenu la LDE avec la révolution sociale en 1972, mais depuis 1992 le Français a été réintroduit comme LDE dès la troisième année du primaire. En juillet 2008, le Gouvernement a décidé d'introduire le Malgache comme LDE pour les cinq premières années de ce cycle. Cependant, le pouvoir de fait qui s'est imposé à partir de mars 2009 a coupé court à cette réforme éducative. Aussitôt le Français devait continuer à jouer un grand rôle comme LDE. L'expérience Malgache montre combien la LDE reste un enjeu politique important.

Les perspectives théoriques dans le domaine de la *literacy* (*des aptitudes à lire et à écrire*) décrivent celle-ci comme une pratique sociale et un instrument de pouvoir. Sa diffusion générale a été associée avec un développement démocratique (Goody 1962), mais aussi avec l'oppression (Graff 1979). Le choix de la LDE a un impact sur la fonction de la *literacy*. La problématique de cet article est : Comment les différents *arguments dans les choix de la langue d'enseignement à Madagascar ont-ils influencé le développement du literacy* ? L'article se base sur une analyse historique du matériel primaire des archives et de la littérature secondaire.

### **Language of instruction in Madagascar during and after the colonization – Malagasy or French?**

Education for All becomes a completely empty concept if the linguistic environment of the learners is not taken into account, according to Birgit Brock-Utne (Brock-Utne 2000).



Nevertheless, the language of instruction (LOI) in many countries is still the language of the former colonizing power.

Before France colonized Madagascar in 1896, most of the Malagasy schoolchildren went to schools run by protestant missions where the LOI was Malagasy, based on the dialect of the dominant group Merina and written down by British missionaries during the 1820s. The colonization imposed French as the LOI.

The colonial power put a lot of emphasis on the French language as it was seen as an important instrument in the assimilation policy and in the creation of elites that could serve the colonial power. The local colonial administration had, however, an impact on how policies were implemented in the possessions. Madagascar is an interesting case in this regard due to the existence of the written Malagasy language. Even though policies of assimilation were dominant, there were disagreements within the colonial administration during the whole colonization period about the status of the Malagasy language within education. The main argument was that this language would strengthen the dominant ethnic group Merina and could stimulate Malagasy nationalism at the expense of assimilation.

Since independence in 1960, the LOI has evolved according to the different political regimes. During the nineteen sixties, French continued as LOI, even though there were some attempts at using Malagasy. Malagasy became the LOI with the socialist revolution in 1972, but from 1992 French was reintroduced as LOI from grade three in primary school. In July 2008, the Government decided to introduce Malagasy as LOI during the first five years. However, the de facto power that imposed itself from March 2009 put an end to this educational reform. Immediately it was noted that French would continue to play an important role as LOI. The Malagasy experience illustrates how the LOI remains an important political issue.

Theories within the field of Literacy discuss literacy as a social practice and as an instrument of power. Its general diffusion has been associated with democracy development (Goody 1962), but also with oppression (Graff 1979). The LOI affect the function of literacy and the research question of this paper is: How have different arguments for choosing the language of instruction in Madagascar impacted on literacy development? The paper is based on a historical analysis of primary archival material and secondary literature.

**Rosoff, Nancy**

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### **‘The Pluck of an Overton Girl’: Gender, Ethics, and Experiences of War in the Grace Harlowe Overseas Novels**

This paper will consider how stories written for teenage readers used familiar characters to examine and mediate the experience of war. In 1920, Jessie Graham Flower published the Grace Harlowe overseas series, a run of six books that took the title character and her circle of friends from the comfortable settings of their high school and college years into battle during the Great War. The books followed the progression of the war, as the titles indicate: *Grace Harlowe Overseas*, *Grace Harlowe with the Red Cross in France*, *Grace Harlowe with the Marines at Chateau Thierry*, *Grace Harlowe with the U.S. Troops in the Argonne*, *Grace Harlowe with the Yankee Shock Boys at St. Quentin*, and *Grace Harlowe with the American Army on the Rhine*. More significantly, the books used the adventures of the characters to convey the experiences of war to their readers.

In many ways, these novels were as equally formulaic as their more well-known schoolgirl predecessors: at least one of the central characters got into at least one scrape, there was at least one overwhelming moral dilemma, an unpleasant person made life miserable for one of the heroines, and some sort of great test had to be passed before the book could conclude. But despite the predictable story line, these books drew on collective knowledge of the recently ended war. The books placed familiar characters in unfamiliar circumstances and served as a means of informal instruction for readers that revolved around ethical and moral lessons. Following on from Penny Summerfield's analysis of women's wartime experiences as either 'heroes' or 'stoics', this paper will consider the portrayal of the novels' key characters as definitively heroic and explore the gendered dimensions of those fictional representations.

**Rousmaniere, Kate**

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### **Disability, Masculinity, and the Classroom: Disabled War Veterans and the Occupation of Teaching**

This paper furthers work in the intersection of the history of teachers with the history of disability, adding a third component of military veterans. The link between war veterans and teaching has a wide and often contradictory scope: on the one hand, historical and contemporary "Troops to Teachers" programs in the United States and United Kingdom highlight the value of male military veterans in the classroom, emphasizing stereotypical models of masculine and physically able veterans who will implement their military training in discipline to chaotic and poor classrooms. (Dermott, 2011). On the other hand, a desired emphasis on both masculinity and physicality in the history of teaching has worked to prohibit the hiring of both male and female individuals with disabilities across time and place (Rousmaniere, 2013). What happened to the disabled male military veteran who hoped to enter, or return to, teaching? How did the culturally challenged masculinity of male veteran's disability intersect with perceived "natural" female attributes of teaching in conceptions of teaching in popular culture and the state? What perceptions of intellectual and professional "ability" were refused to male veterans with disabilities (Bourke, 1996, Rose, 2012) This paper explores those questions by spanning the history of male disabled veterans' work as teachers in the US and the UK over the past 150 years. The research is challenging because the analysis of veterans who enter teaching is excluded from much scholarship on the history of disability (in which the educational history focus tends to be on the education of children with disabilities), and also the history of veterans, which tends to focus on education for veterans (Gerber, 2003, Hickel, 2001). The research, centering on the experience of American and British war veterans spanning the last 150 years will establish an argumentative thread for considering the ways in which war veterans with disabilities were treated and conceived of as educators in post-war eras. The research is significant both for the chronicling of this otherwise undocumented group and for the insights that the lens of disabilities offers to the history of teaching and the history of military veterans (Rousmaniere, 2013).

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### **Crónica gráfica de la guerra civil española. Quimeras de la enseñanza e impacto del conflicto en la conformación de la infancia**

*Objeto:* La investigación estudia el impacto de la guerra civil española sobre la infancia, basándonos en las consecuencias traumáticas de la ruptura de la vida cotidiana tras el estallido del conflicto. Durante los años de guerra, el gobierno republicano intentó mantener los avanzados principios del sistema de enseñanza implantado durante el primer bienio. En el trabajo no se eluden las diferentes situaciones en que el amargo legado fue transferido a las sucesivas generaciones. De la guerra también se forjó un imaginario que perduró a lo largo de los años, a través de la memoria recopilada desde el testimonio vital y las imágenes que llegaron a ser publicadas. El manejo de los sentimientos se hace evidente cuando se estudian los modelos contruidos sobre la realidad del bando que defendió a la República. Son parte de la historia forjada por el bando sublevado tras lograr la victoria militar en la contienda civil, trasladado a la enseñanza como medio para moldear la sociedad.

*Método:* La investigación emplea fuentes gráficas, inéditas en muchos casos, captadas por los principales fotógrafos que cubrieron la guerra civil. Son ellos los que construyeron con sus cámaras la imagen que llegó al mundo y que permanece como símbolo en la memoria. Su inclusión en diarios y revistas de prensa permite analizar las condiciones en que fue publicada, y dar cuenta de la información de la que sirvieron como testimonio. A ellas unimos las vivencias de quienes conocieron el conflicto. Para ello se ha entrevistado a sucesivas generaciones, analizando el contenido transmitido sobre la guerra civil. Las diferentes circunstancias que rodean las biografías individuales aportan el testimonio que permite reconstruir la trama reflejada en las imágenes de la infancia. Junto a otras fuentes, permiten desarrollar una investigación original con una dimensión común desde el marco de la historia de la educación.

*Resultados* La investigación recupera y muestra la imagen de la educación republicana durante la guerra civil, contrastada con la información existente extraída a partir de fuentes escritas y testimonios orales. Además, aporta una comparación de la imagen que se proyectó en aquel momento con la visión [memoria] de la realidad vivida por los testigos junto a la que hemos rescatado de los fondos documentales en archivos históricos. Por último damos cuenta de las dimensiones reales de la enseñanza en la zona republicana, poco valoradas y conocidas más allá de los escasos testimonios existentes.

### **A graphic chronicle of the Spanish Civil War. Chimeras of the education and impact of the conflict in the constitution of childhood**

*Aim:* The current research studies the impact of the Spanish Civil War on childhood, taking into account the traumatic consequences which the outbreak of conflict had on everyday lives. During the years of conflict, the Republican government attempted to retain the advanced principles of the educational system introduced during the first biennium. As a result of the war, an ideology emerged which endured for many years through the compilation of memories collected from human testimony and published pictures. The way feelings were handled in that

moment becomes evident when the models constructed about the reality of the Republican side are studied. They are an important part of the history created by the rebel side after achieving military victory in the civil conflict, something that was transferred to education as a way of moulding society.

*Method:* This research uses graphic files, unpublished in most cases, captured by the main photographers who covered the Spanish Civil War. They were the builders of the image that the world could see during this historical period thanks to the pictures they took with their cameras and they remain as a symbol in our memories. The inclusion of these pictures in newspapers and magazines allows us to analyse the conditions in which they were taken, and to examine the information provided at the time. These images, together with the experiences of those who lived through it, lead us to a thorough analysis. We have interviewed several generations to analyse the content transmitted about the Civil War. The different circumstances surrounding these biographies provide the testimony that allows us to reconstruct the story of the conflict reflected in the images of childhood. This, linked to other resources, creates an original project with a common dimension: the history of education.

*Results:* This research regains and shows the image of Republican education during the Spanish Civil War, and contrasts it with the existing information collected in written and oral resources. Furthermore, it contributes to a comparison between the image that was projected at the time, the insight of the reality lived by those who witnessed the conflict and also the information found in the historical files. Finally, we explain the reality of education in the Republican area, usually underappreciated or little known.

### **Rudolf, Nadja and Rothen, Christina**

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Switzerland

### **Childhood in Switzerland during World War II. An analysis of children in the newspaper photography of Ringier**

Since Philippe Ariès' *L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien régime* (1960) the history of childhood was the topic of several analyses in historical, educational and cultural science. For many of the historical childhood studies paintings or photography of children served as basic sources (Ariès 1960; Cunningham 2006; Oelkers 1998). Several studies about childhood in wartime were published, concerning the consequences of World War II. In most of these contributions war is regarded as an extreme circumstance for the development of children (Collins 2011; Knopp 2000; Horchem 2000).

In Switzerland children were not directly involved in hostile action and the civil population was only rarely confronted with losses or war specific cruelty. Nonetheless war time was felt as a time of high uncertainty, fear and hunger. The civil population was confronted with a program for increased agricultural cultivation to enable the highest possible degree of self-supply and with propaganda about national defense (Mauer 1985; Jorio 1998).

In this paper we ask about the role children were meant to play during World War II as part of the civil population in Switzerland. The main question is how the concept of childhood was constructed through media during war time. The study is based on the analysis of the visual inventory of Ringier archive. During World War II Ringier was an important Swiss publisher, that was in charge of nine illustrated magazines for common purpose (Meier/Häussler 2009).

The photography of the Ringier archive will be described, contextualized and interpreted as visual evidence (Jordannova 2012) for the reconstruction of the concept of childhood, built by the media. Thereby the documented activities of children and the relationship between childhood, national defense and war propaganda will be brought into focus.

Preliminary findings indicate that the visual files of Ringier are dominated by pictures of children helping at the home front, mostly collecting basic materials for recycling. Furthermore many pictures show children together with the armed forces, in which farewell scenes were frequently documented. These findings lead to the assumption that childhood was constructed as active part of home front but also as symbol of humanity.

### **Rudolph, Sophie**

University of Melbourne  
Australia

### **Mourning Amid Celebration: Conflicting Views of Indigenous Intelligence and Educability in 1930s Australia**

1938 was the 150-year anniversary of English arrival in Australia. This prompted celebrations led by the Australian Natives Association, which had a membership of Australians of British background, including politicians and influential people in society. These celebrations were, however, matched by commiserations. The Australian Aborigines League and Aborigines Progressive Association led a 'Day of Mourning and Protest' in conjunction with the celebrations, in which they stated: 'this festival of 150 years of so-called 'progress' in Australia commemorates also 150 years of misery and degradation imposed upon the original native inhabitants by the white invaders of this country' (Patten and Ferguson, 1938:3). Although a time of relative peace in Australia, the devastation and destruction of the frontier conflict had wide ranging and long lasting effects. Political activity led by Indigenous people in the late 1930s drew attention to this and demanded 'citizen rights' (Patten and Ferguson, 1938:8).

This paper examines educational discourses regarding Indigenous people during this politically turbulent interwar period and contrasts these with contemporary understandings of Indigenous students with particular attention to the notion of an 'achievement gap'. Official documents from the 1930s and contemporary policy are analysed to develop a history of the present, supported by a theoretical framework drawing on settler-colonial, postcolonial and Foucauldian theories. Guided by Foucauldian traditions of discourse analysis (Graham, 2011) and critical policy studies methodology (Rizvi and Lingard, 2010) I investigate the ways both contemporary and historical constructions of Indigenous educational capacity contribute towards producing particular effects.

This work aims to contribute empirically and conceptually to scholarly debates concerning Indigenous educational inequalities. The insights gained through the development of a history of the present 'achievement gap' contribute to the small but growing historiography of Indigenous education in Australia. This in turn encourages a re-examination of the contours of Indigenous educational disadvantage. The political contestation over citizenship and educability occurring during the late 1930s offers opportunities to engage with the ways in which knowledge is produced and used for particular purposes. I argue that conceptual shifts are required that take greater account of the past, and in particular enduring legacies of settler-colonial histories, so as to address more thoroughly the educational injustices Indigenous students face.

**Ruiz-Corbella, Marta, García-Blanco, Miriam and Diestro, Alfonso**

Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia

Spain

### **La búsqueda de respuestas a los grandes retos educativos europeos: el papel del Consejo de Europa**

Ortega y Gasset (1949) en su conferencia, *de Europa meditatio quaedam* (Universidad Libre de Berlín), planteó el problema de los conflictos sociales en los que Europa estaba inmersa y la necesidad de recuperar una identidad colectiva que garantizara la construcción pacífica de un futuro común. No aportó soluciones a esta situación tan incierta, pero ese mismo año se creó el Consejo de Europa (COE) mediante el Tratado de Londres; organización que nació con la finalidad de salvaguardar y promover las ideas y principios europeos, que son su patrimonio común, y favorecer la paz entre las naciones, su progreso económico y social. Para ello, entre otros objetivos, se propuso favorecer la identidad cultural europea, prestando particular atención a la educación, que acabaría fraguando años después en una clara apuesta por la Dimensión Europea en la Educación (DEE).

Desde el inicio de su actividad, con la Conferencia Europea sobre la Juventud (1951) o con la Resolución sobre el Manual de Educación Cívica Europea (1952), el COE se mostró preocupado y ocupado en el desarrollo y la consolidación de una Europa democrática, garante de los derechos humanos y las libertades fundamentales, capaz de favorecer la paz, garantizar la cohesión social y también el desarrollo económico sostenible. Ahora bien, con el convencimiento de que sólo se lograría si se construye a partir de su diversidad, como crisol de culturas y lenguas que es.

Esta idea, defendida ahora en otros organismos supranacionales, presenta un largo recorrido en el COE, poco conocido. Desde su origen, se vio en la educación la vía clave para alcanzar ese estado supranacional democrático, en el que la identidad de cada pueblo era, y continua siendo, uno de los valores más preciados. En la Resolución R64/11 se expresó el convencimiento y la necesidad de expandir en Europa un modelo educativo, que diera a los jóvenes mejores y mayores oportunidades, en un mundo en el que la competitividad resulta cada vez más intensa y la cooperación internacional más necesaria.

Aportar las ideas vertidas en las resoluciones emitidas por el COE a lo largo de estos años supone un referente necesario para entender el valor y contenido de la DEE, en un momento histórico de cambios tan radicales y, especialmente, en el que afloran de nuevo los nacionalismos exacerbados. Seguir la intrahistoria educativa del COE, y valorar el sentido e influencia de sus aportaciones, resulta clave para comprender la necesidad de incorporar la dimensión europea a los sistemas educativos europeos, a la vez que entender la urgencia de aprender a vivir en una Europa, en la cual, la diferencia y la diversidad sean ese factor de unión y enriquecimiento.

### **The search for answers to the major European educational challenges: the role of the Council of Europe**

Ortega y Gasset (1949) in his lecture, *de Europa meditatio quaedam* (Free University Berlin), raised the issue of social conflicts in which Europe was immersed and the need to recover a collective identity that ensured the construction of a common peaceful future. He did not provide solutions to this uncertain situation, but meanwhile the Council of Europe (COE) was established by the Treaty of London. This organization was created with the purpose of safeguarding and promoting European ideas and principles which are their common heritage, promote peace among nations and their economic and social progress. For this, among other objectives, it was

proposed to promote European cultural identity, paying particular attention to education, which eventually hatched years after a clear commitment by the European Dimension in Education (EDE).

From the beginning of its activity, such as the European Youth Conference (1951) or the Resolution on the European Manual for Civic Education (1952), the COE was concerned and engaged in the development and consolidation of a democratic Europe, guarantor of human rights and fundamental freedoms, capable of promoting peace, ensure social cohesion and sustainable economic development. Now, all of this could only be achieved if it is built from the European diversity, as the melting pot of cultures and languages that it is.

This idea, defended now by other supranational bodies, has a long history in the COE, poorly understood. From the beginning, education was the key to achieving this democratic supranational state route, in which the identity of each nation was, and remains, one of the most cherished values. The resolution R64/11 stood out the conviction and the need to expand in Europe an educational model, to give young people better and greater opportunities in a world where competition was increasingly intense and the necessary international cooperation was expressed.

To provide the ideas expressed in the resolutions issued by the COE over the years is a necessity to understand the value and content of the EDE, in such a historic moment of radical changes, especially concerning emerging exacerbated nationalism. Following COE educational intrahistory, and analysing the meaning and impact of their contributions, is key to understanding the need to incorporate the European dimension in education systems in Europe. This will lead to understanding the urgency of learning to live in a Europe in which difference and diversity are its binding factor and enrichment.

### **Ruolt, Anne**

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### **La Grande Guerre creuset de l'éducation nouvelle chez Gustave Adolphe Alphonse Monod (1885-1968)?**

Blessé et démobilisé le 21/12/1918, Monod est invalide de guerre comme Freinet, mais alors que Freinet l'instituteur-praticien développe une pédagogie active qui palie à ses limites physiques, Monod le philosophe-théoricien développe une pédagogie qui prolonge son expérience des autres humains. Monod témoigne : « j'ai été mêlé à la grande foule car, pendant les quatre années de la guerre de 1914, j'ai été soldat de deuxième classe [...] C'est la plus profonde expérience humaine que j'ai eue à traverser (...) j'ai trouvé parmi mes camarades de section des trésors de cœur, de caractère, d'intelligence aussi, que les études primaires n'avaient pas mis à jour et que les circonstances de la guerre révélaient (...) j'aspire donc (...) à une pédagogie qui irait au devant des possibilités humaines que chacun porte en soi (...), qui donnerait à chacun la possibilité de s'élever » (Monod, 1974, p. 293).

Père de l'école nouvelle et éminent membre de la Commission Langevin-Wallon, Monod nous permet-il de vérifier l'hypothèse de la Grande Guerre creuset de l'école nouvelle ? Peut-on dire que la première guerre mondiale a servi de « détonateur » à l'action éducative de Monod ou a-t-elle servi de « catalyseur » à des idées et des valeurs éducatives héritées de sa tradition familiale ?

Telle est la question que nous discuterons dans cette communication qui s'inscrit dans l'histoire des idées éducatives.

Homme de cabinet plutôt que de plume, l'objet de cette recherche s'est construit sur les allocutions de l'inspecteur général de l'instruction public français, les rapports, les circulaires produites au début du XXe siècle en France, ainsi que les procès verbaux des séances de la Commission Langevin-Wallon. Pour l'héritage éducatif, on se souviendra que son aïeul Frédéric Monod (1794-1863) a été le pasteur fondateur de la première école du dimanche à Paris (1822) qui a mis l'éducation intégrale en pratique. Les écrits du pasteur-pédagogue Gauthey qui a systématisé la théorie pédagogique des écoles protestantes serviront à évaluer la part d'héritage familial.

### **Was the First World War a crucible for Gustave Monod's (1885-1968) "éducation nouvelle"?**

Wounded and discharged in 1918, Monod was a war invalid, as was Freinet, but while Freinet the teacher-practitioner develops an active pedagogy that overcomes his physical limitations, Monod the philosopher-theorist develops a pedagogy that draws on his experience of other human beings. Monod says: " I have been mixed in with the crowd because, during the four years of the 1914 war, I was a second grade soldier [ ... ] This was the deepest human experience that I have ever had to go through (...) I found among my division fellows such treasures of heart, character and intelligence, too, that primary school education had not shown up, but which the circumstances of the war revealed (...) So now I long to see a form of education that draws out the human possibilities that everyone carries in them (...), and which would give everyone the opportunity to rise to his full potential"( Monod, 1974, p. 293).

Father of the New school and prominent member of the Commission Langevin-Wallon , does Monod allow us to test the hypothesis that the Great War was the crucible of the New school ? Can we say that the First World War served as a "detonator" to Monod's educational action, or rather that it served as a " catalyst " for ideas and educational values inherited from his family tradition? That is the question that we will discuss in this paper, putting it into the context of the history of education.

As he was more an civil servant than a writer, the object of this research are the speeches of the Inspector General of French public education, reports and circulars issued in the early twentieth century in France, as well as minutes of meetings of the Commission Langevin-Wallon. As for his educational legacy, it will be remembered that his ancestor the pastor Frédéric Monod (1794-1863) was the founder of the first Sunday school in Paris (1822) which put "integral education" into practice. The writings of the pastor-teacher Gauthey, who systematized educational theory for Protestant schools, will help us assess the part played by his family inheritance.

**Ruoss, Thomas and Imlig, Flavian**

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Switzerland

### **From competition to steering: Political aims and realisation of statistical comparison in Swiss education systems**

As evidence-based policy making is a current but not new phenomenon, we are going to outline the historical change of political aims concerning education statistics, which has been closely



connected to the demand for structural (national and international) comparisons. Based on the assumption that structural comparisons have been a part of education statistics since the second half of the 19th century, we are going to focus on the change of explicit political aims to legitimate such statistical comparisons.

The implementation of a democratic, federal state in Switzerland in 1848 induced a rise in data-gathering in education systems on the local and the national level – a phenomenon which can be observed on the international level, as well (Lawn, 2013). After a latent phase of education statistics activity in Switzerland during the first half of the 20th century, in the post-war decades, a new demand for such data can be discerned – data which is employed in order to deal with the expansion of the education systems and for planning purposes (Ruoss, 2013). Nowadays, international comparative achievement studies and associated educational evaluation systems probably represent the most important databases for educational policy. Vice versa, educational monitoring can be described as observation of education by policy (Brosziewski, 2007). Given the definition of human capital as a crucial driver of national or international economic prosperity (Lassnigg, 2009), politicians – in their need to take decisions – have to rely on scientifically based knowledge to orientate, justify and legitimate their actions (Radtke, 2012). In Switzerland, educational evaluation systems have been implemented on the national level as well as in some of the federated states (cantons) since 2000.

In our paper, we are going to focus on three periods of growing educational data production on the cantonal level: rise of data in the 19th century, expansion in education since the 1960s and the surge of educational evaluation in the 21st century. Our analysis covers a set of official cantonal publications including different types of publications – from annual government reports to actual education statistics. We point out the political aims of education statistics – especially the legitimization of statistical data collection – as well as the presentation of comparative data. Based on our research, we are going to identify aspects of persistence and change in the political aims concerning educational statistics as well as a highly permanent use of specific presentation modes, such as structural comparison.

To conclude, we intend to focus on the proposition that political aims are perceived to be more variable than the actual realisation of statistical comparisons. Thereby, the political aims may be argued to have developed from a distinct rhetoric of competition and “measuring up to the best” to a more rational aim of planning and steering, as well as to an emphasis on quality and standards.

**Sadovnik, Alan**

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United States

### **Education Interrupted: Ruth Haas, the Kindertransport in England, 1939-1945 and its Effects**

In the months after Kristallnacht in 1938 until the breakout of war in 1939, 10,000 Jewish children from Nazi Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the Free City of Danzig left on the Kindertransport to the United Kingdom. A project of World Jewish Relief (formerly the Central British Fund for Germany Jewry) it anticipated the coming Holocaust and saved the lives of these children. Unaccompanied by their parents, the children were placed in British foster

families for the duration of the war. Only about 10% ever saw their parents again, as they were killed in concentration camps or in other ways.

In July 1939, 11 1/2 year old Ruth Haas kissed her parents and older sister good bye at the Berlin train station and left for Hull, England, where she spent until 1945 with a foster family as part of this Kindertransport. She came from a bourgeois German Jewish family, her father a Ph.D. chemist and her uncle a medical doctor. Her family expected her and her older sister to continue the family tradition of higher education. In Hull, she went to school until the age of 14 and although passing the examination for further secondary education, her foster parents required that she leave school to work full time in Hammond's department store, which ended her formal education.

Ruth was one of the lucky 10% who ever saw her family again, her parents and sister miraculously escaping Nazi Germany in 1941 on the next to last train before the borders closed for good. They settled in Brooklyn, NY and after the war, Ruth joined them. From 1945-1991, she worked as a legal secretary rising to the role of department supervisor in a large real estate law firm in Brooklyn until her retirement.

In 2010, her only child, Alan Sadovnik, discovered the existence of her school notebook, written in large part to help her learn English. He learned about it, and more about his mother's courageous young life, when contacted out of the blue by Rebecca Morrison, a woman living at the time in Berlin. Her father, an antiquarian book dealer, had come upon the schoolbook in Hull and bought it, taken by the neat penmanship on the cover: "Twice a Refugee", by Ruth Haas.

Over the years, Haas Sadovnik had chronicled her life in Germany and England and their effects on her adult life in the United States in a memoir and a Shoah Foundation oral history. Based upon these and the journal, this paper examines the effects of the Holocaust and Haas' experiences on the Kindertransport on her life, especially her education. It discusses the interruption of her schooling and how it affected her adult life and experiences. Most importantly, it provides documentary evidence from primary sources on the effects of war and the Holocaust on the adults who sent their children away, the children on the Kindertransport and their children. Finally, the paper will relate Haas' story to the larger literature on the Holocaust and the Kindertransport.

### **Saint-Martin, Jean**

University of Strasbourg  
France

### **Sports, Educations Physiques et Identité française (1866-1945)**

Depuis la défaite militaire de Sadowa, les acteurs des éducations physiques et des sports français militent pour que ces deux formes d'activité physique soient reconnues comme des armes diplomatiques d'un nouveau genre. Les nombreuses conceptions proposées cherchent non seulement à promouvoir la puissance géostratégique de la France mais à renforcer l'identité française partout en Europe.

"Faire des Françaises et des Français" pour leur permettre d'être forts pour être en paix nécessite de bien réfléchir aux caractéristiques de l'identité nationale. Structurées autour du concept de « *Frenchness* », les différentes innovations permettent ainsi de rendre compte de multiples masculinités et féminités et de rapports sociaux de sexe déséquilibrés.

A l'instar des fêtes de l'Union des Sociétés de Gymnastique de France, de l'Union des Sociétés Françaises de Sports Athlétiques ou des initiatives des Ligues Nationale et Girondine d'Education physique, chacun milite pour revendiquer un nationalisme affinitaire où le principal devoir de l'homme d'action doit être de se tourner à la fois vers lui même, mais aussi vers sa famille et sa patrie. Quelle que soit l'activité corporelle pratiquée, chacun lutte contre la paresse, la mollesse et l'inaction afin de promouvoir le modèle du « *bon français* » et d'initier les jeunes Françaises et Français aux principes de rivalité et de concurrence pour mettre fin à l'image de ces « *irascibles Français* », perçus hors du territoire national comme des « *égoïste, vaniteux, servile, cocardier, incivique, inapte aux grandes affaires, hargneux, indiscipliné, bavard, intempérant, et dévoreur de... grenouilles* ».

A l'instar des travaux d'Edmond-Marc Lipiansky, l'identité française ne résulte donc pas seulement d'une relation à soi-même mais elle naît aussi et surtout d'une confrontation militaire à l'autre, à la fois objet de fascination et de rejet.

### **Sports, Physical Education and Frenchness (1866-1945)**

*no English translation received.*

#### **Saint-Martin, Jean**

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#### **Attali, Michaël**

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### **«Entre guerre et paix», l'union sacrée des gymnastiques française et sokole à la fin du XIXe siècle**

Alors que l'on s'apprête à célébrer en France le centenaire de la Révolution française, les gymnastes français décident d'inviter à Paris leurs homologues sokols pour réaffirmer la contribution de l'amitié franco-tchécoslovaque dans l'édification d'une Europe pacifiée. L'accueil reçu par la délégation sokole témoigne d'un grand enthousiasme et marque une étape supplémentaire dans l'expression publique de sentiments patriotiques. Revendiquant leur attachement aux idéaux républicains, chacun des deux camps souhaite mettre en effet en scène leur germanophobie afin de renforcer non seulement l'institutionnalisation en Europe de la gymnastique mais aussi d'appeler à une vigilance des démocraties européennes vis-à-vis des projets pangermanistes. Deux décennies après les batailles militaires de Sadowa et de Sedan, tous s'accordent pour dénoncer la nécessité d'instituer partout en Europe une préparation gymnique du futur soldat. En même temps que l'on souligne cette nécessité de préparer à s'opposer aux Allemands, les gymnastes français et tchécoslovaques dénoncent le paradoxe qui existe entre les réalités de la guerre et la nécessité d'établir en Europe une paix durable. Plus généralement, il s'agira ici de démontrer que l'usage politique et social de la gymnastique peut servir à la fois la cause d'un nationalisme de défense tout en évoquant parfois d'une manière explicite et publique une velléité belliqueuse où guerre et paix constituent un ensemble à la fois homogène et contradictoire.

Cette contribution cherche à montrer que la sociabilité sportive prédispose le rapprochement de deux peuples pourtant éloignés au moins géographiquement mais se retrouvant autour du rôle à accorder à la gymnastique pour construire le citoyen soldat dont tout régime politique rêve

durant le dernier tiers du XIXe siècle. L'enjeu central reste celui de convaincre de la nécessité d'éduquer physiquement et moralement la jeunesse française et tchèque en quête d'un nouvel idéal à partir non seulement des traditions héritées de la Révolution française mais aussi des initiatives allemandes en la matière. En France, cet intérêt n'est pas dépourvu d'enjeux car il s'agit d'associer d'une façon encore plus explicite la notion de "corps militaire" à celle de corps scolaire.

Au niveau du corpus, les archives des Sokols, consultées aux archives nationales de Prague, viendront compléter les archives de l'Union des Sociétés de Gymnastique de France. Outre les correspondances, l'analyse détaillée des bulletins de chacune des deux sociétés de gymnastique et l'étude de la presse généraliste de la fin des années 1880 permettront de mettre en exergue l'influence des imaginaires collectifs dans l'expression des identités nationales de cette époque.

### **"Between War and Peace", the Alliance of French and sokole gymnastics at the end of the XIXth Century**

*no English translation received.*

**Sakai, Tatsuya**

Mukogawa Women's University

Japan

### **Japanese children's writing from progressivism to militarism during the later 1930s**

Furuichi Jinjō Higher Elementary School (FJHES) (ages 6-15) in Hyogo Prefecture, advocated the educational ideals of John Dewey in the 1920s, and its educational practice focused on children's own lives. At the time, the elementary school was one of the schools most committed to child-centred education in the prefecture.

This paper focuses on written composition as taught at FJHES from 1924 to 1940, in a period of national political turbulence. With an essay collection titled "*Mebae*" ("*The growth of children's mental awareness*") as a primary historical source, drastic changes in the compositions written by the children are revealed. The essays changed in content from those based on ideals advocated by Dewey, such as "emphasis on children's direct experiences" and "children's personal motives", to those revealing children's strong support for the wars. This anthology was first issued in 1921, and published regularly thereafter almost once a year. The 21st issue dated March 1941 is the last extant. The majority of the collections contain children's written compositions.

During the period from 1921 to 1940, one year before FJHES became a National School(1), the elementary school originally based its essay writing education on children's lives, under a strong Deweyan influence. But overseas military engagements such as the Manchurian Incident in 1931 prompted the school to erect statues of historical figures exemplifying traditional virtues such as Ninomiya Sontoku and Kusunoki Masashige and introduced a new emphasis on Japanese nationalism in its curriculum. Coordinating with these changes, the teaching of children's composition also underwent a transformation, reflecting cooperation with the military regime. Especially after the Sino-Japanese War erupted in 1937, children's essays began to conspicuously show their support for the wars. The *Mebae* collection includes many essays about war-related events such as *Yohai* (a ritual salute in the direction of the Emperor's residence), or a send-off party for soldiers, or letters to console soldiers, that were written under the guidance of teachers.

Points to note in the analysis of those compositions are subjects, titles, and war-related vocabulary chosen by children, as well as teachers' comments on the essays. This case study of FJHES will contribute to the next major question: elucidation of aspects of writing instruction based on education for living in general primary schools, and the entire process of transformation through oppression in public and private sectors.

Although the New Education Movement was certainly based in European and North American thought, there is no doubt that Japanese educators attempted to construct a distinctive progressive educational philosophy. At the point of implementation, however, it was absorbed into the contemporary nationalistic mood of Japanese society. The shift of pupils' compositions at FJHES into pro-war sentiment, one can say, was an indication of the weak reception in Japan of worldwide new education movements.

(1) Japan's compulsory schools (ages 6-14) were renamed National Schools (Kokumin Gakkō) in 1941 in conjunction with curricular consolidation that emphasized physical training and national service.

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**Facilitating Student Engagement with Survivors' Post-Holocaust Stories through Digitally Augmented Experiences of London**

Research exploring the influence of mobile technologies on experiences of place has suggested that location-based digital augmentation can facilitate new forms of learning and engagement (Williams et al., 2005; Swift, 2013). There is great potential for digitally augmented explorations of place to support historical and empathetic inquiry into individuals' past experiences. In the context of ethical Holocaust Education (Pearce, 2013; Lindquist, 2008; Glanz, 1999; USHMM) this potential responds to a need for Holocaust survivors to be understood by contemporary students not as 'victims' of events that took place 'over there' and 'back then' but as individuals with stories that have significance in relation to the students' culture. Through a focus on specific locations of London, established through digital augmentation, there is a potential for connections to be forged between contemporary students in the capital and the stories of Holocaust survivors who emigrated to London during or after the war. This paper explores how digital augmentation could be used to design an experience of London that re-humanises survivors of the Holocaust by engaging students with their post-war narratives in London, exploring issues of identity, trauma and memory. It considers how the design of a digitally augmented experience could include and use multimodal materials in order to encourage students to consider such questions as: What impact have Holocaust survivors had on the local environment? What difficulties did they have adjusting to life in London? How do they remain part of the local culture? It presents a plan for conducting participatory design-based research in order to make this kind of digital tool a reality.

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### **Mujeres Libres in the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939): Cultural and social projects**

During the Spanish Civil War, *Mujeres Libres* (“Free Women”) became involved in a variety of cultural and supportive projects, in an attempt to achieve female emancipation. The anarchist group wanted to liberate working women from economic slavery, and took advantage of the opportunity presented by the men’s mobilisation on the Fronts to incorporate those women into jobs to which they would previously have had no access. Cultural education was offered in the schools established in Madrid, Barcelona and Valencia, and at the *Casal de la Dona Treballadora* (“Working Women’s House”) in Catalonia, with the aim of putting an end to women’s illiteracy; in other areas, courses were imparted in general culture, languages and in a variety of specialities. Professional training was given in the schools or *Secciones de Trabajo* (“Working Sections”) which *Mujeres Libres* set up in the local and provincial chapters to provide training for women workers. Alongside the training were the support duties assigned to women during the War, such as nursing or making clothes for the combatants. In addition, *Mujeres Libres* worked with the *Sindicato Internacional Antifascista* (SIA - “International Anti-Fascist Syndicate”) in the social institutions that were set up on the Republican “home front”.

The regions where *Mujeres Libres* had most activity were: the Central Region, with branches in Madrid, Ciudad Real, Cuenca, Guadalajara and Toledo; Catalonia, with over 40 branches between Barcelona, Girona, Lérida and Tarragona; and the Levant region, with branches in Valencia, Alicante, Albacete and Murcia. Groups were also established in the regions of Andalucía, Extremadura and Aragón, but their activity was less. In this study, we shed light on the cultural and supportive projects carried out by this group of women in the various regions, through the lens of an analysis of the content of the movement’s eponymous journal, *Mujeres Libres*, with the aim of demonstrating the importance of such projects in the Spanish Civil War.

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### **And then, the Victory Came. Early Childhood Education after the Spanish Civil War**

This research is likely to lead to interesting results regarding the effects that the Spanish Civil War had in Early Childhood Education with a special focus on the role played by the Catholic Church. As in most things, the civil war was a break since a strong process of qualitative and quantitative improvements in the education system was brutally interrupted. The circumstances experienced in the postwar period (destruction, misery, hunger) did not facilitate the education of the youngest children. The new model of woman pretended to be the opposite of the one that had begun to be built along the twentieth century. This model supported by Franco’s regime

in close alliance with the Catholic Church, is centered in the three Ks of the German slogan: “Kinder, Küche, Kirche” (Children, Kitchen, Church). The state and the Catholic Church had eagerly sought after controlling education for more than a century, but after the war, the state just delegated to the Church and took a subsidiary role.

We want to explore this subject giving examples of the theoretical discussions, the Education Acts and the practices:

a) Theories: From Fröbel and Montessori to the “low” primary school. The needlessness of early childhood education since children could stay with their mothers.

b) The Primary Education Act of 1945.

c) Practices: Enrolment rates and didactic materials. The analysis of the strong ideological contents of the primers used in the schools reflects the main interests that the Church and the State had in education.

All this leads us to the same conclusion: The education of children under six years was not interesting for the Church or for the State. This lack of interest is usually explained by ideological reasons. The Church was particularly interested in secondary school to tightly control the education of those who could become future leaders. The weakness of the state has always facilitated the influence that the church has had on teaching. It is clear that church-state relations may explain the particular development of preschool education in our country.

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## **Wartime Nurseries: Developments and Implications?**

An unsigned editorial in the *British Medical Journal* in 1944 entitled *War in the Nursery* included the following statement ‘Destructive impulses let loose in war may serve to fan the flame of aggression natural to the nursery age’. This referred to the introduction and establishment of a war time nursery scheme in Britain.

It has been stated that wartime provision was a golden age of pre-school care and education; yet contemporary evidence indicates that this was far from accurate not only in terms of numbers but in standards.

Before 1939 there were inklings of a debate and demand for childcare and the educating of mothers but this was mainly around the provision of Nursery schools and mother-craft lessons for young women. The campaigning *Nursery World* journal indicated in 1925 that “the bad old days when every woman was supposed to know by instinct how to nurse, feed and teach children have gone forever; the art of looking after children is recognised as an art if not a science”.

However Authorities remained unsure whether this was to be a local authority responsibility or a more central Ministry (Labour or Health) led project and perhaps more importantly whether facilities were to be designated for care, education or as determined by the outbreak of war in 1939- employment driven.

This paper seeks to discover the meaning attached to the concept of a nursery age, what was the purpose for example of these new wartime nurseries, to what extent did they provide an educational space for children and whose interest did they serve both during and after the war. In addition the paper explores ideas resonant at the time that nurseries aided the war effort as they freed up women for employment and demonstrated that parenting, by necessity, could be taken from the private into the public sphere. It may also be significant that women in moving beyond home and hearth skills created an employment niche for themselves

The authors draw upon their long term research into the war time nursery scheme in the Midlands region. This research includes archival source material, photographs and the personal testimonies of women who worked in the war time nurseries.

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### **Childhood, Nationality, and Gender: The Construction of Pioneers and Warriors in the Hebrew Education system in Mandatory Palestine and its Influence on Gender Relations**

The British administered Palestine from 1917 to 1948. Their declared goal was to establish a national home for the Jewish people in Eretz Israel. Two national groups lived in the country – an Arab majority and a Jewish minority – and both asserted their right to establish their own nation-state. The Arabs employed many means to realize their goal – including violence. During these years, there were several Arab uprisings, climaxing in the Revolt of 1936 – 1939. Throughout this period, hundreds of Jewish citizens were murdered by Arab terrorists. These events accompanied the childhood of many Jewish children and influenced their lives.

- In this complex situation, the Hebrew education system focused on building up the Hebrew child. The structuration of childhood included diverse goals:
- Imparting shared national values and creating a shared national culture
- Molding a modern, Western-style childhood
- Enlisting the pupils in the campaign to build Eretz Israel and its settlements
- Cultivating the values of combat, bravery, and sacrifice in pursuit of the establishment of the future homeland.

The paper will focus on how this structuration of childhood impacted gender relations in Jewish society in Mandatory Palestine. The children of the Yishuv generally studied in mixed classes in co-ed schools and were taught by teachers of both sexes. The syllabus and the textbooks were identical. Nevertheless, different gender messages were imparted to boys and girls. Boys were expected to be pioneers and fighters, while girls were fed the traditional sexist messages. Focusing on the construction of the warrior figure, I will attempt to expose the covert and overt messages conveyed to boys and girls and their impact on the children's orientation towards the future. The conclusions of the study are based on the following research methods:

- A textual study of the readers used in the schools
- An analysis of the minutes of faculty meetings
- An analysis of circulars issued by education department of the Yishuv institutions to determine whether there was a policy on this issue that was dictated from on high
- An analysis of Mandatory-era diaries and compositions by children and teenagers, to present their absent voice and their orientation towards the future



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### **Peace and war in reading books of a neutral nation. The case of French speaking Switzerland (1860-1980)**

« One might forgive us to have left aside the conquerors and heroes of the battlefields in favor of the heroes of science and industry » the editors write in the first official reading book in the canton of Geneva in 1871. Is this the way all reading books in neutral Switzerland treat heroes and battlefields? What happens when there is war around the country? Can peace be a topic and is it more frequent after war? Is Switzerland's early engagement in humanitarian action – the famous Red Cross – a specific way of reflecting war and peace in Swiss schools.

In our study, we will explore questions like these in analyzing a corpus of reading books in three French speaking Swiss cantons from 1860 to 1980: Fribourg – catholic and rural; Vaud – protestant and mainly rural; Geneva – protestant and urban. Switzerland is characterized by the fact that each canton has its own autonomous ministry of public education that produces its own reading books that are compulsory. Our corpus comprises all reading books of these cantons for the intermediate (around 10 year old pupils) and superior primary school (12-13 years old). Each book lasts 20 to 30 years, less in the post Second War period. 41 reading books of around 300-400 pages are analyzed, each containing 150 to 200 texts, i.e. more or less 8000 texts.

For a first quantitative analysis, all texts will be coded in function of categories indicating the presence of war or peace in the texts: events and actions taking place in clear relation to peace and war; persons that play a role in battles or wars; description of institutions (army), places, rituals linked to war and peace. The quantitative results are analyzed in function of historical periods but also of the different series (cantons, school degrees) and of the authors of the text.

On the basis of this analysis, a representative subset of texts will be constituted for a qualitative analysis. Which are the points of view typically adopted towards war: patriotic, nationalist, humanist, universal? Do the texts invite to identification, to critical reflection, to empathy, to action? Does Switzerland's neutrality influence these points of view?

**Scholz, Joachim, Berdelmann, Kathrin, Reh, Sabine and Reimers, Bettina**

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### **World War I in Everyday-Life at German Schools**

In 2004, Andreas von Prondczynsky was among the first to criticize the fact that Germany historians of education had neglected World War I (Prondczynsky 2004). Such neglect contradicted the significance of the topic of "war" in the cultural life of the German empire and was at odds with the dissemination of a specific "war-pedagogy" that had permeated the German universities as well as the educational practice in schools in the early 20th century. In connection with a political reappraisal of the history of schools during the 1980s, rather little research was produced with regard to, on the one hand, the somewhat astonishing unanimous cooperation

among different players – including many leading representatives of progressive education and female school teachers – who supported a war-glorifying ideology and, on the other hand, a connection between military policies of expansion and a “mobilization of schools” (see, for instance, Bendele 1984; Conrad 1986; Arbeitsgruppe Lehrer und Krieg 1987). However, we still lack a systematic, internationally comparative study about “war-pedagogy” that takes into account contemporary literature and its repercussions during the Weimar Republic.

We explore how WWI became a part of everyday-life in German schools by analyzing a body of diverse sources from the archives of the Research Library of the History of Education in Berlin. In the process of doing so, we will attempt to differentiate between boys’ and girls’ schools. We examine the significance of WWI for everyday-life in schools by focusing on archival materials from individual schools and by looking into the organization of schools, teaching commitment, teachers’ attitudes as well as developments in teacher and student relationships. Our selection includes two urban secondary schools: the „Höhere Mädchenschule“ (a girls’ school) with affiliated teachers’ seminary in Leipzig, which was headed by Hugo Gaudig (1860-1923), and the “Georg-Herwegh-Oberschule” in Berlin. Additional materials besides the annual reports (which comprise the period up to 1915) are available for these schools. Moreover, a progressive educational elementary school in the countryside (Eden/Oranienburg), which was closely connected to the youth movement will be taken into account. The available materials include pictures, examination essays from the 1914 “Notabitur” (“emergency-graduation”) with teachers’ corrections, students’ texts, and personal files. They illustrate the challenges that schools faced in adapting their routines to the necessities and requirements of war. On the basis of such sources we reconstruct the school’s problem-solving strategies at times of war and their efforts to maintain a certain normality in class.

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### **“The sacred promise to educate” in emancipation: discourses of education of the black population in the *American Journal of Education* (1861-1869)**

The education of the black population was a crucial aspect of the abolition of slavery in the USA. During the Civil War (1861-1865), according to a report by the French educator and traveller, Celestin Hippeau, a group of teachers accompanied the northern army around the southern states and opened 1,500 schools. Our central interest concerns debates on the process of investment in black education, during and after the Civil War. The *American Journal of Education* was a significant journal focused upon public instruction, edited by the educator and reformer Henry Barnard. The editions from 1861 to 1865, 1867 and 1868 contain just a few notes about “colored children”. However, in the volume for 1866, we found at least three further articles on this topic: “Education as an element in the policy of Reconstruction”, “Educational duties of the hour” and the “National Bureau of Education”, each by separate authors. The first one concerns the need to rebuild the southern states that were devastated as a result of the war. It viewed education as an essential element in preparing freedmen to assume the role of good and loyal citizens: “The slaves are free but they have not yet learned to conduct themselves as freemen”. The second argued that, although their former masters did not want to pay local taxes for their instruction, the 4 million liberated slaves must be educated and the country should “for the first

time meet the demands of humanity, civilization and freedom". The Reverend Charles Brooks was cited: "They ask it at our hands and the world expects us to do it because in the very act of emancipation there is the sacred promise *to educate*. Slavery has kept the word education out of our National Constitution. Now four millions of starved minds implore its introduction". The third article speaks of the government's responsibility to educate the freedmen in the same way as whites, as a result of their access to the ballot-box. In the volume of 1869 there is a copy of the "American Year-book and national register", and the Journal testifies to "the surprising thirst for knowledge" of colored people that was discovered after the national forces entered the South in 1861. As a journal that diffused significant debates on education in that period, it is interesting that there were no references to this subject during the Civil War period itself. We can conclude, however, with the 1866 Journal edition, that the education of freedmen was essential to civilization in the new post war social order.

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*SWG Gender: Gender, Power Relations and Education in a Transnational World*

### **European Influences on The Educational Formation of Hebrew Masculinity in Rural Galilee Prior to 1948**

Zionist re-settlement of Eretz-Israel (Hebrew name for Palestine) aimed to establish a future Jewish state and, considered that this ultimate national goal required the formation of a new archetype, the 'Hebrew'. The paper will show how clear influences of European masculine culture on the Hebrew archetype found their expressions in local educational activity. Thus, by transmitting European patterns into a new national sphere, the educational system became an important vehicle for transnational influences.

Rural Hebrew settlements existed in Galilee, the Northern part of Eretz-Israel, since the end of the nineteenth century. They entertained an efficient educational system, in which the implantation of those masculine values was intensive. The activity for masculine education in the period that preceded the establishment of the state of Israel is the theme of the present paper, which will try to suggest preliminary replies to some consequential issues:

\*To which extent was the Hebrew male a European male?

\*What was the particular function of 'sense of place', in its European interpretation, in implanting masculinity? In that context, what was the place of the Arab, as representing, the 'other', non-masculine representative, in developing notions of masculinity?

\*What was the part of personal charisma of educators? Was the teacher an educator, a leader, or both? In that context, was there direct relevance between non-formal paramilitary education and education for masculinity?

\*Why had Hebrew masculinity necessarily be part of secular culture? In that context, was education for secularism inspired by European views?

\*Were women also encouraged to adapt masculine features?

\*To what extent did education for masculinity bring in its wings implicit proto-fascist notions and how much were those inspired by masculine notions of European fascism?

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*SWG Gender: Gender, Power Relations and Education in a Transnational World*

### **Labeling Women's Relationships: Methodological and Ethical Dilemmas from the Historical, Contemporary and Transnational Study of Women Educational Leaders**

This paper will explore the methodological issues related to the study of women educational leaders who may have been or may be lesbians and how they have been referred to in the historical and contemporary literature. For example, their partners have been referred to as companions, friends, or partners; and their relationships have been called women committed relationships, friendships, partnerships or Boston marriages.

Given the transnational importance of this issue and based upon a discussion of current research on the founders of a charter school and historical examples of such leaders, this paper will examine these issues in the context of transnational and global comparisons. For example, gender identity and societal attitudes toward homosexuality is vastly different across the globe. Western liberal democracies, including the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, nations in Scandinavia and some of Western Europe have more liberal attitudes with Muslim and Catholic nations having more conservative attitudes. With rapidly changing laws in countries such as the U.S., including the legalization of gay marriages, the decision to "come out" is changing rapidly. Such changes, however, need to be examined in a historical, societal and transnational context.

There are a number of methodological and ethical dilemmas related to the study of these women and to labeling their relationships, especially when the leaders did not acknowledge their lesbianism publicly. From a methodological perspective, the questions are what type of evidence is sufficient to draw conclusions about the nature of such relationships and to what degree can or should contemporary understandings of sexual and gender identities be used to draw conclusions about past relationships? From a transnational perspective, the paper will also explore evidence of such relationships in other countries and discuss whether it provides similarities or differences to the U.S. context and the reasons for these.

For contemporary leaders who do not publicly acknowledge their lesbianism by living "closeted" lives, there are both methodological and ethical dilemmas. Methodologically, the question is similar to those above with respect to deciding what evidence is necessary and sufficient to draw conclusions about the nature of their relationships. From an ethical perspective, the question is that even if there is sufficient evidence, does the researcher have the right to "out" these leaders, especially if there would be negative consequences for the women. Drawing upon an ongoing study of two female founders of a progressive school, who live and work together, but have not "come out" the paper examines the researcher's conflicts about publicly labeling their relationship. For example, many of the families served by the school are from very traditional religions and cultures and have very negative feelings about homosexuality. Therefore, to "come out" might prove harmful to the school and to the leaders. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, does the nature of their relationships have any bearing on their educational leadership and/or the successes of their schools?

Based on historical examples and this contemporary study, the paper examines the methodological and ethical questions and relates them to larger issues of transnationalism and globalization, especially given the ongoing conflicts regarding gender identity and homosexuality in the contemporary world.

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### **Guerras y enemigos en la educación de las masas a través del cine. Argentina, 1910-1935**

Desde los inicios del siglo XX, y fundamentalmente en las décadas del 20 y el '30, el cine se consolida en la configuración de identidades colectivas, especialmente en el terreno de la política. En Argentina, la producción de una serie de films de cine mudo hacen visible los conflictos sociales y civiles de la época: las disputas con los pueblos originarios, los gauchos, las tensiones entre la población nativa y la modernización de la república naciente, las guerras entre fronteras para la consolidación de los territorios nacionales.

Estos films, de proyección masiva y de alto alcance en los sectores populares, pusieron a disposición del público relatos de ficción donde encontrar horizontes comunes de sensibilidad y expectativas. El cine desarrolló un estilo y formas de narración que ayudaron al público a reconocer el mundo a su alrededor y a imaginar el mundo fuera del suyo. A través de su modo particular de narrar e interpelar a las masas, el cine cumplió un rol importante en la construcción del consenso social en torno a “lo nacional”, así como en la representación de las tensiones, conflictos, miedos y deseos de una sociedad en transformación. Estos films nos acercan a una época en la que el cine proveyó el horizonte imaginario en el que una nueva identidad nacional encontró un espacio de representación que la hizo visible.

En el presente trabajo nos detendremos especialmente en dos de ellos: “El último malón” (Alcides Greca, 1918) y “En el infierno del Chaco” (Roque Funes, 1932).

El primero reconstruye la última rebelión indígena de los Mocovíes en San Javier, al norte de la provincia de Santa Fe, en 1904, exponiendo la situación a la que el avance de la civilización ha reducido a los indios, despojados de tierras y contando luego el ataque del malón y su derrota. El film de Greca, si bien juega entre la realidad y la ficción, constituye una fuente histórica de alto valor, dado que ha funcionado como testigo de un acontecimiento poco visibilizado en la historia argentina. En 2013, el realizador santafesino Pablo Romano recupera la gesta de Greca y la reescribe a través de un nuevo documental: “La última rebelión”. Este material, que recupera la mirada de los adolescentes de su propia historia en la escuela secundaria de San Javier, recoge las voces de los descendientes de los aborígenes que encabezaron la revuelta y replantea la visibilidad actual de las comunidades aborígenes.

El segundo de ellos, “En el infierno del Chaco” el realizador retrata la guerra contra Paraguay y Bolivia por el Chaco boreal, construyendo un relato que hoy resulta ser un documento visual irremplazable sobre el conflicto, y que en su tiempo organizó el imaginario visual sobre una guerra clave para comprender la historia argentina.

## **Wars and enemies in the education of the masses through film. Argentina, 1910-1935**

Since the early twentieth century and mainly in the 20s and 30s, film has consolidated itself through shaping collective identities, especially in the realm of politics. In Argentina, the production of a series of films from silent movies, makes visible social and civil conflicts of the time: disputes with indigenous peoples, gauchos, tensions between the native population and modernization of the nascent republic, wars across borders for the consolidation of national territories.

These films with mass screenings which reached deep into the population, made available to the public fictional stories in which to find common sensitivities, horizons and expectations. Film developed a style and narrative form that helped the public to recognize the world around and to imagine the outsider world. Through its particular narrative and mass audience, cinema played an important role in the construction of social consensus concerning the “national” as well as in the representation of the tensions, conflicts, fears and desires of a changing society. These films take us to a time when the cinema provided the imaginary horizon in which a new national identity found a space of representation to make it visible.

In this paper we will especially consider two of those films: “The last raid” (Alcides Greca, 1918) and “In the hell of Chaco” (Roque Funes, 1932).

The first one reconstructs the last Indian rebellion of the Mocovíes in San Javier, in the north of the province of Santa Fe, in 1904, and exposes the situation to which the progress of civilization had reduced the Indians, dispossessed of their lands, and then narrates the raid attack and its later defeat. Greca’s film, while playing between reality and fiction, is a source of high historical value, since it has worked as a witness of an event that the Argentine history has neglected. In 2013, the Santa Fe filmmaker Paul Romano took up Greca’s epic and rewrote it through a new documentary, “The last rebellion.” This material, which explores the perspective of teenagers on their own history in a high school of San Javier, gathers the voices of the descendants of the Indians who led the revolt and restates the current visibility of Aboriginal communities.

In the second one, “In the hell of Chaco”, the director portrays the war against Paraguay and Bolivia for the Chaco Boreal, constructing a story that today is an irreplaceable visual record of the conflict, and that in its time organized the visual imaginary for a war that was key to understanding the history of Argentina.

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## **The Land of all Human Dreams: Janusz Korczak’s Vision of The Land of Israel and World Peace**

Much has been written about Korczak’s inspiring educational legacy and his personal struggle between Polish patriotism and Jewish fate: a Jew, a Pole, both or none. Korczak, like many Jews of his time, searched desperately for a milieu that will accept him as he is – a human being – and will wipe away the old distinctions between people from different religions, nationalities and races. It was a popular Jewish dream: a world of harmony and piece among all-men.

This was his vision of the-land-of-children, articulated in his educational writings and realized in his children houses. This is the utopian vision described in his *King Mathew the First* – a society of children that will replace the adults’ wars with universal peace. And this was the way he envisioned Palestine – the Holy Land – the Land of Israel as a land of hope that will unite all men around the cause of children.

This presentation will explore the religious, messianic, idea of the Land of Israel in Korczak’s humanism. He was not a Zionist and his vision of this land was imbued by his utopian universal humanism. If there is hope for human beings, it may be found in the Land of Israel. Only this land can serve as a human laboratory where a new society will be developed and new human relations will be forged. There, children will obtain their rights and the respect they deserve. The kibbutz villages were at the center of Korczak’s utopian exploration and there he spent most of his visits, observing young people experimenting their ideas in their lives and the life of their own children.

We all know the Land of Israel as a place of wars and hatred among men. It is an arena of religious fanaticism, hatred and violence For Korczak it was the abode of God and prophets, of dreamers and rebels; it played a unique role in human history and carried special meaning for humankind. All our dreams involve the Land of Israel. People are carried away by the spiritual messages conveyed by the stars in the skies of God. Korczak envisages a utopian perspective of this troubled land: a land that will give birth to a new God, a new vision of education and new faith in humankind. A new League-of-Nations dedicated to education will be in Jerusalem. His vision of a land of hope and peace will be explored through his letters and memories of his trips to Palestine in 1934 and 1936. Korczak himself hesitated whether to immigrate to Palestine and in the end decided to remain in Poland, where the war caught up with him in 1939.

### **The unfulfilled Promise of Education: a Meeting Place of all Humanity**

This presentation follows the panel’s main questions about the role of educators in our long and unsuccessful struggle for peace? Can education be the endeavor that will bring about peace among men? Janusz Korczak dealt at length, in theory as in his life work, with this challenging question.

Much was written about Korczak, but most of it was about the last chapter of his life: his heroic struggle for the welfare of hundreds of orphaned children in the Warsaw Ghetto and the last march to the death train that took them to Treblinka (August 5th, 1942). A few know about his inspiring educational thinking and his idea of all human solidarity around the cause of children. Children and their needs should be the meeting place of all men.

Part of Korczak’s ideas about education and children’s rights is encapsulated in the first *League of the Nations* declaration of the right of the child, Geneva 1924, which Korczak was one of its signatories. Part of it is expressed in his universal vision of “the Land of Hope”, the Land of Israel or Palestine, as the meeting place of all men and all the great human dreams. The land that attracts all human beings in magic cords and gave birth to the Hebrew Bible and to the Christian Bible will now give birth to a new universal faith – all human solidarity that will be achieved through education. A second “League of Nations”, focused on social matters and education, should be established in Jerusalem.

Korczak, like many Jews of his time, searched desperately for a milieu that will accept all men as equal human beings and will wipe away the old dividing lines of faith, nationality, race, social status and gender. It was a popular Jewish dream: a world of harmony and peace among all, now somehow buried under the painful memories of the 20th century.

In *King Mathew the First* Korczak described the naïve efforts of children to establish a kingdom of peace where boys and girls, Europeans and Africans, settle their matters together in a rational way, and the cynical efforts of adults to fail them and to return to the known reality of wars. Children cannot lead a democratic life alone and they need the trustful support of adults in building their society. But the adults exploit their dependence, in literature as in real life, and betray them. Behind the lines of a children's story Korczak's bitter irony is evident: in reality, as in Korczak's story, children are still betrayed by society, do not get their rights and the chance to live in peace.

Korczak is using a children book as a vehicle to express his most inspiring ideas of peace education and all human solidarity. The book was read by children all over Europe and became a source of inspiration for generations of educators. The full length Polish color Movie based on this novel is a unique piece of art that carries further on Korczak's educational utopia and invites us to a discussion of the relevancy of Korczak's legacy today.

### **Sidorenko, Ewa**

University of Greenwich  
United Kingdom

### **Re-membering survival. Recovering hidden memories of wartime Poland**

Survival of extreme forms of abuse of power, such as those experienced in concentration camps is not victory over death. Survivors in WW2 might not have been able to share experiences with others, particularly if others, too, had their own traumatic memories to bear. In this paper I talk about a private archive uncovered recently which sheds light on my grandmother's concentration camp experience and of her sister's, daughter's and mother's war experiences in Poland. Most of the information from the archive had not been known to me yet the significance of the war was palpable in my family's fate in the years that followed. The archive has helped me make sense of those family members' lives after the war. The paper is driven by my subjective imperatives to bear witness to the fate of survivors whose stories remained hidden until recently. The key issue in this paper is the character of survival; it is seen here as a form of radical, sometimes permanent, exclusion from community. The production and maintenance of clandestine and underground forms of education, drawing on a long family tradition dating back to the early 1900s, is a significant aspect of this narrative of survival and resilience. Bearing witness to such stories is also an attempt to bring concentration camp survivors into our understanding and to include them in our community.

### **Siems-Marcondes, Maria Edith**

Universidade Federal de Roraima  
Brazil

### **Special Education in the Amazon: the effects of the military regime**

In special education after World War II, a number of studies focused upon the rehabilitation of people with disabilities and the development of assistive technologies. In 1943, Brazil also created "federal land" in order to ensure the safety of strategic geographical border areas, especially in the Amazon region. This article presents a historical trajectory of special education in the Federal



District of Roraima, at the extreme northern border of the Brazilian Amazon territory, which, in 1990, was transformed into a Federative State Republic of Brazil. Our approach develops the ideas of the British Marxist historian, **E.P. Thompson**, whose historical analysis centred upon the experience of “*concrete*” men and women in their social and cultural environment – “*history from below*”. We aim to recover the traditionally silenced ‘voices’ of teachers and students through interviews and the analysis of administrative and pedagogical documents produced by educational institutions. We identify two key phases. During the 1970s, the military dictatorship, through the federal law 5692/1971, introduced specialised services under the so-called Reform of Education in line with the UN Declaration of the Rights of the Handicapped Person. From 1984 to 1990, the institutionalization and fragmentation of services followed the integration of disabled people into society, a development that took place across the world. We conclude that regional distinctiveness arose from the provision and maintenance of official public services as opposed to the private philanthropic institutions that were prevalent in the rest of the country. This resulted from the geographical isolation and Roraima’s border position, which the military regime perceived to be significant for national security.

**Sierra Blas, Verónica**

University of Alcalá  
Spain

**“Address Unknown”. Censure, propaganda and repression in the private letters of the Spanish children evacuated to the Soviet Union (1937-1938)**

During the Spanish Civil War, the Republican Government organized evacuation campaigns to protect and save Spanish children from the francoist bombs. Initially Spanish children were relocated to internal regions, in particular Catalonia and the Levant. However, the Northern advance of the Franco’s Army led to the exit of thousands of children from Spain. Many countries offered refuge to the Spanish children such as France, England, Belgium, Switzerland, Denmark, Mexico and the Soviet Union. Under the protection of the *Narkompros* (State Commission on Education) and the Communist Party, 2,985 children arrived in the USSR between 1937 and 1938. In order to maintain contact with their families, the evacuated children became regular correspondents. Letters were a unique form of communication in which children wrote not only about the condition of their loved ones, the course of war and their hopes for the future, but also informed parents about the well being, education and daily life of their children in the Soviet Union. Only two per cent of the private letters that children wrote to their families have been conserved in the Documentary Centre of Historical Memory in Salamanca. Today, they constitute one of the more relevant sources to reconstruct the history of Spanish children in exile which is one of the most important examples of children’s exile in the twentieth century. My objective in this conference is to analyse these letters in relation to the history of written culture by contrasting the things that children wrote about and those they avoided, could not or did not want to write about. In doing so, I will reveal the influence that censure and propaganda played in the construction of these documents and also discuss their subsequent uses by the Franco regime.

**Silva Rabelo, Rafaela**

Universidade de Sao Paulo

Brazil

### **John Dewey, New School and Mathematics Education: toward an education for a democratic society**

The following work is focused on a discussion of education in the context of a democratic society. It is based on the articulation of John Dewey's ideas, the New School Movement and mathematics education, between the end of 19th century and the early 20th century. The purpose is to identify how Dewey mobilized the idea that education offers a means of promoting a democratic society, and how mathematics was inserted into this educational outlook. More specifically, the present study is part of a doctoral research project that investigates the appropriations of John Dewey's and Edward Thorndike's ideas in the mathematics education field in Brazil between the 1930s and 1960s. Some questions that guided the discussion presented in this paper are: How did Dewey place himself regarding discussions on war and peace? What was his position regarding democracy in an educational context? How does mathematics appear in this context? The discussion is based on the work of such authors as Roger Chartier and Michel de Certeau, regarding social place of texts production, representation and appropriation, and Xesúz Jares and Ubiratan D'Ambrosio, regarding education for peace. Some of the sources adopted were Dewey's books, such as *The Psychology of Number* (McLellan & Dewey, 1895); the series of arithmetic books written by James A. McLellan and Albert F. Ames, published in 1890s; the series of Georgia Alexander, published in 1920s (both series had the involvement of Dewey); and the biography of Dewey written by Jay Martin (2002). Based on this study it is possible to say that Dewey's position evolved over time to accentuate the importance of a democratic society, with increasing involvement and preoccupation with political aspects. His focus on an education for a democratic society generally appears in examples that favor the students' autonomy and critical position, and situations that insert students in social activities. In relation to mathematics, it is possible to chart the evolution of Dewey's thinking from the general concepts conveyed in *The Psychology of Number*, to a more focused attention on examples of daily life and references to cultural aspects regarding American context or other countries in Georgia Alexander's series.

**Simões, Renata Duarte**

Universidade de São Paulo - USP

Brazil

**Goellner, Silvana Vilodre**

Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul - UFRGS

Brazil

### **Ação integralista Brasileira: educational actions in times of war**

In Brazil, the Vargas dictatorship was established by a coup d'état conducted in November of 1937 that ordered the closure of all political parties, including the "Ação Integralista Brasileira" (AIB), an extreme right wing movement that worked as a political party since 1935, that intended to elect his Chief, Plínio Salgado to the Presidency of the Republic. Discloser of authoritarian ideas, defender of an elitist and organic "democracy", the Integralist Movement established in October 1932, worked at law down to 1937, until the growth of the movement, the lust for power and the

possibility of an alliance with European fascist countries, turned it into a threat to the established government. The closure of the activities of AIB inaugurated a period of illegal operation that happened during the Estado Novo and coincided with the World War II. On the one hand, the entities created to give continuity to the “integralist” actions in secret, managing cultural and educational activities that kept alive the ideology of the movement; were configured as spaces of subversion to the established order and a threat to the government, but on the other hand, World War highlighted the danger that could come from outside the country and infiltrate undermining the forces for a future attack. Faced with the internal threat generated by “integralists” whose activities became illegal, and depending on the external threat, due to the outbreak of World War II, Vargas led the intensification action of surveillance of the operating agencies in the country, including the DOPS - Department of Political and Social Order - created in the early 30's to monitor and control the population, fight certain behaviors and coerce the groups perceived as dangerous to public order and national security. Integralism and Communism became the main objectives of DOPS care that through the Political Police began to attend spaces suspects of spread of these ideologies. As for the Integralist, the “aid agencies”, in particular associations, clubs and schools were constantly visited by undercover agents, in order to curb the spread of the ideology, the practice of rituals and the use of movement symbols. Therefore, the study sought to evaluate through documents found in the archives of DOPS - photos, graphics, files - the impact caused by the World War II against the Vargas government actions of school pursuit and cultural associations that sympathies with Integralism and its subjects. To achieve this research, were selected documents in the AIB collection referring to schools and associations diffusers of Integralist ideology, organized by the Special Political and Social Security (DESPS / RJ) which are in the State Archive in Rio de Janeiro, composing 32 folders of the “Serie Integralismo”. I conclude that, if the clandestine situation of the AIB required already a government watchful eye, the outbreak of the First World War made that the Vargas surveillance were even more fierce over the movement and its supporters, emerging in the closure of schools and cultural associations to which was linked, as well as the exile of some activists that operated in them, with charges of subversion of the existing order.

**Simon, Josep**

Universidad del Rosario  
Colombia

### **Universal Humanism meets Unilateral Nationalism: American Physics and the Making of Latin American Education during the Cold War**

When it comes to the Cold War, the dominant historical narrative about the era's educational and scientific developments typically focuses on the technological contest between the US and the Soviet Union. The key events driving educational reform were the launching of *Sputnik 1* by the Soviets (1957), the US response through the creation of the Woods Hole Conference (1958), and the educational expansion best represented by the Physical Science Study Committee (PSSC). Less well-known, however, is the way the Physical Science Study Committee (PSSC), through international politics and corporate philanthropy, influenced Latin American educational discourse, policy, and practices. The PSSC directly trained Latin American teachers, translated selected American physics textbooks into Spanish and Portuguese that dominated the Latin

American market, and, through its membership, governed international organizations such as UNESCO and the International Commission on Physics Education.

This paper offers a different vantage point by investigating the tensions between universalist and nationalist perspectives of science and education during the Cold War. It provides a case study of the circulation and appropriation in Latin America of the PSSC products and other US pedagogical packages for the teaching of physics between the 1940s and 1960s. It reconsiders the standard literature on 20th-century physics and education that emphasize American exceptionalism, and an American vs. Soviet bipolarity which still characterizes a large part of research on the Cold War. This paper will focus attention on the development of UNESCO's educational and scientific programs in the first two decades after WWII. UNESCO's member states represented a wide range of political approaches between pacifist internationalism and Cold War engagement, and different ideas about how to articulate international cooperation through science, education and culture. The first decades of the Organization were characterized by a growing tension between an idealized global humanism, prone to non-alignment and confident on the apolitical nature of culture and education, and a pragmatic and instrumental politics, represented mainly by the US, seeking to fight the Cold War also in the cultural and educational front and to collapse international diversity into the national interests and outlooks of the American nation. In this context, Latin America represented an alternative to US geopolitics. The complex intersections and interactions between global humanism and unilateral nationalism are the main focus of this paper, through a case study in the making of physics and education in the Americas.

**Sindoni, Caterina**

Università degli Studi di Messina

Italy

### **The “right to war” and the “right to peace” in educational projects submitted to the Parliament of the Kingdom of Sicily (1812-1815)**

In the projects responding to an announcement concerning the reorganization of the Sicilian school system, two of the most widespread leitmotifs are the terms “peace” and, especially, “war”. Inside the above-mentioned projects, the introduction of military seminars and practicing is presented as one of the reactions to war and its related issues, ranging from the fear of the war itself to the idea of war as a “right” of each nation. The “right to peace” paradigm includes the defense of the “Sicilian nation”, the veneration of the “flag” and the devotion to the new Constitution; such paradigm provides a series of strategies aiming at reorienting education practices towards a “dedication to the constitutional sentiment”. This purpose was attained by means of elaborating constitutional Catechisms, as well as specific celebrations and educational procedures. The present work aims at highlighting “how much” and “in which ways” the topics of “war” and “peace” were dealt with at the beginning of the 19th century, a defining moment for the history of Sicily due to the British protectorate and to the promulgation of Magna Charta. This contribution focuses on the analysis of ten educational plans and projects, written in Sicily between 1812 and 1815.

## **Sirera Miralles, Carles**

University of Valencia

Spain

### **No beatings, no sports, no flags: unintentional Spanish pacifism**

The study of physical education in Europe and its relationship with the imperial culture prior to the Great War has been a productive subject of research among historians. However, the Spanish case has not received significant attention, largely because Spain remained neutral during the European conflict. Additionally, Spain did not adopt a policy of aggressive imperialism in their foreign policy towards other European countries. Likewise, the Spanish education system marginalised sport and corporal punishment and lacked national rituals inside classrooms. This paper will re-connect these specific elements in order to provide new perspectives on Spanish secondary education during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a period marked by a classical and cosmopolitan liberalism that diffused an unintentional pacifism. The study aims to

- Analyse the codes and educational laws to understand the nature of academic authority in Spain and the prohibition of corporal punishment.
- Describe the failure to introduce sports and a regimented culture in secondary education.
- Study the attempts of nationalistic and militaristic societies to create battalions based on schools.
- Present an alternative interpretation of the undeveloped nature of nationalisation in Spain. Namely, that the lack of a modern Spanish imperialism should be understood as a weak form of nationalism. This controversy related to the tense coexistence of liberalism, nationalism and democracy in Europe before the Great War.

This paper will continue previous work by combining the analysis of a Spanish legal framework with specific case studies. It will place Spain in a global context in order to help understand the specific traits of Spanish secondary education and to critically highlight the role of the education system in debates on nation-building which cannot be mechanistically reduced to a state-led agent. Finally, the Spanish case will be compared with European education systems to generate a debate about imperialism in the schools of small countries.

## **Smaller, Harry**

York University

Canada

### **The Teachers' World Conference on Peace – Edinburgh 1925**

In the aftermath of World War One, the U.S. National Education Association (NEA) was instrumental in bringing together educators from 40 nations to an international conference “on peace” held in San Francisco in June 1923. Delegates emphasized the important role which teachers and schools could and should play in achieving global peace and understanding. As a result, plans were laid for the formation of an international organization to achieve those ends – the World Federation of Education Associations. Edinburgh in Scotland was selected as the site for the ensuing gathering where these plans would be finalized, to be held in the summer of 1925. There is no question that the Edinburgh “founding” convention of the new organization was seen as a major success by those who participated. By official count, the 620 participants from the British Isles were joined by another 600 “from every nation of the world which lays claim

to being a civilized nation.” A constitution and bylaws for the new organization were debated and approved. In addition, and of major importance for at least some delegates, a plan for the development of a global peace education program was discussed and approved. Entitled the Herman-Jorden Plan (after two Americans instrumental in its development), it called for the establishment of a number of committees, each charged with the responsibility of developing and implementing aspects of the overall plan – for example, examining bias in history textbooks, the teaching of civics, “the training of teachers for the new international point of view,” etc. These committees were established, and delegates left the conference with high optimism that they would do much to promote global peace.

At the ensuing biennial conference of WFEA in 1927, there was indication that at least some of the committees had begun work on their respective explorations on education for peace. At the same time however, it was much less than some had hoped for, and in fact foreshadowed what would become a relatively short-lived project. This paper, based mainly on documentary analysis, explores how the seeds of failure might well have been planted within the interactions and activities of the 1925 Edinburgh conference itself.

### **Sohma, Shinichi**

Hiroshima Shudo University  
Japan

### **Peace and education in the thought of Arata Osada**

This presentation deals with Arata Osada (1887-1961) who was one of the leading educationists through times of war and peace in twentieth-century Japan. He is primarily known as a researcher of the education thought of Pestalozzi. He was also familiar with developments in German pedagogy and produced many books and articles concerning the Western history and philosophy of education. After the mid-nineteenth century in Japan, academic freedom in the study of education was restricted by nationalistic education policies. In the 1930s, militarism became dominant in Japan after a coup d'état was twice attempted by young Imperial Japanese Naval and Army officers. In his writing, “Shin Chiiku Ron (A New Theory of Instruction)” published in 1939, he criticised the impulsive behaviour of young officers and emphasized the rational aspects of education. He also published “Kokka Koikugaku (National Pedagogy)” as the War came to a deadlock. He viewed the nation as the means through which to realize an education ideal in which traces of both nationalism and liberalism can be identified. On August 6, 1945, an A-bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, and the city was ruined. Osada, professor at Hiroshima Higher Normal School was bombed, and was suffered injuries. From this personal experience, he began to insist on the importance of cosmopolitanism. In his article titled “Kokyu Heiwa Ron (A Consideration on Perpetual Peace)”, published in 1948, he evaluated the thought of Rousseau and Kant in coming to advocate a concept of “educational pacifism”. Peace was connected to the political and social system, to religion, morality and human consciousness. Osada placed education as central to the realization of peace and he valued the ideals of UNESCO. In 1951, he collected the testimony of children bombed in Hiroshima, published as “Genbaku no Ko (The Children of the Atomic Bomb)”. Osada’s pacifism contrasted with the worsening tensions between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. The Cold War influenced not only the political situation in Japan but also the educational climate and the Japan Teachers Union frequently challenged the Ministry of Education. In his later years, he was influenced by Soviet

educational thought and argued that pedagogy should be reconstituted as a social science. The changes seen in Osada's pedagogy provide an important basis for historical reflection on the relations between peace and education.

### **Soto Lescale, María del Rosario**

Universidad Pedagógica Nacional  
Mexico

### **Una escuela para la paz: los Jesuitas en la tierra de frontera de Nueva España**

Este trabajo es un producto parcial de una investigación sobre la obra educadora jesuita (formal, no formal e informal) en Nueva España, en el periodo Colonial, 1572 - 1767. Se trata de una investigación histórica y pedagógica con metodología historiográfica conforme a la perspectiva de la Escuela de los Annales, tercera época, es decir, una historia social.

Su objetivo central es definir el modelo educativo de la Compañía de Jesús utilizado con distintos grupos raciales y sociales, en colegios y misiones.

La pregunta que guía la investigación es: ¿Qué tipo de individuo formaban y cómo lo hacían? Cabe decir que entre los resultados esperados está la historia particular de cada uno de los 24 colegios y más de 50 misiones que fundaron y atendieron en la Nueva España, hoy México, desde su llegada hasta su expulsión en 1767 de todos los territorios españoles.

Las fuentes utilizadas son, principalmente, de primera mano: crónicas escritas por los misioneros jesuitas y de otras órdenes religiosas regulares, así como las Cartas Annuas y Constituciones- cuyo capítulo IV trata exclusivamente de cómo debía ser la educación impartida por la Compañía de Jesús, documentación interna y correspondencia jesuita, además de Bulas, Cédulas Reales y documentos gubernamentales, civiles y eclesiásticos sobre sus fundaciones y colegios y otros que permiten observar y reconstruir su modelo educativo diferenciado y sus relaciones con las diversas capas de la sociedad colonial.

En particular, el trabajo presenta el caso de San Luis de la Paz, originalmente llamado Misión y colegio de San Luis, Rey de Francia que se fundó en medio de la tierra de frontera, zona de guerra continua por casi doscientos años, que atendía a niños nativos chichimecoa cuyos padres obligaron varias veces a despoblar una villa e importante centro de abastecimiento llamado San Miguel el Grande. Fue gracias a la acción educativa realizada en este colegio- misión que se logró la paz entre chichimecos y españoles en la zona central del actual estado de Guanajuato (México) permitiendo desde entonces, el paso de mercancías, principalmente de la plata.

### **A school for peace: Jesuits in the frontier land of New Spain**

This paper is a partial outcome of a research on the educational work (including formal, non formal and informal) of the Jesuits, in New Spain, from 1572 to 1767. It is a historical and pedagogical research, according to historiographical methodology in the words of the Annals (third period), meaning by this, social history. Its purpose is to define the Jesuit scholastic model in different social groups (schools and missions). The research question posed is: What type of individual did they aim to form and how did they go about it? Among the expected results is the particular history of every Jesuit school and mission in New Spain since their arrival in 1572 until they were expelled in 1767, just before the Independence war. The sources are first hand and

include chronicles either written by Jesuits themselves or in non-religious reports as well as official and clerical papers of those times.

Due to the regal patronage granted by the Pope, the king of Spain was the head of the church within the American colonies. Therefore the bishops were at the same time royal and clerical officers and because of this the Catholic Church became a leading political, social and economic actor.

This paper aims to bring to light how the Jesuits sought peace through their work in schools, In particular, this work presents the example of San Luis de la Paz, originally called the mission and school of San Luis, King of France. It was founded in the middle of a frontier, which had been a war zone for almost two hundred years. It was attended by indigenous chichimeca whose relations had been forced to leave the town and important centre of supplies called San Migue el Grande. It was due to the educational interventions in this mission-school that peace between Chichimecos and Spaniards was achieved in the central area of this state of Mexico.

### **Southwell, Myriam**

Universidad de La Plata  
Argentina

#### **Exilios, conflictos y sensibilidad. Pedro Henriquez Ureña y la educación para la paz en la Argentina durante 1930 y 1940**

El proceso de transformación política y cultural de la Argentina a mediados del siglo XX estuvo enmarcado en el clima cultural de entreguerras y post- Segunda Guerra Mundial, así como los conflictos políticos latinoamericanos y sus demandas acerca de la renovación educacional. Diversos intelectuales coincidieron en la Argentina a partir de sus exilios y participaron activamente de los debates por la renovación del sistema educativo. El intelectual dominicano Pedro Henríquez Ureña (1884-1946) aportó su perspectiva de problemática latinoamericana y los debates sobre la identidad autónoma y la conflictividad ante la necesidad de expandir las prácticas democráticas en el ámbito escolar. Sus ideas tuvieron especial influencia en la educación secundaria a partir de una pedagogía que tematizaba la paz y la conflictividad social, así como la formación estética y la sensibilidad como condiciones para una educación democratizadora. Esta presentación se concentrará en el análisis de la influencia de estos intelectuales en las propuestas de reforma del sistema educativo argentino ante las demandas de democratización en las décadas de 1930 y 1940.

#### **Exile, conflicts and sensibility. Pedro Henriquez Ureña and education for peace in Argentina during 1930-1940**

The process of cultural and political transformation in Argentina in the middle of the 20th century was influenced by the cultural climate of First and Second World Wars. It also was influenced by Latin American political conflicts and their links with educational renewal. Prominent intellectuals went to Argentina because of their exile and actively participated in educational debates about educational changes. Dominican intellectual Pedro Henríquez Ureña (1884-1946) contributed with a rich perspective about Latin American autonomous identity, social conflicts and peace. His ideas were especially fruitful in secondary school, linking peace and conflicts with aesthetic education and sensibility in order to develop democratic culture. This presentation will focus on the influence of Henriquez Ureña's ideas in educational proposals for developing democratic tendencies during the decades of the 1930s and 1940s.



**Spencer, Stephanie**  
University of Winchester  
United Kingdom

### **No Fear of Flying: Captain W.E. Johns and *Worrals of the WAAF***

Captain W E Johns, is best known as the author of nearly 100 'Biggles' children's books about pilot James Bigglesworth written between 1932 and 1970. Less well known are the eleven books about 'Worrals' written at government request in the decade from 1941. Worrals proves that she is as good as any man. In itself this was rather unlikely, given that in reality women only flew transport rather than combat planes. The reader might expect that W.E. Johns would simply write a Biggles adventure story substituting Worrals and her sidekick Frecks for Bigglesworth and Algy. A review of Johns' other writing suggests that he was not particularly sympathetic to the feminist cause, his other heroes include hegemonic males such as Gimlet, and he was a regular contributor to *Men Only* from 1931-1941, including an article in 1937 in an edition entitled 'Blues must have brains, war in the air. Professional backers about these flyweights women aboard'. He also contributed to *The Modern Boy* magazine in the interwar period. It is therefore surprising that the character he created in *Worrals* was a forthright feminist, a woman never backwards in coming forwards to express how a woman was not only equal to but superior to a male. This paper explores the feminism articulated by *Worrals* as part of the cultural creation of a 'heroic' female identity as identified by Penny Summerfield in *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives*. *Worrals* is very dismissive of any publicity attached to her successful mission, attributing it to press interest not in what she had achieved, but because it was a woman who achieved it. The paper suggests that read alongside a biographical knowledge of Johns' other work and in the context of the popularity of real life aviatrix Amy Johnson *Worrals* can be read in two ways: either as a heroic role model to inspire young female readers, or given that the series was commissioned rather than initiated by Johns, did he create a heroine who, while acting as a useful vehicle for a popular adventure story reflected both a way of life and an attitude that could bear little resemblance to real life. In doing this he was able to re-assure his loyal male following that while *Worrals* as a girl was a thoroughly good chap, she belonged firmly in the pages of fiction and men retained mastery of the sky.

**Stolk, Vincent**  
University of Humanistic Studies  
Netherlands

### **Educating the community. Constructing and preserving WW1 peace education in the Netherlands in the Interwar period**

Historical research into the Netherlands during the Great War has focused mainly on its neutrality. However, historians have overlooked that despite its neutrality the Netherlands – situated between important belligerent countries such as Germany and Great Britain – was very much involved in the war in a cultural sense. The cultural crisis that came over Europe as a consequence of the war also struck the Netherlands. This paper, in the first place, explores the question how this cultural involvement affected education in the Netherlands. It argues that teachers and pedagogues heavily criticized war pedagogy in their own and surrounding countries. They believed that the Netherlands was in essence a peaceful or even anti-militaristic country, and that this peacefulness had to be defended and ensured for the future by means of education.

In the second place, this paper addresses the question whether this peace-favoured sentiment in education was inherited by educators in the post-war years. The paper gives two examples of pedagogical movements that continued the striving for peace by education: the educational reform movement and the youth movement. The educational reform movement in the Netherlands grew during and after the war. Reformers, such as members of the Montessori movement, rejected the authoritative 'drill pedagogy' of the traditional school and taught that true morality could only be developed in a free learning environment. Dutch school reformers, especially those dedicated to social pedagogy, also stressed the importance of creating a strong sense of community in the schools, in which pupils could learn to live and work together. These educational improvements were deemed necessary to withstand the cultural degradation of Europe of which the Great War had been a consequence. The youth movement, the second example, became highly popular in the postwar years. Many youth organizations were in reaction to the war highly anti-militaristic and stressed the importance of a solid youth-community for personal and cultural growth.

This paper is mainly based on a thorough research of pedagogical and general cultural journals, belonging to the dominant life stances in the Netherlands: Protestantism, Roman-Catholicism, liberalism and socialism.

**Stonkuvienė, Irena**

Vilnius University  
Lithuania

### **Between war and peace: children and youth organisations in Lithuania in the 1940s and 50s**

The presentation is divided into three parts. The first part discusses the first Soviet occupation of Lithuania from 1940-41 when only two official children's organisations survived, Vladimir Lenin All-Union Pioneer Organization (Pioneers) and All-Union Leninist Young Communist League (Komsomol). Other organisations such as the scouts, young farmers and Catholic youth were outlawed due to their "bourgeois nature" which contradicted Soviet ideology (Savickytė, 1985). The second part analyses children in youth organisations during World War II.

The main focus, however, is on the complex post-war period and the intensive sovietisation of Lithuania. The presentation discusses the involvement of the Pioneers and the Komsomol in propaganda work (Леонтьева, 2007; Peacock, 2008; Trimakienė, 2007). The resistance to Soviet ideology is also discussed. While the topic of the armed partisan resistance is touched upon only briefly, the primary focus will be the examination of peaceful resistance, the main pillars of which were the family and the Catholic Church (Kašauskienė, 2002).

The presentation is based on qualitative interview research data.

**Stortz, Paul**

University of Calgary  
Canada

### **“Distinctly Feminine”: Women Academics at the University of Toronto During the Second World War**

The University of Toronto went to war in 1939. After years of relatively complacent administrative and intellectual activity, where research and teaching progressed at a steadily productive pace within broad bureaucratic structures, along with most universities in Canada, the University of Toronto was galvanized by world affairs into an efficacious intellectual and academic institution directed by government wartime policies. As the storehouse of knowledge creation, accumulation, and dissemination, the professoriate was central to many of these wartime university operations. While professors remained essential to teaching and research at the university, relatively few in-depth studies have directly focussed on the role and importance of women faculty. When exploring the gender implications of teachers and researchers at the university, defining the parameters of the “professoriate” is challenging because the vast majority of women in the various faculties held positions of lectureships or below. Although an indispensable human resource at the university, especially made clear when the university had to deal with war-time contingencies, women in the university academic workforce continued to experience various forms of territorial, intra- and inter-faculty and departmental, and social marginalization. This striking pattern of professional, disciplinary, and personal voicelessness and imbalance of mediated power of women academics throughout the university in relation to their male counterparts was rife in the Faculties of Arts, Science, Engineering, and Medicine. Cutting across departmental lines, despite comparative academic and professional credentials to men in many cases, almost all of the women at the university were employed in supportive and subordinate positions while forming a huge labour pool of instructors and lower-paid assistants.

Despite the secondment of male faculty to community, regional, provincial, and federal industrial and governmental organizations and the sequestering of many professors to government wartime projects on campus – conditions that could be considered propitious for the advancement of women in higher education – the Second World War offered only meagre opportunities for women to rise through the academic ranks. As seen since the nineteenth century in Canadian universities, effective gendered resistance still remained elusive. This paper studies the frequency, nature, and severity of the entrenched constraints and uninterrupted socio-intellectual conditions and place of women academics. Stereotypical and socialized subjective modes of “feminine” behaviour and professional comportment helped account for women instructors’ and researchers’ pervasive marginalization on campus. Further, academic and intellectual cultures were not immune to the forces in wider society of the positioning of women. For example, in a popular Toronto magazine article in 1940 titled “Distinctly Feminine: Discards Laboratory Apron for Kitchen Variety at Home,” the reporter detailed greeting a university chemist at her home in the middle of cooking dinner for friends. The lecturer, who held a PhD with numerous publications to her name, had an impressive research background that nonetheless “has not robbed her of what is known as feminine charm.” This paper will examine such ubiquitous expressions of socio-intellectual values and expectations that solidified resistance on campus to the advancement of women based upon gendered mentalities and hegemonic understandings of feminine identities and practices.

## **The Rise of Research and Challenges to Academic Cultures in the Faculty of Arts at the University of Toronto During the Second World War**

For the largest university in Canada – the University of Toronto – the coming of the Second World War brought a sense of purpose, introspection, and a reaffirmation of its academic and moral purposes. The structures, functions, and mission of the university as well as the role and activities of the professoriate were accorded an enhanced importance by the government, community, and members of the university campus themselves. The University of Toronto serves as an excellent case study of fervent activity of Canadian universities between 1939-1945 as it mobilized its considerable resources to “struggle against reaction, tyranny, and cruelty” of Germany, as stated in 1939 by Henry John Cody, president of the university. By 1945, President Cody noted that on campus “the word *research* everywhere resounds.” Research accomplished in the Faculties of Medicine, Applied Science and Engineering, and Forestry, in Connaught Laboratories, the School of Hygiene and Social Work, Physical and Health Education, and the Ontario College of Education all expeditiously produced impressive results that would have long-term effects in helping to win the war. Research undertaken in the Faculty of Arts was similarly prodigious, with departments such as Chemistry, Physics, Geology, Botany, Mathematics, and Psychology registering important breakthroughs in knowledge ranging from developing vulcanized rubber to greater understandings of wartime stress disorders. Up to 1945 and beyond, for many academics, research became the *sine qua non* of their existence.

The rapid ascendancy of research as a prime institutional mission brought challenges to the university. This paper will examine the nature and extent of the research undertaken during the war, but also its effects on university activities, funding, personnel, ideology, and curriculum. While research projects and initiatives increasingly encompassed more of the consciousness and resources of the university, the institution underwent drastic policy and cultural changes that caused stress to its relatively routine operations. The unswerving focus on research forced the campus community to re-assess its mission. Among extraordinary conditions, research exposed the university’s shifting priorities by mediating socio-intellectual and institutional practices. Research projects were taking over laboratories and buildings, and individual research projects became more scarce. Concerns were raised as to the lack of funding for on-going non-related wartime research. Debates erupted over university autonomy in the face of government directives. Opportunities for publishing, and conference and research travel were curtailed. In the Faculty of Arts, teaching came under critical scrutiny, as programs, courses, and curricula were revised, in some cases drastically, to suit wartime research. Indeed, the humanities had to constantly defend its relevancy. Its organization, timetabling, and staffing had to be drastically revised, much to the chagrin of some professors. Racism on campus also increased when secret research projects raised alerts over university members who might be enemy aliens. This paper will explore these effects, as, despite the obvious necessity of the university to aid in the execution of the war effort, the response of the university was complex and nuanced, and represented sites of socio-intellectual resistance within interrupted academic positions and spaces.

**Suarez, Michael**

University of Colorado

United States

## **The Paradox of Postwar Multicultural Education: Denver Public Schools during an Era of Anxiety, 1945-1960**

*Introduction:* In 1947 the Ku Klux Klan-backed political machine dominating Denver, Colorado politics lost the mayoral election to a young politician named Quigg Newton. Newton represented a change in the political and social landscape in Denver. Newton sought to modernize Denver's infrastructure, grow its business sector, and address the city's long-standing racial inequalities. He commissioned a report on human relations, later named, "the Denver Commission on Human Relations" (1947). The report itself has a complicated history, as its findings and reception by the public ironically exacerbated racial tensions. Much of the report affirmed racist stereotypes about 'Spanish-Americans,' African Americans, Native Americans and Japanese Americans. For example, 'experts' claimed that Spanish-Americans held a "dismal work ethic, untrustworthiness and lack of hygiene." Any possible good in shedding light on Denver's rampant racism was overshadowed by the report's inherent condemnation of minorities.

Coinciding with the "Denver Commission on Human Relations," Denver schools also attempted to be more inclusive to minority students. Dubbed "the Denver experiment," schools in the postwar era offered a curriculum that more accurately reflected its students' cultural backgrounds (Romero, 2004). The district sought to include minority students in a more expansive conception of American history and culture. However, in line with the unintended results of the Denver Commission on Human Relations, the Denver experiment led to deeper racial stigmatizations and unequal educational opportunities.

*Purpose:* This paper explores Denver, Colorado public school district's early attempt at multicultural education, and discusses its place in the larger unitary dogmas being expressed throughout the country during the early Cold War period. As other scholars have argued (Dudziak, 2011; Bell, 2004; Delgado & Stefancic, 1999), the United States promoted a perception that the nation stood for freedom and democracy. To convey this message, it necessitated more racially inclusive policies and practices. The narrative of Denver schools fits within this framework, as it illustrates how those in control used multiculturalism as a means to unify Denverites. Yet, as Delgado and Stefancic state, "Paradoxically, while charting virulent discrimination against Colorado's minorities, elite educators and well-intentioned social scientists thus perpetuated stereotypes and beliefs about minorities that radically disserved them later" (764).

*Guiding Questions:* How did individuals, both students and staff, experience multicultural education in the postwar era? How did experiences in school mirror what was happening in Denver and American society?

**Sundevall, Fia**  
Stockholm University  
Sweden

### **A School for the Nation: The Conscription Army as an Instrument and Arena for the Civic Upbringing and Moral Refinement of the Swedish Male**

In the autumn of 1902, a Swedish newspaper published a series of articles by a young man who recently completed his military service as part of the first cohorts of the nation's newly launched conscription army. The articles depicted the military system and life in army barracks from inside, and it was by no means a flattering picture. Heavy drinking, venereal diseases, contempt of religion, and lack of patriotism, were presented as commonplace and as behaviour reinforced by the bringing together of young men of different social classes and levels of urbanization. At the time, there was already a widespread perception in Swedish public debate of the life in army barracks as indecent. The young man's accounts, quoted extensively in contemporary press, gave further fuel to those beliefs. In response, proposals were made to include libraries and other places for intellectual and moral stimulation in the barracks, and that the military conscription program were to house various elements of civic upbringing, alongside the regular military training.

Previous research in education history has demonstrated that transfer of knowledge has commonly stretched beyond the official tasks of various educational establishments. In the case of military education, while educating for war has been the prime purpose of military education, it has also been significant in the construction and fostering of e.g. citizenship, nationalism and masculinity. However, there is still limited research on how such fostering projects were discussed and planned for.

Drawing on parliamentary sources and articles in teachers' and school journals, this paper explores early-twentieth-century Swedish discourses and deliberations on the need, shape and form of civil education within the military service. As shown in the paper, military conscription was commonly understood as a potential instrument, as well as an arena, for the civic upbringing and moral refinement of the Swedish male, and measures were taken to use the conscription army as a school for the nation.

**Sung, Kenzo**  
Wellesley College  
United States

### **The Main Problem Is a Lack of Jobs: Political Economic Shifts, Race and the 1968 Bilingual Education Act**

During the late 1960s U.S. politicians from both sides of the aisle promoted the 1968 Bilingual Education Act (BEA), a bill that represented the first time the federal government acknowledged responsibility for the education of non-native English speaking students. While bilingual education has remained at the forefront of U.S. national debate over the past half century, its origins in relation to the shifting postwar global economy and the particular racialization of the American "Latino" has not been clarified. Drawing from 1967 Congressional hearings and related primary documents of the National Archives and Johnson presidential library, this paper illuminates two points. First, early BEA support by policymakers and community

activists primarily was in response to the socio-economic restructuring of American farms and cities. Second, policymaker narratives regarding urban poverty, while explicitly and intentionally deracialized, successfully co-opted activist discourses and ultimately promoted bilingual education as a new apparatus to “keep the peace” through a dual strategy of appeasing and racially disciplining the new “Latino” subject. Historians studying bilingual education typically employ two narratives to explain why the 1968 BEA gained such currency. The first narrative presents bilingual education as a political victory by Latino activists whose demands became codified as policy (Donato 1997; San Miguel 2004). While rightfully highlighting the organizing of grassroots actors who are often marginalized in the historic record, such accounts often leave unanswered exactly how and why organizers were so successful. The second narrative partially attends to this question by emphasizing how policymaker politics influenced the BEA from the “top-down,” such as President Nixon’s support for the BEA as based on attempts to woo Latino voters rather than any principled belief on bilingualism (Davies 2007). Yet both accounts continue to emphasize the agency of local actors, thereby minimizing how larger forces also shaped the positions policymakers and activists took. This paper demonstrates how the origins of the BEA is best understood as a response to underlying socio-economic shifts in the postwar political economy and racialized social order by substantiating two main conclusions. First, both policymakers and activists supported bilingual education as a means to meet changing labor and social demands placed on urbanizing Latino communities. Second, the framing of race and poverty itself shifted through the politics of bilingual education in ways that far more fully met the interests of political and corporate elites than the impoverished Latinos the program presumably served. Reinterpreting BEA’s origins illuminates how larger shifting political-economic and racialized structures shaped both the positions different constituents took and the eventual potential/limitations of BEA as a policy.

### **Sutcliffe, Marcella**

University of Cambridge  
United Kingdom

### **Reading on the front: the value of books in the First World War**

On the eve of the First World War, D.H. Lawrence wrote to Arthur McLeod: ‘One sheds one’s sicknesses in books’. It was the autumn of 1913, a year which still reflected ‘the world before the Great War’ (Emmerson). Yet some of the pre-war values – the belief in the healing power of books – would not be shattered by the conflagration of war. Indeed, it was in 1916 that the word ‘bibliotherapy’ was first employed by Samuel Crothers, the man who defined the technique of prescribing books to heal patients.

Cultural historians have recently focused on the role that leisure and entertainment played amongst soldiers recuperating from battle, showing how musical entertainment, as well as cross-dressing pantomimes, were often an important part of the convalescing of the wounded (Carden-Coyne). My area of research focuses specifically on the role that books played during WW1 in the trenches, in military hospitals and amongst POWs, either by building up personal resilience or by boosting morale. From the outbreak of the war, books were sought by soldiers in trenches and hospitals. They were supplied by the civilian population.

This paper concentrates on a specific episode: the soldiers’ first appeal for books from the war front, and the response of civilians. The London Library, from which the primary sources here

presented are mostly drawn, was put in charge of collecting, selecting, dispatching and distributing books for the establishment of 'war libraries'. 'In November 1914 the Admiralty asked the War Library organization to supply the sailors in the North Sea Fleet at the rate of a book a man' (Koch). Books for the sick were cabled for from Lemnos, Malta, Gallipoli, Egypt, East Africa and Mesopotamia. Mrs H.M. Gaskell, who coordinated the efforts of the British Red Cross Society and Order of St. John war library, led the operation from the first organisational response to the door to door collections and sorting of vanloads at Surrey House, Marble Arch.

What books did the soldiers read and how may their literary taste be connected with the legacy that the burgeoning adult education movement left on self-improving working men, as they experienced the transition from *citizen*/adult-learner to soldier at war? Students who had left the Workers' Educational Association (founded in 1903) to sign up for war strove to carry on their work of self-improvement by organising classes behind the lines, 'the weariness of long waiting in the trenches' being 'alleviated at times by debate and discussion on the old lines and steadily the demand for books such as scholars love coming fore' (Mainbridge). My paper will focus on the mobilization effort of librarians and volunteers who ensured that common soldiers - and 'common readers' - could draw some comfort from reading: the books, selected by the librarians of the London Library, would mix 'high culture' with so-called 'trash', popular novels, yet the power of reading as a means for healing the soul was unanimously affirmed.

**Swartz, Rebecca**

University of London  
United Kingdom

### **Indigenous colonial education and empire: the global and the local, 1850-1865**

The colonial project is associated with many different types of war; colonial education was ideologically one of these. This paper outlines two schemes, and one study, about 'native' colonial education in the British Empire. Moving from the scale of the British Empire, to two colonies, the Cape and New Zealand, to a local scheme in colonial Natal, South Africa, each tells a story of the relationship between education and empire. For Florence Nightingale, who studied the effects of education on native children's health in the British Empire in the early 1860s, her training as a nurse shaped the kinds of questions that she asked. In particular, she tried to use school statistics to map the way in which education affected the native constitution. Sir George Grey, as a colonial administrator, based his 1852 scheme for industrial training of indigenous people on his experience in Australia and New Zealand, and believed that experience in one colony could successfully translate across different colonies, and could be applied directly to the Cape. Finally, the Bishop of Cape Town, Gray, outlined a scheme at the local level, suggesting a policy of industrial education in Natal in the early 1850s. While Grey's scheme had only limited success, and Gray's was subject to heated debate in Natal, and was never put into practice, these schemes are worth studying because they provide an insight into the way in which people who were differently positioned in relation to the colonial project understood education for indigenous people.

This paper provides insight into the way in which discussions about education policy and practice were occurring across different spaces within the Empire. Drawing on diverse sources, including a missionary's journals, Colonial Office correspondence with local politicians and



correspondence between missionaries and laymen, we can identify the way in which knowledge about what should constitute 'native' education was passed between 'experts' on this topic. Across the schemes we see attempts to define the ways in which education changed indigenous people, and to think through ways to record these changes. This period under study is associated with less fixed ideas about race than later in the nineteenth century, and this is reflected in the way in which education was thought about.

### **Tadmor-Shimony, Tali**

Ben-Gurion University

Israel

*SWG Gender: Gender, Power Relations and Education in a Transnational World*

#### **Methodological framework: transnationalism as a category of analysis for history of education**

In order to use transnationalism as a category of analysis in general, one should address questions such as: when and how various practices transcend national borders, and when they do not. As historians we should ask under what historic conditions, and in particular 'historical time', like nation building, are ideas, images and frameworks transferred. However, this abstract argues that when historians of education uses transnationalism as a category of analysis regarding the interface between teaching, gender and power, one must focus on four components.

The first framework is the professional/social identity of the women teachers, i.e. how women teacher define themselves. The second framework is the image of the teaching profession in public discourse. The third framework is the legal and social status of women in the society/community. The last framework is a gender-mapping of the curriculum in order to achieve gender analysis of the entire educational system. The necessity of these frameworks is demonstrated using a case study of female soldier teachers during the 1950-1960s: a new teaching model in Israeli history of education. One of the solutions to the shortage of teachers was turning female soldiers into teachers in immigrants' schools.

*Professional/social identity:* The female soldier teachers defined themselves in terms of national service and volunteerism. However, one could find similarities to the image of the nurturing and generous American women teacher (Rousmaniere 1994)

*The image of the teaching profession:* Jewish teachers saw themselves as being Zionist intellectual pioneers. The perception of national pedagogy granted it special status as part of a social mission, for dissemination even beyond the classroom walls. Therefore, school teaching was not defined as a woman's job.

*The legal and social statue of the women:* The Zionist formal discourse was proud of the mythos of gender equality. The establishment adopted a liberal functionalist world view, the school of thought typical of countries in which women enjoyed the right to vote, as it was in United States. However, research presents this supposed this gender equality as a false mythos, because basic political rights do not guarantee real equality in other areas.

*The curriculum:* Research demonstrates that there was a sharp difference in the numbers of boys (as opposed to girls) that appear in the textbooks, in favor of the boys. Furthermore, the Israeli curriculum excluded women from entire chapters of the Zionist history textbooks. Comparison to the American curriculum in those years, tells us there was widespread exclusion of women from history textbooks (Rodman 1984). The representation of women in the various occupations

in Israeli educational texts did not do justice to the true representation of women in the work force of the time. However, the coverage of male and female teachers in the readers was similar in scope. For example, the cover page 'School' features both a male and a female teacher, and the two are portrayed as similar, if not identical; both are well-liked, sensitive and understanding figures.

This abstract proposes further comprehensive research of women teachers in different societies, in order to understand the interrelation of transnationalism, gender, and power in history of education.

### **Takács, Zsuzsanna Mária**

University of Pécs

Hungary

### **Auswirkung des I. Weltkrieges auf die Basis der Notre Dame Nonnen in Süd-Ungarn** (presentation in German language)

### **The effect of World War I on the Southern-Hungarian base of Notre Dame Order**

This presentation aims to introduce how the events of the First World War connected to the monastery in the southern Hungarian area of Pécs and the Notre Dame Order schools, founded at the end of the 16th century. It examines the effects of the war and the subsequent Serbian occupation, which lasted until 1921, on the city of Pécs and on the life of the school of the Order.

The Female Congregation of Notre Dame (Congregatio a Domina Nostra Canonissarum Regularium Ordinis Sancti Augustini) was founded in 1597 by Fourier Saint Peter, vicar of Mattaincourt, France and the Blessed Alix Le Clerc, and thus they became the pioneers of institutionalized female education in their home country. The Congregation came to Hungary with the assistance of Empress Maria Theresa. The first sisters came to Pressburg (Bratislava) in 1743 from the Regensburg convent, which was the 80th monastery in Europe. The monastery in Pécs was established under the patronage of Queen Maria Anna, wife of Emperor Ferdinand V. The sisters of the Congregation settled in Pécs in 1851, at the invitation of János Scitovszky, then the Bishop of Pécs, later the Primate of Esztergom, and they founded a girl's school next to their convent. In the following decades they established one of the most significant education institutions of the city, in the area where many nationalities (Hungarian, German, Croatian) lived.

By 1914-1915 the school complex in Pécs included many forms of schooling from elementary education to teacher training institutions and it had 1192 students. The teacher training institution was established in 1895 and its student population increased from an initial 25 to 177 by 1917-1918 (the total number of staff was 1355 by then). During the War there was a continuous increase in the number of students, a trend which was only slightly pushed back by the Serbian occupation.

My presentation tries to introduce the changing story of the schools which functioned in the monastery, and particularly the teacher training institution between 1914 and 1921, based on written primary sources held in archive collections, as well as personal documents. My central research questions are what changes occurred in the life of the institution during the War and the subsequent Serbian occupation?; how did the war influence the study system of the students and what kind of war tasks (such as the care of soldiers, and charity aid) fell on the teachers and students of the school?

**Talley, Lee**  
Rowan University  
United States

### **Places of Possibility: Children's Literature and the WWII Evacuation of Abinger Hill and Byron House Schools to Ottawa Canada**

The British evacuation of over 3.5 million children during the Second World War was and remains a well-documented historical moment. Less known are the stories about communities of public school students and teachers who left England for safety in British dominions. These particular groups' writings, which include familial letters, privately published accounts of various schools' wartime experiences, and archived school histories, illuminate the extraordinary ways some students, teachers, and parents managed to stay connected to their families throughout their years of separation. Most importantly, they reveal the surprising importance of children's literature: it maintained family ties; reaffirmed or created memories of home and archetypal English places; and shaped academic curricula.

"Places of Possibility" is grounded in the wartime letters of teachers and pupils affiliated with Abinger Hill and/or Byron House School who spent most of World War Two in Ottawa, Canada. It examines these materials alongside the children's parents' and foster parents' letters; unpublished and privately published memoirs of former students; present-day interviews with two of these evacuees; and a privately published interview with Leonora Hooper (née Williams) about her experience as the teacher in charge of Byron House students.

Significantly, these interconnected and overlapping works illuminate the ways the literary spaces of Arthur Ransome and Beatrix Potter, to name just two authors, provided adults and children with an imaginative space – a place of possibility – where parents and children could reunite epistolarily beyond the world of war and the geographical separation it forced upon them. Ransome's work in particular not only provided an emotional, nostalgic, and geographic touchstone for parents and children, but Leonora Williams incorporated Ransome's texts into lessons and play for even her youngest charges. Further, struggling and/or developing readers/writers also were able to find a shared home in literary works whether they read them independently or listened to them read aloud.

My research ultimately reveals that children's literature functioned as a type of transitional object for both children *and* parents. It kept them connected in remembered readings, accounts of obtaining the physical copy of the text (e.g. *The Roly-Poly Pudding* or *Swallows and Amazons*), or in epistolary accounts of plot as parent or child delighted in a first (or repeated) reading of an important tale. Indeed, as one mother wrote to her boys after hearing about their summer exploits, "you're real Ransome boys now."

**te Heesen, Kerstin**  
University of Luxembourg  
Luxembourg

### **War Outside – Peace Inside: Depicting the idyllic World of Family as a Counterpart to bellicose Conflicts in the Nineteenth Century**

World War I, with its centenary related to the topic of the 2014 conference, can be seen as a culmination (as well as a terminus) of the so-called long nineteenth century. War and peace,

conflicts and parleys seem to be a characteristic at least of the first half of the nineteenth century, called the age of the Restoration and Revolution. In fact, 2014 is also the year of the bicentenary of the Congress of Vienna and its aim to redraw the continent's political map. With the Napoleonic Wars, including the important Battle of the Nations in Leipzig (16 to 19 October 1813) and the final Battle of Waterloo (18 June 1815), the Congress tried to end years of bellicose conflicts in Europe.

Against this historical background the proposed paper focuses on the intimate and private sphere of family life. Searching for "representations of war and peace" (conference sub-theme four) the paper analyses family portraits and genre paintings that were produced in the named period. Within this scope the central questions address the iconographic depiction as well as the arrangement:

- Does the historical frame, e. g. bellicose conflicts, affect the way of depiction? Is it possible to identify iconographical and iconological patterns related to the topic of war and peace?
- Which concept(s) and perception(s) of family are visualised in the paintings? Do they refer to the historical frame of war and peace or build up an idyllic world as a counterpart?

The thesis to be scrutinized indicates that family paintings from that era (mainly) depict the idyllic world and thus (could) function as a counterpart to the bellicose conflicts. This thesis is predicated on a database of more than thousand European family paintings from the fifteenth to the twentieth century. Two methodological approaches will be combined for the analysis of a sample of paintings:

- the iconological/iconic approach with its concentration on the solely pictorial message and the planimetry of the picture (Erwin Panofsky, Max Imdahl) and
- the epistemological approach that focuses on the visual transformation of paradigms of perception and their influence on cultural practises and social patterns (Svetlana Alpers, Jonathan Crary, Hans Belting, Karin Priem).

Summing up in a more general way, one central aim of the proposed paper is to identify characteristic concepts and preferences in the depiction of family to illustrate the relevance of images for creating cultural and social patterns.

This collection is one result of a current project at the University of Luxembourg entitled "The Renewal of the Family: Formative Representations in Portraits and Genre Paintings from the 16th to the 19th Century" and supervised by Prof. Dr. Karin Priem.

## **Teige, Elisabeth**

University of Oslo

Norway

## **Education for international understanding: in between the national and the international**

In the early post-World War II period, education for international understanding was seen as crucial for the establishment of a new world order. At the end of the war, the Allies already had plans for rebuilding the educational system. One aim was to rebuild people's minds through education, and by that contribute to the development of a new world order in which war had no place. This paper explores the early work on what was called "education for international understanding", which was initiated by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (Unesco) in 1947. Education for international understanding was a project to

promote sustainable peace. But, was education for international understanding compatible with upbringing in national cultural traditions, and carried out within a national context?

Education for international understanding was one of Unesco's core activities within education in this period. This kind of education should "endeavor to develop the intellectual, active and practical attitudes which induce men of all countries to know each other better and to realise that, with their interdependent material and spiritual needs, they are brothers and must together respect, hand on, and multiply a heritage which, in its various forms, is necessary to each one of them." (Sem.Rep./1: 3). On the other hand, it was stressed that "education which aims at teaching people to live as citizens of a world community must be, in ever country, a national education." (Opening speech by Director-General Torres-Bodet at a Unesco seminar on Teaching about Human Rights, 1952, ED/124: 6)

But, it had to be adapted to the environment it aimed at improving, and was not supposed to take the same form everywhere: "The goal is the same for us all, but the means we apply to reach it are not and should not be identical. We must respect the originality of each separate culture, and appreciate the differences which distinguish one country from another." (ED/124: 6)

Through strict empirical analysis this paper places education for international understanding within a particular historical development; the emergence of the belief in a global civil society and universal human rights as the carriers of a better future (Winter 2008; Benhabib 2011).

### **Thom, Deborah**

University of Cambridge  
United Kingdom

### **The history of commemorating the First World war at the Imperial war museum**

The author uses the experience of being on the academic advisory committee for the redesign of the First World War galleries to reflect upon the way in which the war has been displayed for education over the Museum's long history since its foundation in 1917.

It becomes part of a national and an Imperial history and reflects changing assumptions about the war has meant and which aspects of its history should be emphasised. It draws upon the archives of the museum itself. There has been a change since the objects were collected which reflects theories of museums and objects but it is only comparatively recently that special interests of children have been much considered. The paper discusses aspect, size and experience in looking at the exhibits and the discussions about how they should be presented. In particular the question of blood, death, wounds, weaponry, the trench and the diorama are discussed alongside notions of the warning from history.

### **Timor, Doron**

Tel Aviv University  
Israel

### **The Attitude of the Kibbutzim toward Higher Education: From Rejection and Disagreement to Integration**

Over a hundred years of the Kibbutzim's existence, significant changes have occurred in their approach to higher education: From total rejection in the spirit of "No pen, papers and ink",

through engaging in functional studies in order to improve the Kibbutzim's financial situation, and all the way up to full integration. Over the years multiple models have been developed for the Kibbutzim's approach to academia, each dominant in a different period.

1. The separationist model – Kibbutzim which rejected higher education (“You went [to study], you betrayed”) and occasionally even rejecting Kibbutz members who chose to leave the Kibbutz to study.
2. The instrumental model – Kibbutzim members who studied at universities in order to specialize in industrial fields relevant to the Kibbutz.
3. The ideological-exclusive model – based on academic and semi-academic institutes belonging to the Kibbutzim, whose syllabi were supervised by the leaders of the Kibbutzim movements, such as the Kibbutzim seminar at Tel Aviv, the Oranim seminar, and the biannual program formed at the Efa seminar led by Lova Levita from Ein Harod Me'uhad.

The study examines through archival material, Kibbutzim newspapers and in-depth interviews with Kibbutz members the developments and changes in the Kibbutzim's policy regarding higher education, and tries to identify the causes – both internal and external – of these changes. The study shows that one of the reasons of the decline in the separationist and functional ideologies was an attempt to adapt the Kibbutzim to an almost complete cessation of the arrival of new members, due to the disappearance of European groups identifying and supporting the Kibbutzim and a gradually strengthening rejection of the Kibbutzim by the Israeli population. This was joined by a large number of departures from the Kibbutzim in the 50's and 60's, as many of the departing members left in order to attain higher education, in opposition of the Kibbutzim's official stance. On many cases, these members were viewed by the Kibbutzim members as “traitors”.

### **Toro Blanco, Pablo**

Alberto Hurtado University  
Chile

### ***A remote menace and an opportunity to build sovereignty: Chilean educational messages in schools and the promotion of a civic nationalism during the Second World War (1938-1945)***

It is a historiographical commonplace that the Second World War led to a brief period of independence for Latin America, as, allegedly, *dependency* on central economies and their direct political intervention weakened as a result of the conflagration. Irrespective of the accuracy of that idea, it is clear that WWII gave way to new political discourses in Latin America, most of them involving a strong commitment to nationalism, *latinoamericanism* and a defence of democracy as well. Educational systems were not immune from this rhetorical wave. Through a myriad of different means educational authorities tried to spread national-democratic values, with an emphasis on the menace that totalitarianism and war implied for those countries that were not directly involved in the conflict.

In the Chilean educational system, the official promotion of a progressive and civic nationalism was reinforced as WWII progressed. Patriotic and civic rituals were accompanied with frequent references to the European situation and the threat to democracy. Notwithstanding the recent historiography on educational nationalism in Chile, as can be seen in the work of Stefan Rinke or Patrick Barr-Melej, the direct impact of WWII on Chilean education has received little attention.

Although war was a distant menace, given the peripheral location of Chile, it represented a significant danger to the values of the Chilean government that had to be faced. This paper seeks to shed light on some topics of national-democratic principles that official messages attempted to instil among Chilean students, like those of Chilean Secretary of Education, Benjamin Claro Velasco's, *Mensajes a los niños de Chile (marzo 1943-octubre 1944)*, a collection of pamphlets that reached every school in Chile.

**Torres Fernandez, Cristobal and Trigueros Gordillo, Guadalupe**

Universidad de Sevilla

Spain

### **Photography and the transmission of the image of Spanish childhood during the Spanish Civil War**

There is nothing more powerful than the image; nothing which portrays reality more effectively than the picture and, as the proverb has it, "a picture is worth a thousand words". The use of the image as a means of propaganda, critique or defense is a fundamental means of transmitting information. Images have the power to convey ideas that may not be so easily captured in writing. In periods of war, political and ideological opponents have made visible the atrocities committed by their enemies in the most impactful way possible. The feelings evoked by such messages are greatly intensified when they involve children and childhood, one of the most important stages of life. Images represent essential historical documents for the history of education as they contribute ideas that could not otherwise be described, even in words.

This research analyses the use made of images of children during the Spanish Civil War. It pays attention to people who lived through the experiences captured in pictures. This is a historical and educational study of images and reports on children's educational world which help us to understand the history of the Civil War in Spain. We assess the way images are transmitted in order to discern the indirect meanings that can be derived from them as well as the context in which they are used. We argue that images are essential from a theoretical and historical point of view, and that they provide added value to research in the field of education. Depending on the ideological perspective of the person who takes and examines photographs, political-ideological aspects of the Civil War become visible.

**Triolo, Rosalie**

Faculty of Education, Monash University

Australia

### **'Teachers would make good soldiers': The Relationships between Victorian Teachers' Education and Employment Backgrounds and Experiences as Soldiers in the Great War**

'Teachers would make good soldiers', declared Frank Tate in September 1914 at the celebratory 'send-off' of the Victorian Education Department's 'firsts'. As Director of Education in Victoria, Australia, he would also witness, by national standards, a disproportionately large number of his teachers become soldiers in the Great War. Between 1914 and 1918, approximately half of the Department's men of eligible enlistment age enlisted for active service. Most were teachers and

trainees, but a small number of inspectorial, lecturing and administrative staff as well as senior pupils served also in army, flying corps and naval roles. A statistical as well as documentary comparison of their experiences alongside the research of Ernest Scott and Lloyd Robson for the Australian Imperial Force demonstrates how profoundly the educational and employment backgrounds of the Department's men encouraged their enlistment, facilitated their transitions to life in Australian or British forces and helped shape their experiences. The Department's men were far more likely *per capita* to enlist, and earlier, than non-Department Australian men; they were more likely to be married; more likely to straddle social class as well as urban-rural divides; more likely to be promoted to the ranks of junior officers; more likely to receive honors and decorations; and they were slightly more likely than their non-Department peers to die. This paper explains how the men of Victoria's Education Department had been 'prepared' for war more systematically and over a longer period than their non-Department peers, and why the talents that Tate applauded in his teachers resulted too often in tragic consequences. The paper offers also a model for investigation of other nations' education systems and sectors.

**Tsilaga, Flora and Chatziioannou, Maria Christina**

National Hellenic Research Foundation, Institute of Historical Research  
Greece

**Educating shop assistants in Athens in the first half of the 20th century (c. 1903-1950): the role of war in the formation of a growing professional group**

The proposed paper seeks to examine the ramifications of war in shaping the nature and content of a specific field of vocational education in Greece, that of training shop assistants, and the consequent development of this particular group as a new managerial and service class. The first half of the 20th century in Greece is marked by significant military campaigns and ensuing civil conflict resulting in major territorial, demographic and social transformations. In the aftermath of the Balkan Wars (1912-13), Greece increased its territory by 70% and a population of 2 million was added to the 2.8 million already living in the country. Likewise, the Asia Minor Campaign that followed WWI brought an influx of 1.1 million refugees, a disproportionate number of whom were women (widows) and orphans. Last but not least, WWII and the ensuing civil war (1940-1949) resulted in the mass migration of people from rural to urban areas, with a marked increase in the capital's population. This period of turmoil was also one of transition. The movement of vast numbers of young peasants from rural areas to the capital coincided with the broadening of internal trade, the proliferation of industrial investments and the gradual commercialization of society.

Educational legislation responded to new economic needs and unemployment. Among the key elements of these reforms was the promotion of vocational education, which had previously developed in a haphazard way, outside the jurisdiction of education policy and primarily as private responses to actual economic and social demands. In this context, the establishment of retail and commercial vocational secondary schools, both daytime and evening, educated the unemployed and unskilled youth for specialised employment in these sectors. In the aftermath of war, flexible retail businesses were able to absorb the rising urban population of peasants, internal immigrants and refugees. Indeed, vocational trade education was aimed at both boys and girls, as opposed to other fields of skilled work. By and large, this form of vocational education represented a new collective formation for its members, one that was not gender-oriented and



one which provided opportunities for social mobility, since this kind of education supported both personnel (shop assistants) and shop owners or self-made businessmen.

This paper is part of an ongoing research project (*Forms of public solidarity in twentieth century urban Greece: associations, networks of social intervention and collective subjectivities*) conducted in the History and Archaeology Department of the University of Crete, under the auspices of the *Thalis* research programme, co-financed by the European Union. In addition to contemporary publications, the paper will be based on surviving school records, enrolment data, the censuses of the years under examination (1920, 1928, 1940 and 1951) and directors' reports to the Department of Education and Finance.

### **Ungureanu, Ioana**

Université de Picardie Jules Verne  
France

### **L'éducation pour la paix. Un angle de lecture de l'œuvre pédagogique de Comenius en France 1870-1927**

En France, la première lecture de la pédagogie coménienne comme une pédagogie de la paix a été réalisée en 1870 par Jules Michelet dans son ouvrage *Nos Fils*, œuvre testamentaire où il exprime son opinion sur l'éducation des jeunes générations dans un esprit pacifiste. C'est toujours Michelet, le premier lecteur Français qui fait la liaison entre Rabelais, Montaigne et Comenius. Il considérait les deux premiers comme les précurseurs français de l'idée coménienne sur l'éducation, associant les idéaux des humanistes avec la science et la conscience. Selon Michelet le rôle de Comenius a été d'une part d'associer les éléments d'un idéal trop alourdi par la Renaissance et le changement de société que celle-ci a engendré et de simplifier l'approche humaniste dans l'éducation. La complexité de la pensée coménienne était soulignée également par l'évocation d'un écrivain infatigable préoccupé par l'idée d'universalisme et de paix comme de celui qui a créé l'éducation intuitive ouvrant la voie aux pédagogues comme Basedow et Pestalozzi. L'image de Comenius que Michelet créait a été très souvent reprise dans les présentations de la pédagogie de Comenius en France (Ungureanu, 2012).

En 1926, sous l'égide de la Société des Nations, a eu lieu la publication d'*Angelus Pacis* œuvre coménienne publiée pour la première fois en 1667 (Prévot, 1981). L'année suivante, Ferdinand Buisson, figure marquante de la pédagogie française et militant de la pédagogie coménienne, recevait le prix Nobel de la Paix. Selon le Rapport de l'Institut Nobel de Norvège, de 1926, les actions du pédagogue français contribuèrent à la réalisation d'un événement « de portée universelle : [...] l'entrée de l'Allemagne dans la Société des Nations ». Au-delà de ce qui pourrait paraître une coïncidence, le nom de Buisson est lié à celui Comenius à plus d'un titre : il élabore une méthode intuitive en filiation directe avec la pédagogie coménienne (Ubrich, 2011, p. 200), et contribue activement à l'étude de l'œuvre de Comenius, avec ses articles dans le *Dictionnaire de Pédagogie*. L'idée de l'éducation pour la paix reprise par Ferdinand Buisson, n'était pas une idée complètement nouvelle, elle étant déjà exprimée et argumentée par Comenius dans ses œuvres pédagogiques. Néanmoins, dans l'Europe du début du XXe siècle, la lecture que Ferdinand Buisson faisait de cette pédagogie et la manière dont elle servait à la fondation de la paix était complètement nouvelle car elle engendrait des forts enjeux politiques. C'est précisément cet angle d'analyse que constitue l'objet de notre étude.

## **Education for peace. A perspective for reading the pedagogic work of Comenius in France 1870-1927**

In France, the first reading of Comenius' pedagogy as a pedagogy of peace was accomplished in 1870 by Jules Michelet in his work *Nos Fils (Our Sons)*, where he expresses his opinion on the education of younger generations in a pacifist spirit. Michelet, is emphatically the first French reader to make links between Rabelais, Montaigne and Comenius. The image of Comenius created by Michelet was often adopted in subsequent French presentations of his pedagogy. (Ungureanu, 2012). Following Michelet's introduction to the educational world of Comenius as philanthropist, Comenius was consecrated in the history of education and became a venerable father of modern education. These ideas were taken up by pedagogues of the Third Republic.

In 1926, under the aegis of the League of Nations, *Angelus Pacis* was published, a text of Comenius published for first time in 1667 (Prévoit, 1981). The following year, Ferdinand Buisson, notable face of French pedagogy and proselytizer for Comenius' pedagogy, accepted the Nobel Peace Prize. According to the Report of the Norwegian Nobel Institute in 1926, the actions of the French teacher contributed to accomplish an event «of universal significance: [...] entry of the Germany to the League of Nations». Beyond an apparent coincidence, Buisson's name was linked to Comenius in more than a title: he elaborated an intuitive method in direct association with Comenius' pedagogy (Ubrich, 2011, p. 200), and contributed actively to the study of the work of Comenius in France, with articles in the *Dictionnaire de Pédagogie*. Ferdinand Buisson's idea of education for peace was not an entirely new concept, already expressed and argued by Comenius in his pedagogical writings. However, in early twentieth-century Europe, the reading that Ferdinand Buisson made of this pedagogy and the way it was adopted in the foundation of peace, was absolutely new because its involved strong political aims. It is precisely this angle of analysis that is constitutes our study.

### **Urban, Wayne**

The University of Alabama  
United States

### **James Bryant Conant: Internationalist and Cold War Educator (1948-1959)**

The proposed paper is one in a series on the educational career and activities of James Bryant Conant, chemist, president of Harvard University from 1933 to 1952, science administrator in developing nuclear weapons (1941-1946), diplomat in occupied Germany in the 1950s, and analyst of the American high school (Urban, 2009, 2010). Specifically it will deal with Conant's educational thought from 1948 to 1959. Encompassing the early years of the Cold War period, this era is a fertile period in which to examine Conant's ideas. He had experience in wartime as a scientist and science administrator in both World War I and World War II. The years of this study comprise Conant's most active international period, including a visit to Australia in 1951 and diplomatic service in Germany from 1953 to 1958. The years in question are punctuated by the publication of three books by Conant (1948, 1953, 1959), volumes which will be closely and comparatively analyzed for what they say about the development of Conant's educational thought in this period. In an earlier article (Urban, 2010), I have argued that Conant's experience in Australia changed little, if anything, about his ideas on education. This lack of change will serve as a hypothesis that will govern this paper. I will determine if the lack of change discussed in the Australia episode is characteristic of Conant's thought in the entire decade in question. In support

of this task, the essentials of Conant's educational thought will be identified and their relationship to the three volumes published in these years, as well as to his international activities, will be explored. Conant's own explanations of the impact of the Cold War and of his international activity on his educational thought will be interrogated.

**Vacharoglou, Efstratios**

Aristotelian University of Thessaloniki  
Greece

**The teaching of WWI through the history textbooks of Secondary Education in Greece (1960-2010): Targets and priorities**

The teaching of history is a major site of concern in modern education. The way the First World War was taught through Secondary Education history textbooks in Greece between 1960 and 2010 is the subject of this paper. The teaching of History in Greek schools particularly in secondary education from the 1920s, has been the subject of fierce ideological debates. Monitoring the controversies over history textbooks in Greece reveals, at times, the ideological rigidity of Modern Greek society and the biases of the educational community. A school textbook, especially when referring to History, can become a site of discussion within public discourse based around convergent ideological assumptions. Socio-economic and political developments at the local or international level affect the interpretation of historical events. The main purpose of this research is how the events of World War I were approached in history textbooks in Greece. Through an analysis of school history textbooks key terms such as nation, home, relationship, nation, and nationalism are problematized. The themes of analysis include: a) the political and economic situation in Europe at the time, b) the causes and the motives of the war, c) the responsibility for the war, d) alliances, e) the actions of alliances, f) the new countries which were established due to the conditions of World War I, g) the role of Greece in World War I, h) the war reparations and finally i) the goals and actions of the League of Nations. Specific learning objectives aimed to enable pupils to: a) understand the causes of the First World War, b) know the rival camps, the key stages and the outcome of the war, c) learn that the Prime Minister of Greece, Eleftherios Venizelos, and King Constantine disagreed on the involvement or not of Greece in World War I, d) understand the political, ideological and social background of the dispute between Venizelos and Constantine, e) get to know about the involuntary - initially - engagement of Greece in the First World war and the escalation of opposition from Venizelos - Constantine, f) to learn what caused the National Schism and what its effects were on Greek political life at the time, g) understand the factors that determined the post-war decisions of the victors of the First World war, h) ascertain the principal terms of the Peace Treaty, i) study the post-war political map of Europe, which stood under the terms of the Peace Treaty and finally, j) to learn about the creation of the League of Nations. The methodology uses content analysis to identify the various influences through the description of the events of World War I at different times. This is an appropriate method because this research is intended to replace subjective assessment with objective analysis and quantification. Furthermore it enables the analysis of contested terms as: nationalism, imperialism and militarism.

**Valdes, Annmarie**

Loyola University Chicago

United States

**“Can we not unite to help heal Nations?”: Examining children’s thoughts and experiences collected by the American Junior Red Cross**

World War I led to a growth in volunteer agencies that had both nationalistic and international mandates. Primary among these was the Junior Red Cross (JRC), the youth division of the American Red Cross. In America, JRC became very active during the interwar period and youth participated in international relief work in various ways (Sackett, 1931. Regional and local JRC organizations held programs that taught American school children how to make clothes, knit scarves, learn first aid, and as a practice of international brotherhood make Friendship Boxes containing school and personal items to students overseas. The American JRC also encouraged letter writing and collected international correspondence, including short stories, both fictional and real from youth across the globe (Red Cross, 1937). These exchanges grew to be more than ordinary letter writing – as children opted to turn this opportunity to write personal ruminations that dealt with life beyond the effects of world war. This examination looks at activities that American children participated and wrote about as well as written accounts of what they read from children overseas as a means of locating an authentic voice from children about their lives, despite war. These written observations, in the forms of stories and letters were collected by the American JRC, from children all over the world. The intention was to teach American youth about the real lives of children around the world with the hope of instilling values of international kindness and peace, and on a larger political scale, inculcating a sense of global unity and strength (Red Cross 1937). By examining activity manuals and books filled with correspondence published by the American JRC, I seek to illuminate two aspects of children’s lives between WWI and WWII. First how the JRC made an earnest attempt to inculcate in American youth a sense of national loyalty and international brotherhood during these decades and second, to uncover what children from around the world were willing to share with members of the American JRC. These exchanges represented an informal, yet influential aspect of the education American children received in the interwar period. However, there are sparse accounts about children carrying out JRC activities. While there are a couple of studies about the history of American and Canadian JRC agencies, these focus more on the organizational and leadership aspects of the JRC (Irwin, 2013; Sheehan, 1987). Further, there are no significant studies that attempt to include and contextualize the written reflections of children, both in the United States and abroad. These activities, both to provide international relief and ones that simply involved reading what someone wrote about their life, reveal a complexity of behaviors and ideas American children, as agents of American philanthropy, were exposed to during the 1920s and 1930s. Finally, through the lens of activities the JRC initiated that connected America youth to patriotism and international brotherhood, this study contributes to the growing scholarship on interpretations of childhoods by utilizing the written voice of children to understand their lives during the early twentieth century.

**Valentim, Lucy Mary Soares and Zuin, Antonio Alvaro Soares**  
Universidade Federal de São Carlos -SP- UFSCAR  
Brazil

*SWG Teachers' Critical Thinking*

**Argentina, Brazil and Mexico boarding a roundabout where the teacher is super-hero: A study of vocation for teaching, critically thinking teachers and cultural industries**

Studies indicate that the image of the teacher presented on screen through films and novels have a significant role in the formation and creation of our collective cultural subjective understanding. This statement inspired the research that has as its object of study the image of the teacher in the novel *Carousel*.

Produced in Argentina in the 1940s by Abel Santa Cruz, and initially published in the journal "Patoruzú", it was adapted to the means of electronic communication in the form of radio soap opera in 1964 and in 1966, and was very well received. The effect of this production was to draw its attention to Televisa network in Mexico, which bought the plot and produced a novel called "Carrusel". In 1992, Televisa produced the fourth version of the novel, broadcast via satellite throughout Latin America. In Brazil, the Mexican version of the novel was bought by Brazilian Television System, and transmitted to the Brazilian public in 1991 and 1996. In 2012 SBT produced a remake of the Mexican version with Brazilian actors.

One of my goals is to investigate the use of this image of Professor Helena by the Cultural Industry. Helena is the embodiment of the ideal teacher, attentive, welcomes students and parents with sympathy and appreciation. She visits families, solves problems, meets the helpless, disappointed, sick, and indebted. She always has words of comfort and encouragement. In addition to these attributes is the image of a beautiful young woman, the current princess, perhaps even if the author of the remake of Brazilian soap wants to portray it, the image of Kate Middleton, Princess of England. My study seeks to understand how this image brings a distorted understanding of reality, showing a false idea of the teacher, the school and misleading the students intent on teaching as vocation training. The method is that of literature, authors studying the critical theory of society, especially Adorno in his analysis of critical thinking teachers. A data collection is being done on websites, and through observation of chapters of the novel *Carousel* transmitted in Brazil.

**Van Berkel, Marc**  
University of Rotterdam  
Netherlands

**How National is the Holocaust? Holocaust Representations in History Textbooks in West-Germany and the Netherlands 1960-2010**

This paper seeks to compare, within the context of a dynamic historical culture, representations of the Holocaust in history textbooks in the Netherlands and the Federal Republic of Germany between 1960 and 2010. A comparative method is meaningful in order to establish whether or not certain trends have been the result of national circumstances. Germany as a so-called 'perpetrator nation' and the Netherlands as one of the 'occupied countries' have demonstrated very different attitudes towards the history of World War Two. A comparison between textbooks

from both countries offers interesting insights in the way countries have dealt with their war history.

Until the 1960's the national narrative in the Netherlands recounts the anti-fascist attitudes, bravery and perseverance of a Dutch nation's majority while under siege. The Holocaust played a minor role. During the years of the Cold War, World War Two was remembered within the context of national sovereignty, freedom and democracy. Human rights and racism were not an essential part of that narrative. But from the 1960's onwards, younger (and) anti-establishment generations tried to picture a different story: the 'resistance-myth' was to be reassessed. Nowadays the general image is that the Dutch were mostly passive bystanders and that only some were actively engaged in the persecution of the Jews. Seventy-five per cent of the Jewish population in the Netherlands was killed during the war, the highest percentage in Western Europe. A 'shift in memory' has therefore taken place: the image of collective heroism has been replaced by another narrative: that of the 'guilty bystander'. Until today, this interpretation of Holocaust history and the Netherlands is not well represented in education or textbooks: the Holocaust is predominantly seen as part of German history.

In Germany, history education on the Holocaust has evidently been a sensitive issue. Although the country thoroughly reformed its educational system after World War Two, there has been little attention in West Germany to the Holocaust in history textbooks until the 1970's. In the first two decades after 1945, most ordinary West Germans apparently had difficulties in looking upon themselves as perpetrators of the Nazi-crimes, as some studies have pointed out. This seems to be reflected in history textbooks: post-war German textbooks have demonstrated a certain unwillingness or inability to cope with difficult issues such as taking responsibility for war crimes and crimes against humanity during the years between 1933 and 1945. After the German reunification however, West German history textbooks are believed to have represented World War Two and the Holocaust from a different perspective: responsibility issues are now included and victims and bystanders have become more visible. Furthermore, Germany has become more inclined to 'trans-nationalize' its curricula through diversification of collective identities in comparison to other countries like Great Britain, The Netherlands or France. In Germany much more attention is given to contemporary history. Given the nature of that history, it is difficult to see how that could enhance national pride and celebratory narratives.

### **Van der Vlies, Tina**

Erasmus University Rotterdam  
Netherlands

### **Multidirectional war narratives: World War II and the Spanish Armada**

This paper aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of textbook's war and peace representations. I propose to examine textbooks as 'palimpsests' in which narrations of different periods and events overlap, interfuse and interact (Silverman 2013; Rothberg 2009; Shaw 2002). War narratives can be 'multidirectional': they can cross-reference and borrow from different times, events and places (Rothberg 2009). In addition to explicit references to other histories, already existing core plotlines could be adapted and recycled in order to generate meaning and continuity. Therefore, an in-depth study of language, core plotlines, narrative structures and rhetoric are important elements of my analysis.

In this paper, I will explore if and how narratives on World War II were incorporated into the canon of existing war narratives by analyzing whether the contents of older histories were interwoven within this new writing and if their plotlines were adapted and recycled. I will focus specifically on the defeat of the Spanish Armada under the reign of Elizabeth I (1588). To what extent has the narration of World War II interacted with and acquired meaning through the imagination and narration of the defeat of the Armada in English textbooks? In addition, this paper examines how the experiences of the Second World War affected the narration of older histories, in this case the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. After 1945, some textbook authors wrote new textbook series based on the 'freedom speech' of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1941, in which he proposed four fundamental freedoms for everyone: freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want and freedom from fear. The authors used these freedoms for the upcoming narrative: they defined history as a fight for the four freedoms and narrated history in 'problems' and 'solutions'.

**Van Gorp, Angelo**

Ghent University

Belgium

### **Belgian refugee children in Birmingham during the First World War, their experiences and its post-war effects**

Proctor (2005) refers to Belgium's war time experiences during the First World War as a 'historical No Man's Land between the dominant national histories' (547). Featuring prominently as a landscape of war and as a symbol of wartime propaganda Belgium and its people are strangely absent from the military and social histories of this period in European history. As Belgium lies at the intersection of several major developments during the First World War, the testimonies of its citizens can provide insight into broader problems. It implies a call for studying the 'civilian experience'.

A focus on Belgian refugees during the First World War might help us to gain an insight in this since about 1,500,000 Belgians fled the country, of whom some 240,000 ended up in Britain. As the Belgians are one of the most comprehensively documented groups of refugees to arrive in Britain during the first half of the twentieth century, Myers (2001) used the 'case of the Belgians' as a preliminary and limited investigation into the history of refugee schooling in Britain. Whilst his article is illuminating in describing the main characteristics of Belgian refugee schooling, the experiences of the children themselves remain, as Myers recognizes, a subject for further research.

Taking up this research agenda, this paper presents itself as an attempt to evaluate effects of the refugee children's experiences during their exile not only on their lives in Britain but also beyond. As the end of the war was not an event, but rather a process (Seipp, 2009) we also look at ways that wartime experiences influenced the post-war years. Manz and Panayi (2012) indicate that the Belgian refugees saw themselves as temporary exiles and not as refugees, reason why there were virtually no attempts to assimilate. When the Belgians returned home they were leaving relatively few traces. As a consequence, Manz and Patayi argue that a transfer between cultures did not take place.

Questioning the latter I will concentrate on Belgian refugees in Birmingham, where the local refugee committees processed over 4,000 Belgian refugees. I will make use of traditional

sources like archival records but also attempt to include previously underexplored sources such as autobiographical testimonies. As oral testimonies of witnesses remained highly unrecorded I will also have to rely on postmemory method describing the experiences of the 'generation(s) after' (Hirsch, 2012). The detailed register of Belgian refugees will be of great help to trace well-documented cases.

**VanOverbeke, Marc**

Northern Illinois University  
United States

**Colleges, War, and Athletics: Using College Sports to Protest America's Involvement in Vietnam in the 1960s**

This presentation explores education and war within the context of the United States in the 1960s. In this decade, many college students protested America's involvement in Vietnam, and they condemned colleges for supporting military preparedness through training programs and defense research. As they protested, they became adept at using college athletics – primarily American football and basketball – to emphasize their positions. For example, college football and basketball players in California warned that they would boycott games in the 1960s unless their demands were met. Other students planned to disrupt these games through protests, and some went as far as threatening to blow up athletic stadiums. In these actions, they gained a public platform that they used to demand that colleges end their support of war and that the United States pull out of Vietnam.

Students could use athletics in this way, since athletics and colleges by the 1960s had become intertwined in the public's mind. When Americans thought of college, they were more likely to see an image of a football field or basketball court than an ivy-covered library or classroom building (see, for example, Oriard, Smith, Thelin, and Watterson). The student protestors realized this public fascination with college athletics and used it to their advantage. College students were not always united in protesting the Vietnam War, and counter-protestors could and did push back against those opposed to the war. But the faction of protestors who rallied against American involvement in Vietnam gained significant publicity and support through a strategic use of athletics. In using athletics this way, students adopted techniques that administrators had used in the decades following World War II, when college presidents leveraged their sports teams to gain public support and funding for expansion and to recruit students.

As my research shows, college administrators also embraced athletics as a way to build a spirit of unity and camaraderie among students. Now, the student protestors adopted athletics as a way to disrupt that unity and to force other students to debate the connection between higher education and war. Athletics then had the potential to bring students together in support of programs and goals that sought an end to conflict throughout the world. But the use of sports also had the potential to undermine the unity that college officials had used athletics to spur and develop. Athletics and colleges, as the student protestors were discovering, had a complicated relationship in the United States, and this relationship underscored a complex connection between American colleges and war.



**Van Ruyskensvelde, Sarah**

Katholieke Universiteit Leuven

Belgium

### **Education in turmoil. The development of school culture in Belgian private schools during the Second World War**

On May 12, 1945 two British newspapers published an article on the end of the war in Europe, stating that Belgian education had functioned as a true weapon in the hands of the German occupying regime. According to the journalists of the News Chronicle and Daily Telegraph, the Nazi system had had such an influence on children that, after the war, Belgian authorities would have to submit them to a ‘scientific purge’. On the opening ceremony of the Birkbeck College in London, the English Minister of Education, R.A. Butler, even claimed that ‘a period of inoculation’ was needed. In his view, Belgian children had been the victims of a unilateral procedure of misinformation. [1] Although this case shows that the position of teachers and the alleged German influence on education were heavily debated right after the liberation, the discussions soon petered out. Ever since, the subject has been neglected in both scientific and popular literature. As a result, the question as to whether R.A. Butler was right about the German indoctrination program of Belgian children and adolescents during the war, remains unaddressed.

In order to fill this gap, this paper deals with the question as to how school culture developed in Belgian schools during the Second World War. More specifically, by investigating teachers’ course preparations, diaries and pupils’ exercise books, this paper deals with the ways in which the war were being discussed in the classroom and how teachers and pupils gave meaning to the new political situation in their country. As such, rather than looking at the ways in which the German military regime that occupied Belgium between 1940 and 1944 imposed educational reforms on the educational system and its agents, this paper deals with the way in which school culture actually took shape ‘from below’. Hence, rather than merely considering Belgian school culture as a pedagogical island within Belgian society or as determined by the rules and norms of the Catholic educational project, this paper precisely investigates how – within the context of the Second World War – school culture met with *foreign* (in this case German) ideas, rituals or symbols of schooling, and how that encounter ultimately gave meaning to or changed the meaning of the symbolic structures in Belgian schools during the occupation. More specifically, rather than considering the outlook of Catholic secondary school culture during the Second World War in Belgium as a resultant of the imposition of the Military Administration’s ideological outlooks, I look at the ways in which school culture was shaped ‘from below’.

**Van Wiele, Jan**

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Belgium

### **La représentation des croisades dans les manuels de religion belges utilisés dans l’éducation secondaire (1870-1950)**

Les croisades constituent un thème important dans l’histoire de moyen âge et son traitement occupe encore une place importante dans le curriculum de l’éducation historique occidentale et européenne. Cependant, on ne dispose pas encore d’une étude systématique de la représentation

des croisades dans les manuels de religion. Dans le présent exposé, nous voulons examiner, par une étude portant sur l'image des croisades dans les manuels belge d'histoire de l'Église pour l'enseignement secondaire catholique de la période 1870-1950, comment les auteurs ont abordé cette matière difficile et complexe à travers un cadre chrétienne, religieuse et pédagogique et comment cela a pu contribuer à un carcan amies ennemies entre le christianisme et l'islam. Ce faisant, nous nous concentrerons à des développements éventuels lies aux déterminants explicatifs du contexte historique.

### **The Representation of the Crusades in Belgian Church History Textbooks for Secondary Education (1870-1950)**

The crusades are an important theme in the history of the middle ages and its treatment still occupies a non negligible place in the Western and European curriculum of history education. However, there is not yet a systematic study available regarding the representation of the crusades in religion textbooks. Therefore this essay aims, by way of a study on the image of the crusades in the Belgian Catholic secondary school textbooks on Church history, used between 1870 and 1950, at unraveling the way in which the authors addressed this difficult and complex topic through a Christian, religious and educational framework and how this contributed to a straitjacket of a friend or foe scheme work between Christianity and Islam. In doing so, the focus will also be on potential developments linked to the explanatory determinants of the historical context.

**Varotto, Michele** and **Arce, Alessandra**

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Brazil

### **The training of future citizens: proposals for early childhood education in Brazil through the writings of teacher Heloísa Marinho (1953-1978)**

The present study has as its object the Brazilian children's education, more specifically the understanding of educational ideas which motivated the discussions and proposals for early childhood in the second half of the 20th century. To this end, it focuses on the conceptions and bibliographical productions of teacher Heloísa Marinho between 1953 (date of first bibliographical publication by the author) and 1978 (date of the last publication of bibliographical same). The choice of this educator for the constitution of this study is justified by its activity and presence in the discussions, debates and research in relation to the small child in Brazil, which can be evidenced by the reading and analysis of his works, which demonstrate linking their publications with the government agencies as: National Institute of Pedagogical Studies (INEP) and the Centro de Estudos e Pesquisas Helena Antipoff da Sociedade Pestalozzi do Brasil, and still realize their direct relationship with the teacher Lourenço Filho, educator dedicated to preface most of his works, highlighting it as one of the most competent and educated researchers of children's life. Studying this period global post-war and permanence of the so-called Cold War, in turn, allows understanding the educational proposals that were built for the training of future citizens, and more specifically by reading the works of Heloísa Marinho educator is evident in the ongoing struggle for the formation of subject based on good moral and civic habits. Based on these principles, the author suggests in his writings the need for education to ensure the development of skills to deal with both problems related to social adjustment and support life

situations that influence on socialization and affectivity of the child, these indispensable principles in forming the habits necessary for social coexistence. However, the development of such predicates in child life is possible only by performance of an early childhood educator affectionate and spend in the relationship with their students love, because for Heloísa Marinho in these aspects alone will outline an action enriching and development natural eyeshadow of this child. His studies were developed and applied in the specialization courses of which the author was ahead, working mainly at the Institute of Education of Rio de Janeiro and Bennett College. The present study, however, corresponds to an investigation of theoretical character based in categories of bibliographic analysis of Pedagogical Ideas, their inclusion by Saviani (2007), among which are: concrete-historical knowledge character education; prospect of “long duration”; analytic-synthetic look in dealing with the sources; singular and universal joint; current historical research; as also is based on the assumptions and arguments put forth by Certeau (2008) and Depaepe (2005) about the need to show the important role played by education in human socialization, in order to propose solutions to the existing problems. In this way, we can say that appreciative the ideas of educator Heloísa Marinho, allow the understanding of the historical process of early childhood education and the way in which this has been conceived and championed the formation of future citizens.

**Vass, Livia**

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Hungary

### **The impact of the Great War on female physical education**

After the First World War in Hungary, the Károlyi government was formed in October 1918. It advocated a bourgeois-democratic program of physical education. From March 1919 the country was governed by the Hungarian Republic of Councils. The new Commissar of Public Education introduced new items into the Gymnastics Teacher Training Institute such as medical knowledge, Swedish gymnastics and the art of movement. In addition, in the summer of 1919 a discussion paper summarized the need for the founding of a Women's College of Physical Education and its educational ideas. The training material was compiled on the basis of proposals made by Madzsarné Jászi Alice.

This paper aims to introduce the kind of principles which were implemented into women's physical education training by Hungarian physical education teachers. Women's physical education, which took a different form to militaristic physical training could have been one of the most important tools in the equality of women. (The Trianon treaty had limited the provision of military training. Recognising this, defense training was integrated within physical education.) The Madzsar gymnastics was intended not only to preserve a woman's health, but also to prevent health complications in later life. The correct postures for sitting and walking for example could prevent future health problems and were easily adaptable to everyday life, and conditions such as spinal scoliosis could be improved by functional medical gymnastic practices.. Materials and methods:

This research uses primary and secondary sources, including Hungarian and foreign educational and medical materials such as documents, books and bulletins. I searched for correlations between different techniques (domestic and international), in gymnastic systems, especially those for prevention or correction using the Mensendieck method, Jaques-Dalcroze

rhythmic gymnastic exercises, the practice Klapp system, Madzsar's healing gymnastics, or Dienes motion system.

*Results and conclusion:* In the 1930s body training did not fit into the political vision of the Hungarian female aesthetic. Due to political reasons, several art movement (Szentpál Olga, Dienes Valeria) including the left-wing affiliation Madzsar Alice's school (1934) stopped practicing. (In 1938, her husband Madzsar Joseph was arrested on trumped-up charges, and was convicted and executed in the Soviet Union. In 1918, her brother Oszkar Jaszi became the Karolyi government minister as part of a show trial. In 1920, during the Horthy era he emigrated to the U.S., where he became a political science professor at Oberlin College.) However, the aesthetic, conceptual and practical system of gymnastics training for healing the body remained, as a basis not only for health education in physiotherapy but also in teacher training for physical education. In addition, Madzsar made outstanding achievements in dance pedagogy.

### **Vassiloudi, Vassiliki and Theodorou, Vassiliki**

Democritus University of Thrace  
Greece

### **Politics goes to school: representations of the Greek Civil War in history textbooks during the 1950s**

In the wake of the Greek Civil War (1946-1949) the politicisation, and dare one add, the ideological manipulation, of children and youth, was attempted via a range of mediums from enrolment in youth organizations, circulation of special youth magazines, radio broadcasts, film screenings and school text books. At the end of the Civil War, the defeated communists, including many young people, were expatriated behind the Iron Curtain while conservative powers were established in Greece. In order to secure the support of young people, both rivals employed a particular civil war narrative in history textbooks which addressed two distinct audiences in the early post-civil war era: the Greeks behind the Iron Curtain and their counterparts living in Greece.

We delineate the interaction between the political backdrop, ideological influences and the development of history textbooks that were written during the 1950s. A comparative analysis between the two categories of history textbooks will shed light on the very mechanisms employed to legitimize particular interests in the consciousness of young people. The production of textbooks have to be related to the networks and institutions established in the early 1950s which aimed to gain the support of youth for their particular beliefs.

**Vechia, Aricle**

Tuiuti University

Brazil

**Lorenz, Karl**

Sacred Heart University

United States

**Ferreira, Antonio**

Coimbra University

Portugal

### **The New State and the Education of German Immigrants in Southern Brazil: 1937-1945**

From 1930 to 1937 Brazil experienced a period of nationalistic and militaristic fervor that advocated standardizing cultural mores, political ideologies, and language. Emerging from this revolutionary turbulence, Getulio Vargas, a politician from the state of Rio Grande do Sul, proposed an end to the political instability and to internal foreign threats to the country. In 1937, Vargas led a coup that imposed a new constitution on the country and established a dictatorial regime with fascist and militaristic tendencies, known as the “New State”. The new government, which endured until 1945, sought to neutralize the “enemies of the regime,” who it identified as communists, integralists, and immigrants living in the southern states of Brazil. The Brazilian army, responsible for implementing many of the policies of the “New State,” led the government’s Campaign of Nationalization, which was directed against the immigrant colonists of the south who were perceived as “cysts” on the body of the Brazilian nation. In this effort, the government considered education essential to national security. The objective of this study is to analyze the Nationalization Campaign unleashed against the schools founded by German colonists in three states in southern Brazil. Primary and secondary sources consulted were government laws and decrees regulating primary and secondary education, textbooks produced under the tutelage of the regime, articles and op-eds in newspapers, and depositions of ex-students. The paper will show that, in the view of the government and the army, Brazilian schools were perceived to be the “storehouse of the future citizens of Brazil” and the “German schools” were considered a threat to the Brazilian nation because of their alleged indoctrination of immigrant children in Nazi doctrines. In response, the Vargas government instituted a set of measures to confront the perceived threat posed by these foreign communities and their schools: public displays that venerated the new regime were organized, instruction in the foreign language was prohibited, the Department of the Press and Propaganda published textbooks that served as civics primers, and new curricula were proposed that gave greater importance to national values and the Portuguese language. With the entry of Brazil in World War II on the side of the allies, the Nationalization Campaign intensified its efforts to extirpate all vestiges of foreign nationalist sentiment, with its principle target being the German immigrant schools. The repression of the schools of the “Southern Axis,” increased as hundreds of private “German” schools were close, a rigid system of school inspection was created to monitor compliance with new educational policies, and foreign professors lacking fluency in the Portuguese language were subjected to physical and psychological aggression. This paper examines the origin and policies of the New State and its impact on immigrant education in southern Brazil.

**Velazquez, Mirelsie**

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United States

*SWG Gender: Gender, Power Relations and Education in a Transnational World*

**Looking forward, working for change: Puerto Rican women and the quest for educational justice in 1960's Chicago**

Puerto Ricans in Chicago's daily lives have in many ways been influenced by the transnational ties to the physical island, but in many ways also embedded with their work ethics and familial structures, affecting the ways they interact and mobilize within the city. For Puerto Ricans, despite their desires to "claim or create a sentimental sense of belonging" within the city, they quickly learned how to claim their rights as not only U.S. citizens but Chicago citizens to develop an understanding of the resources available to them as such within the city, was key to their success. (Rúa 2004) The growing and rich scholarship on Puerto Rican women in the United States is critically tied to the complicated labor and economic relationship between the U.S. and the island, since the U.S.' acquisition in 1898, highlighting the reproductive rights of Puerto Rican women since that time. Although works on the vast participation of these women in the labor history and struggles in the United States is called for, there is a need for the literature to explore the myriad of ways in which Puerto Rican women in cities such as Chicago, situated themselves not as passive actors in the making of "Latino spaces" but as active leaders in instituting changes that have historically altered their community's lives, especially through the schooling of their children. Utilizing archival materials and oral histories, I highlight the ways in which Puerto Rican women in Chicago in the 1960's and early 1970's, through their various roles within and outside of the home, similarly aided in the development of their local communities, sometimes transcending racial and class differences in order to gain a sense of stability for their own children. It is important to also recognize how Puerto Rican women engaged in community activism and organizing, motivated by how their children were being underserved or ignored by Chicago schools. Schools, I will argue, became a vehicle for these women to critically engage in the development of their communities in ways denied to them before along gendered lines. This participation moved them beyond the traditional domestic sphere to which they had been relegated as wives or as domestic workers for Chicago families, but now moving them into roles as community leaders and school teachers/administrators. Media accounts, both in mainstream and community newspapers, clearly chronicled the role women played in addressing schooling concerns, with young Puerto Rican women leading sit-ins at learning institutions, founding national educational organizations, and increasing their political participation. For these women and many more, the plight of Puerto Rican students across the city became a community, and at times interconnectedly, a family affair.

**Ventouris, Annita**

University of London  
United Kingdom

### **Greek-Cypriot parents' perceptions and social constructions of integrated education at the English School of Nicosia, Cyprus**

This paper explores the perceptions held by Greek-Cypriot parents regarding the attempts to establish ethnic integration policies at the famous English School of Nicosia. The school, founded during the British colonization of Cyprus in order to serve all the communities of the island, has gained a significant place in national imagination as 'a status symbol', attended mainly by upper and upper-middle class children. Its bicomunal status was re-established after the 2003 checkpoints opening in divided Cyprus by enrolling Turkish-Cypriot students for the first time after the 1974 Turkish invasion of the island. However, this action has provoked a lot of controversy within the Cypriot society - and the school community itself- and many problematic situations emerged regarding the students' daily experience of coexisting with the 'Other'.

Drawing on interview data with Greek-Cypriot parents whose children attend the school, this paper focuses on their perceptions of the English School's traditions, policies and practices and investigates how issues of history, racism, memory and reconciliation are entangled in the way they view integration attempts at the school. These issues are investigated through the lens of critical multicultural theory (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1997; May, 1999) in order to highlight the importance of the wider socio-political context, social class and the power relations involved in shaping attitudes, feelings and opinions regarding integration at this specific school.

The findings demonstrate how the majority of the parents hold on to various discourses and practices, developed over the years, on issues like collective identity, racism, stereotypes and ethnic conflict in Cyprus. They also reveal how particular groups and individuals with - real or perceived- power and authority invent certain traditions (Hobsbawm, 1983), using social memory as a tool, in order to influence policies and to justify personal and collective claims regarding integration policies at the English School.

**Verga, Marcello**

University of Florence  
Italy

### **Manuels d'histoire en Europe (1923-1938). Entre débats historiographique et pacifisme**

En 1923, Henri Pirenne dénonça sans équivoque la responsabilité des historiens lors de la Première Guerre mondiale, sorte d'authentique suicide de la civilisation et de l'histoire même de l'Europe dans un passage du discours inaugural qu'il prononça à l'ouverture du Ve Congrès international des Sciences historiques, le premier après la guerre et duquel, par la ferme et explicite volonté de Pirenne, furent exclus les historiens allemands. Bien des historiens européens qui avaient participé à la *Krieg der Geister* avaient accepté de « se laisser emporter par la passion », « de se subordonner aux militaires et aux politiques ». Et, dans une note de la version écrite de son discours inaugural, Pirenne ne manquait pas de condamner sans appel les historiens qui s'étaient rendus coupables d'une « altération intentionnelle de la vérité » : mais ces historiens (et il ne pouvait s'agir que des historiens allemands) « ne méritent à aucun égard le nom d'historiens »:

et donc, conformément aux vœux de Pirenne, ils ne pouvaient participer aux travaux du Congrès international des Sciences historiques.

L'idée que les manuels d'histoire en usage dans les différents pays européens (mais ce n'était bien évidemment pas un problème exclusivement européen) contribuaient de manière déterminante à la construction de la conscience politique des jeunes générations et avaient donc un rôle délicat d'éducation civique était depuis longtemps présente dans la conscience et le programme du mouvement pacifiste ; dès ses débuts en effet, celui-ci avait dénoncé les contenus nationalistes et militaristes présents dans un grand nombre de manuels scolaires d'histoire. En 1899, le problème avait été soulevé lors du premier Congrès mondial de la paix, tenu à Paris, d'où était venue l'exhortation à abandonner la « drum and trumpet history » ; et on en avait également discuté au congrès de l'Union interparlementaire de Berne en 1900.

Mon intervention aura comme sujet les débats sur les manuels scolaires d'histoire à la croisée entre les discussions des historiens (à partir des congrès internationaux des sciences historiques) et les associations et les mouvements pacifistes.

### **History textbooks in Europe (1923-1938). Between historiographical debates and pacifism**

In 1923, Henri Pirenne denounced unequivocally the responsibility of historians during the First World War, in a passage of the inaugural speech he gave to the opening of the fifth International Congress of Historical Sciences, the first after the war. Many European historians who participated in the *Krieg der Geister* had agreed to 'leave carried away by passion'. In a note written in a version of his inaugural speech, Pirenne condemned historians who were guilty of 'intentional alteration of the truth'. According to Pirenne, these historians did 'not deserve any respect the name of historians', and therefore, in accordance with his wishes, they could not participate in the International Congress of Historical Sciences.

The idea that history textbooks in use in the various European countries (but it was obviously not only a European problem) contributed significantly to the construction of the political consciousness of younger generations, and therefore had a delicate role in civic education, had long been present in the awareness programme of the peace movement which, from its beginnings, had denounced the nationalist and militarist content present in many history textbooks. In 1899, the issue was raised at the first World Peace Congress held in Paris, from where came the exhortation to abandon the 'drum and trumpet history', and it was also discussed at the Congress of the Inter Berne Union in 1900.

This paper will focus the debates on history textbooks at the crossroads between historiographical discussions (in the International Congress of Historical Sciences) and associations and peace movements.

**Verstraete, Pieter**

KU-Leuven

Belgium

### **The bird of solidarity: mutilated soldiers and educational heritage**

In contemporary (cultural) heritage discussions more and more attention is being devoted to disability related issues. What characterises these discussions mostly is their shared interest in measuring and improving the accessibility of heritage sites for persons with disabilities. In this



presentation we will demonstrate that disability not only has an important role to play in current discussions about the construction or evaluation of existing heritage sites. Persons with disabilities also played an important role in the history of (cultural) heritage itself, something which up till now to a great extent has been overlooked. In order to demonstrate the active role taken up by persons with disabilities in the history of cultural heritage we will focus on two Belgian heritage discussions which can be encountered in the interwar period. In the context of the current commemoration of the First World War we have chosen two case studies where each time disabled veterans play a pre-eminent role. In the first case study we will focus on the prohibition of a cultural practice that was widely spread in Flanders and the North of France before the First World War, namely finch sport. Apparently blinded pupils and veterans have contributed to the prohibition of the common practice of blinding finches in 1924. The second case study will deal with the travelling anti-war museum of Ernst Friedrich in Belgium between 1936 and 1939. In this case we will focus on the exhibition of pictures of facially mutilated German soldiers. On the basis of these two case studies we will argue that persons with disability played an important role in the history of (cultural) heritage and that exploring their position can help us to pinpoint some past ethical and aesthetical issues in the education of the public.

### **Vörös, Katalin**

University of Pécs

Hungary

### **‘The new form of industrial education’. The changing role of Hungarian vocational education during World War I**

The notions of modernization and social thinking determined the modified roles of Hungarian vocational education during World War I. At the end of the 1890s a modern, industrialised vocational education system was formed in Hungary. The education of skilled workmen was an integral part of the power rivalry among certain countries during this time period. The peak of this rivalry was World War I, when the results were measured on the battle fields. During the War the value of industrial production to satisfying strategic goals intensified. Thus, vocational education played a more important role in the narrative of central power.

Due in part to secularization, traditional communities broke up, and the role of the government expanded inform the turn of 20th century. As part of this process, the legal and institutional background of social care developed in Hungary from the second half of the 19th century in line with the Western- European countries. The nursing and rehabilitation of injured soldiers coming home from World War I posed new challenges around the idea of the caring government. These issues and tensions can be seen in Pál Teleki’s *Social policy and Military Care*, 1918.

Vocational education and national social policy grew closer together as a result of the armaments events after 1914, which Act XV of 1915 demonstrates. The concept of vocational education was redefined. New types of ‘industrial vocational schools’ (war disabled schools) appeared. Their task was primarily not to serve market interests, but to improve the life circumstances of the handicapped and disabled. Old institutions also had to live up to the changed requirements. They not only took part in army production and offered their buildings to house or care for soldiers they also aided disabled soldiers who had left hospital by organizing different courses.

Through examining the history of different schools (i.e. the vocational schools in Győr and Pécs) during the war it is possible to assess the changing nature of Hungarian vocational education and the effect of macro-level processes on the life of a school. This research is based on archival resources, school reports, referential laws and contemporary media (Győri Hírlap, Magyar Iparoktatás etc.). The texts were interpreted using metaphor and content analyses. This analysis offers a vivid picture of the mentality of this time period and of the value of vocational education during the war. The sources present interesting contradictions between governmental discourse and the reality on the level of a certain school.

### **Wagner, Patrick**

Germany

### **War and Peace in Textbooks of English in the German Democratic Republic**

This paper presents selected results from a recently finished dissertation project on the teaching of English in the German Democratic Republic (GDR). While all textbooks of English ever used in the GDR are analysed in the dissertation, this paper will only focus on *English for you* and the following edition *English for You: Englischches Lehrbuch*, which were obligatory in schools between 1966 and 1990, thus making it the GDR's most influential series of English textbooks.

The paper will explore the way in which the topics of "war" and "peace" were delineated in the textbooks. "War" in this case will be defined as all activities concerned with weapons, brutality and physical harm. This was reflected in the textbooks in various aspects such as the military and nuclear armament in Great Britain and racist activities in the USA. "Peace" on the other hand will be defined as all activities related to the keeping of peace in a certain country or worldwide. Here the textbooks threw a light onto the role of the Communist Party of Great Britain and the Young Communist League who were portrayed as playing an active part in the keeping of peace. Besides, the GDR appeared as the epitome of a peaceful state.

As one can guess, the reason for this way of delineation was the influence of the GDR's state ideology. Thus a favourable light was shed on socialist states and an unfavourable light on capitalist states. Nevertheless, it will be shown that the way these topics were treated differed a lot in the new edition *English for You: Englischches Lehrbuch*, which was published from 1978 on. One can even observe a reduction in ideological strictness there.

Methodologically, the textbook analysis applied in this paper will be linked to previous studies of textbook research. Above all, research work done in Germany will be quoted since this field has had a long tradition there since the 1970s.

### **Wakelam, Randall**

Royal Military College of Canada  
Canada

### **Educating for War: the Military and the Academy**

The phenomenon of war and the academy have a long association, if sometimes an awkward or even conflicted one. Like the hackneyed phrase 'military intelligence', 'military education' is seen by many to be something of an oxymoron. For many academics the notion of 'military anti-intellectualism' was seen as a given.

Ironically, as Correlli Barnett has observed, there is an implicit link between the military and many other facets of society. In his 1967 article, written near the height of the Vietnam conflict, he observed that: "... many of our civilian institutions, ways of thinking, techniques of organization and control, were evolved first in armies or during wars." He continues: "The education of military elites is not therefore a matter of a specialized professional group, isolated from the mainstream of modern life. It is a subject of great interest and relevance."

Despite criticisms and misperceptions, militaries, and perhaps more so Western militaries, invest significantly in learning programmes. Oriented towards training in the early stages of a career in uniform, there are also high quality education experiences, particularly for officers, which rival those of any other profession. The intent of my research is to undertake an integrative examination of the major education requirements, philosophies, policies and practices in Western militaries since the 17th century. Fundamentally I will seek to identify those factors that drive the ways of military education.

My goals in this research are not simply to chronicle what schools, colleges and programmes have operated from time to time but to investigate and attempt to understand what various nations and their militaries have seen as the need for and benefit of learning institutions and programmes. The core question of my project centres on whether there is evidence of the development of a school of military thought – or the creation of a military ‘discipline’ similar to the creation of relatively modern social science disciplines such as psychology, sociology. This being the case, my approach will not follow the typical ‘way of war’ but rather consist of a pedagogical examination of a ‘way of learning’ and thinking. Seen in terms of existing literature, both historical and pedagogical, one might say that my intent is to re-examine the model proposed by Jay Luvass in his study of the British Army in 1965. In *The Education of an Army* he presented a study of a series of military authors whose writings between 1815 and 1940, he suspected had had an influence on “theory, doctrine and policy”.

I hope to be able to achieve some level of meta-cognition or even meta-meta-cognition. How do the services think about learning? Do they as institutions understand or espouse the notion of a ‘learning organization’? And what if they do, or do not? Is the concept of the learning organization something new or has it been present in all but name for centuries?

## **Ward, Chloe**

University of Melbourne  
Australia

### **‘Too much a propagandist, not enough of an educator’: the Left Book Club and teaching Britain democracy, 1936-1945**

Founded by the socialist publisher Victor Gollancz in 1936, the Left Book Club published books for some 57,000 readers across Britain at its height in 1939. It sought to teach the public about political ideas and events in the interest of defending democracy against the threat of fascism. Earlier works have considered these educational and political properties of the Club. This paper brings the two together. It considers the respective ideas of ‘education’ and ‘propaganda’ in the Club’s organizers’ rhetoric, its books, and members’ discussions of the texts across 1200 nationwide local groups.

The Left Book Club was a civil educational organization. It nonetheless maintained a political orientation towards parties, parliament and international diplomacy. A tension existed between

the Club's free, discursive, civil arena for political discussion and the need to assimilate the ideas therein to a coherent political program. Before 1938, the Club's organizers elided any contradiction between its civil status and political goals. A dialectical process of 'education' enabling informed discussion of politics and 'propagandist' inculcation in political dogma, were largely interchangeable in Club publications because both served anti-fascist, Popular Front purposes.

From 1938 onwards, events in Britain and Europe made the difference between the two ideologically salient and politically irreconcilable. Nationalist success in Spain, Nazi belligerence and reports about the lack of democratic freedoms in the USSR underscored the necessity of strengthening democratic free speech in Britain. Meanwhile the National Government's Appeasement policy and the Labour Party's seeming impotence encouraged a view that the Popular Front movement must cohere into a political alliance with a clear electoral program. 'Education' aligned with democracy; 'propaganda' with dictatorships. This division was reflected in a split between the Club's progressive and communist memberships at the outbreak of the Second World War.

Neither political education nor propaganda succeeded in the period of the Club's most prolific output and highest membership. However the Club's work in spreading and developing political ideas in its local groups eventually reaped political rewards in Labour's 1945 election victory. This helps substantiate long-standing assertions about the Club's significance to post-war social and political transformations. Yet it also qualifies such claims, pointing to the ambiguous triumph of the incorporation of the Club's ideas into the mainstream of politics. This could both sustain, and foreclose, further development of the extra-parliamentary, educational, discursive, democratic civil sphere the Club fostered in the 1930s.

### **Warren, Donald**

Indiana University

United States

### **War and Education among Native North Americans**

This paper ends with a critique of Bernard Bailyn, *The Barbarous Years* (2012), the latest of his multivolume investigation on *The Peopling of British North America* (1986). As foundation, the paper synthesizes recent research on peoples who confronted arriving Europeans (Axtell 1995, 2001; Calloway 2008; Gunn Allen 2003; Kroupa 2010; Lawrence 2011; Whisnant & Whisnant 2007). The sample reveals a bias in the historical and anthropological record, which tends to overlook irenic, less dominant tribes.

A growing collection of scholars (Mann 2005, 2011) tells us American Indian societies varied in minor and profound ways, yet engaged in transgenerational initiatives to maintain essential commitments and adjust them to changing conditions and environments. These episodes of cultural devolution, continuity, and adaptation reveal education as their path to social cohesion and advancement, serial experiments in survival. From Natives' perspectives, colonialism becomes multiple strategies of war and fearsomely miseducative.

Bailyn does not take this conceptual leap in *The Barbarous Years* (Anderson 2013). He intends to reconstruct the earliest encounters among British invaders and resident tribes in coastal regions. He draws selectively from anthropological and archaeological literatures, but the sources tend to be old, thus missing advances in recent American Indian histories. Focused on British

North America, he reinforces the error of viewing U. S. history as an east to west development, a discredited paradigm that ignored earlier Spanish colonization in Florida and the Southwest and the migration of Mexican Natives into Arizona, California, New Mexico, and Texas. Most troubling, he discounts Indians' educational achievements, privileging instead British missionary endeavors.

The errors link historiographical and substantive problems. Solving them is not easy without more refined and diverse analytical tools. Needed are recourse to orchestrated disciplinary sources, including oral traditions, and reconceptualizations of Native cultures. Education historians can contribute significantly to the project. Armed with the hypothetical rendering of Indian histories as education history, they are poised to search for where North American Native peoples learned and to offer explanations of how so many managed to survive Euroamerican centrism. Historical inquiries on Natives of other continents invite similar approaches (Fujitani 1998; Willinsky 1998).

### **Watras, Joseph**

University of Dayton  
United States

### **UNESCO, Literacy, and Pragmatic Philosophy**

*Topic:* The United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization's program of Fundamental Education offers an opportunity to ask if or how efforts to improve education in developing countries during the Cold War sought to indoctrinate countries to support what was called the Free World. Shortly after UNESCO's inception in 1946, officials created the program of adult education called Fundamental Education, which they regarded as a comprehensive approach to save the world from the scourge of war. Nonetheless, by 1959, the General Conference of UNESCO contended that the term was confusing and turned its support to programs of compulsory, Western style elementary education.

*Theoretical Framework:* The paper has five parts. First, the paper describes the ways that UNESCO officials created the program of Fundamental Education. The second part of the paper follows the work of Pedro Orata, a native of the Philippines, who joined UNESCO as a program specialist in the Department of Fundamental Education in 1948 after spending a year as principal of a school for Native Americans for the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs. The third part explains the important philosophic ideas that Orata learned from Boyd Bode at The Ohio State University. Bode tailored his explanations of how people think to ideas of democracy that avoided the ideologies of liberalism and capitalism. The fourth section shows how Orata had applied Bode's pragmatic epistemology in a method of teaching. The conclusion offers a short description of how UNESCO changed course in 1959.

*Method:* The paper uses a historical and conceptual approach to cover each of the five parts. The first explains the descriptions of Fundamental Education that UNESCO distributed. The second part looks at how Orata approached his work as a developmental specialist. The third part describes Bode's ideas and the relationship that these men developed in their time together. The last section shows how Orata applied Bode's ideas in ways that enabled people in developing countries to better understand their present situations.

*Sources of information:* The UNESCO documents are accessible on-line. Many were published at the time, and commentary about them appears in secondary sources. Bode and Orata published

extensively. Bode's theoretical essays were so well received that in 1938 *Time* magazine honored him as progressive education's number one philosopher. Orata wrote reports for his supervisors that are available, and he published newspaper columns that appeared as books explaining his approaches. Secondary sources include biographies of Bode and of Orata.

*Conclusion:* Although critics complained that UNESCO's program of Fundamental Education could be a means of indoctrination, Orata put into practice a thoughtful set of ideas that he had learned from Bode to encourage adults to construct their own ways of blending democratic ideals with traditional beliefs.

## **Watts, Ruth**

University of Birmingham

United Kingdom

### **A war which reasserted traditional norms of masculinity and femininity or tore down walls and barriers: a case study of the effect of war on women and men in higher education in Birmingham 1914-1922**

Historians studying the effects of World War I have often portrayed these as giving women unprecedented opportunities in employment and roles that impacted on traditional perceptions of what women were capable of being and achieving. Feminist historians in particular, however, have argued that not all changes were liberating at the time while the ensuing backlash in the post-war years meant that women found they had not advanced far from pre-war positions. This has been thought to be true in education as elsewhere. This paper will explore the effects of the war on women in higher education by examining the case in Birmingham, one of the largest of English cities in the early twentieth century. Its University, established since 1900, proudly asserted it was open to all and supposedly there was no gender differentiation. Since, indeed, its day/university training college for teachers was a constituent part of the University and this had always had a preponderance of female students and, in addition, women attended the growing arts courses and a smaller number took medicine, the University had a female/male ratio higher than most institutions of higher education. Nevertheless, all professors and officers of the University were male, and female students were not necessarily considered by all to be the norm, although it must also be noted that this was a small and new university, struggling to assert itself as a permanent and attractive place of higher education. During the War the numbers of men, both students and staff, considerably dropped, while those of women increased. An exploration will be made of what this meant for students and staff of both sexes, of whether this resulted in women gaining new and greater opportunities in education or as academics and administrators and of how far any changes were lasting. The focus will be chiefly on the Department of Education within the Faculty of Arts, although other faculties, particularly that of medicine will be examined. It is hoped that a case study of this kind, albeit set on a small scale, will be helpful in exploring the actual impact of war on gender attitudes and practice.

## **Whiffin, Edward**

Independent Researcher  
United Kingdom

### **Public School Boys' National and Imperial Identities in Early Twentieth Century Britain**

Our understanding of attitudes towards the First World War and the motivations of people volunteering to serve has changed significantly from the traditional image of cheering crowds, to a more considered approach. Examinations of late Victorian and Edwardian youth culture and media, such as Paris' *Warrior Nation* and Manchester University Press' series *Studies in Imperialism*, demonstrate an expectation that boys, particularly those from public schools, should be prepared to defend Britain and its empire. How boys responded to this media however has not been studied. This paper addresses this by examining attitudes within public schools, focusing on nationalism, imperialism and the military between 1898 and 1918. School journals provide the primary means to study attitudes in public schools, particularly records of debates, where pupils could express individual opinions on contemporary events, as well as participation in athletic and martial extra-curricular activities. The attitudes of boys is examined in comparison to the contemporary media, as well as current scholarly writings on attitudes towards nationalism and imperialism in the early twentieth century. It shall be argued that whilst most boys possessed nationalist and imperialist identities they were not held as firmly as contemporary media depicted. Deviation from these identities was not a counter-culture and rival empires were not necessarily defined as a hostile 'other'. This paper is a grassroots study supplementing work currently available on attitudes towards nation and empire in twentieth century Britain.

## **Woda, Martin**

Georg-August-Universität Göttingen  
Germany

### **Geschlecht und Kriegspädagogik im Deutschen Kaiserreich 1914-1918**

Aus dem Kontext meiner in Arbeit befindlichen Dissertation stelle ich erste Ergebnisse zur Frage der geschlechtsspezifischen Kriegspädagogik bzw. Kriegserziehung im Deutschen Kaiserreich vor. Ab 1890 standen im Rahmen der so genannten „vaterländischen Erziehung“ vor allem die Fächer Geschichte, Deutsch, Turnen, und Gesang ganz im Dienste der Herrschaftssicherung nach innen und zunehmend im Dienste imperialistischer Bestrebungen und Weltmachtambitionen des Deutschen Kaiserreichs auch nach außen. Eine ungeheure Zuspitzung erfuhr diese auch als „patriotische Gesinnungsbildung“ bezeichnete Erziehung im Ersten Weltkrieg in Form der Kriegserziehung. Die Erziehung zum Krieg – verstanden als pädagogische Intention und deren Durchführung – sollte bei Kindern und Jugendlichen psychische und physische Dispositionen für Kriegsbereitschaft und – fähigkeit ausprägen. Kriegserziehung war dabei nicht spezifisch fachbezogen, sondern durchdrang nahezu den gesamten Fächerkanon und das Schulleben.

Die Analyse von Dokumenten zur Schulwirklichkeit in höheren Mädchen- und Jungenschulen anhand von Schuljahresberichten ermöglicht es, Unterschiede und Gemeinsamkeiten im Lehrstoff und in dessen didaktischer Aufbereitung und Vermittlung zu erforschen. Militaristische Intentionen in der Schulpraxis und im Schulleben wirkten sich sowohl in den Mädchen- als auch

in den Jungenschulen aus, allerdings zum Teil in unterschiedlichen Erscheinungsformen. Gefragt wird, ob und inwiefern diese unterscheidbaren Erscheinungsformen als geschlechtsspezifische Ausprägungen von Kriegspädagogik aufgefasst werden können bzw. müssen.

Im Zentrum steht also der Versuch einer Rekonstruktion der Kriegspädagogik in ihren Auswirkungen auf der schulpraktischen Ebene. Dies erfolgt systematisch-vergleichend für die höheren Mädchen- und Knabenschulen Berlins anhand verschiedener Materialien (u.a. zeitgenössische „fachdidaktische“ Literatur, Verbandsorgane der FachlehrerInnen und kriegspädagogische Praxisberichte in pädagogischen Zeitschriften). Im Vortrag sollen exemplarisch erste Ergebnisse aus diesem in dieser Form erstmalig vorliegenden Vergleich von Jahresschulberichten vorgestellt und diskutiert werden.

Die Jahresschulberichte, die jährlich von den einzelnen höheren Schulen verfasst und an die Preußische Unterrichtsverwaltung weitergegeben wurden, bilden insofern eine wichtige Quelle, als sie Aufstellungen über die im Unterricht behandelten Inhalte, offizielle Verfügungen und vielfach mehr oder weniger detaillierte Ausführungen zu Schulfeiern und anderen Aktivitäten des Schullebens beinhalten, darüber hinaus aber auch die Themen schriftlicher Arbeiten (v.a. die Aufsatzthemen im Fach Deutsch in den höheren Klassen sowie die Aufgaben der schriftlichen Reifeprüfungen). Mithilfe der Jahresberichte können somit sehr detaillierte Profile der einzelnen Schulen angefertigt werden, was hier im Fokus auf die kriegspädagogische Schulwirklichkeit in einem erstmals geschlechtsspezifisch vergleichend angelegten Ansatz im höheren Schulwesen erfolgt.

### **The impact of the German Empire (1914-1918) on Gender and Education**

The paper focuses on first research findings from my doctoral thesis, while asking about gender-specific education in the days of the German Empire. Since 1890 subjects like history, German, gymnastics and singing were taught in schools in the context of the so-called “patriotic education” (in German it is referred to as “vaterländische Erziehung”). On one hand, those subjects were part of the curriculum in support of safeguarding the power and on the other hand in support of imperialistic tendencies as well as the ambitions for the German Empire to become a global power. This kind of war related education aimed at developing psychic and physical dispositions inducing the students’ readiness for war. Thus, war pedagogy was not specific to one school subject only. To the contrary, it pervaded almost the entire curriculum as well as the every day school life. Therefore, militaristic intentions in education affected both girls’ and boys’ schools, however through different manifestations.

In view of the above, the analysis of documents, like school reports describing the school system as well as individual school programmes allows the investigation regarding differences and similarities within the schools’ syllabi as well as their instructional designs and therefore their educational intentions related to the First World War. Furthermore, the underlying question is on one hand, if and on the other hand, to what extent the different manifestations of militaristic intentions are to be understood as gender-specific phenomena.

Therefore, the main focus lies within the reconstruction of the war related educational intentions, as well as within their ramifications on the school level. This research design will be carried out through a systematic comparison of secondary girls’ and boys’ schools in Berlin. Essential materials, like contemporary “didactic” literature, governing bodies within the teachers’ associations and war related articles published in educational journals, will be analysed. Taking this into consideration, the paper presents first research findings generated by the comparative analysis of school reports.



These annually drawn up school reports for the Prussian educational administration are important sources for my analytical activities insofar as, they include documents about the contents taught at that time as well as documents containing official regulations and statements concerning school holidays and various other remarks about activities regarding every day school life. With the help of these school reports, it is possible to draw up detailed, “school profiles” of every school investigated. Using this concept of analysis, my doctoral thesis focuses on the reconstruction of the war related school environment using a gender-specific comparative approach, which in this configuration is applied for the first time.

**Wollons, Roberta**

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*SWG Gender: Gender, Power Relations and Education in a Transnational World*

**The Transnational World of Missionary Woman Educators: Japan and India, 1868-1915**

Studies of the international missionary enterprise have largely been nation specific, posed either as a cultural imposition by the west (imperialism) or a gift (salvation). Thus few missionary studies focus on the unique position of missionary women, the transnational nature of the enterprise, or of the intense power relationships experienced by the individual women negotiating their place in “foreign” lands.

In 1868, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions created the Women’s Boards giving a generation of college educated women the auspices under which they could travel freely around the world. Because they were recruited from college campuses to teach, they began with an agenda that was different and often in opposition to the male missionaries, who were largely educated in theological seminaries.

The transnational aspect of the study is not only about the myriad locations of missionary stations around the world, but in a broad network of communication the women created and relied upon, in the form of letters and journals. Through these sources, missionary women teachers shared their challenging personal, political, and cultural experiences in addition to modern pedagogical ideas and practices.

In Japan, female missionary teachers were confronted with official hostility to Christianity, and in India, British colonials competed with American missionaries for the hearts and minds of their subjects. Additionally, the women were endlessly in a power struggle with the central office in Boston, which vacillated over the importance of education versus conversion, and therefore over the level of support they would send for the schools and the women missionaries’ needs. Moreover, they were in a theological/intellectual power struggle with the men in the field over the centrality of conversion over education. In the local fields of service, the women were both needed for the education they could provide and held in suspicion for being single and educated, thereby failing to model the “Christian” family.

Neither have the recipients of missionary education been well represented, though subaltern post-colonial studies are emerging to fill the lacuna. In Japan, for example, Christian schools were valued for their English language instruction, but not so much for religious conversion. Thus, the schools were successful in the eyes of Japanese parents. The schools were successful to the missionary women, whose interest in western education for girls became more important

as Christian education was banned. Missionary societies were satisfied enough to continue the project for the Christian values that might be imparted, if indirectly, through schools.

The underlying ideas behind the study are the complex gender relationships between the religious and educational ideas that informed the missionaries, how the women created their own transnational networks of information and support, from outpost to home and between outposts around the world, and the web of national identities (of teachers and students), governmental political power, and social hierarchies that shaped classroom practices. From the receiving side, the study uses post-colonial theory to frame the indigenization of western education, with illustrations of how local people adapted foreign concepts to suit their own needs and desires.

### **Missionaries and the Colonizing Aspects of 19th Century Western Education**

In the work of missionaries throughout the early 19th century, missionary leaders struggled with the problem of “civilization” versus conversion. By this they meant how to preserve local culture yet still pass on the universal benefits of Christianity in an effort to create a local, self propagating, indigenous Christianity. The main architect of the America Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, Rufus Anderson (secretary of the ABCFM from 1830-1866), believed in creating indigenous Christianity around the world that respected local culture *and* propagated the faith. It was a tough position, as it was clear that without adopting western culture (“civilization”) it was hard to tell when conversion had actually occurred. What were the outward signs of “true” conversion? How could a missionary know for sure? How accommodating of local customs and symbols could a missionary be before doubting the depth of the conversion? Further, Anderson debated the value of education for its own sake. He feared that western education would drive a wedge between the larger community and individuals who went to missionary schools, risking the loss of trust and credibility and even identity with the community. That separation, of course, would result in something antithetical to his hope of creating indigenous leaders to propagate the faith among friends and family. When it came to sending single women to the missionary fields to build schools, an idea that began taking shape in the 1850s, he opposed the idea with vehemence. He saw it as putting his life’s work of creating a self sustaining army of indigenous Christians in jeopardy by privileging western education over local conversion. Anderson lost that battle when he resigned in 1866. Just two years later, the Women’s Boards were formed allowing single, educated women to travel alone as missionaries to build schools, temples to Mt .Holyoke and other New England colleges, around the world. In fact, the arrival of schools dedicated to western learning did exactly as Anderson had feared. In Turkey, Japan and India, for example, the arrival of women’s schools and colleges shifted emphasis from conversion to education, and from conversion to civilization. In the end, I would argue, western education itself was a form of colonization even in settings that were not colonized by Americans (all three locations). Western education as carried out by educated single American women had a beneficial and conflictual relationship to national identity formation (Japan), political control (Ottoman Turkey), and control of the female body (India). While western education was desired by some for its status and future benefits, it was also feared for its enlightenment-based liberalism, propagating individualism and autonomy along with Christianity. Where these ideas were antithetical to Anderson’s antebellum vision, they were similarly antithetical to ruling governments in the late 19th century that were trying both to modernize and to consolidate a unifying national identity.

**Woodin, Tom**

Institute of Education, University of London  
United Kingdom

**Co-operation, Education and Peace**

The Co-operative College was established in 1919 as a testament to peace on behalf of the British consumer co-operative movement. During the War, the movement had faced considerable challenges in the form of profiteering as well as marginalisation by government officials, dual tendencies that was to reflect a more general exclusion in the later twentieth century. The co-operative vision did not easily fit with either capitalist economics or state welfare. The movement was heavily involved in peace movements, for example, the Women's Co-operative Guild introduced the white poppy in the 1930s. The movement as a whole could only develop upon the basis of members and leaders who understood co-operation (Gurney 1996).

The College was a nascent form of higher education which also aimed to challenge the existing models and, in this sense, it tied into wider claims and developments in worker's education and calls for worker's universities across Europe. Indeed, the educationist and historian, R.H. Tawney, in a pamphlet entitled, *Education and Social Progress* (1912) argued that the key educational role for the co-operative movement in the twentieth century, was to help transform higher education.

This paper will focus on the origins of the Co-operative College in relation to the themes of war, internationalism and peace. The impact of the wider educational ferment within the co-operative movement following the First World War, will be analysed (Simon 1965). The College aimed to serve as an apex institution heading up a wide range of educational activities run by individual societies as well as regional committees. The movement has been described as a 'state within a state' and this was partly true of co-operative education also where separate examinations systems, summer schools and scholarships all operated. While this could isolate co-operative education from wider educational institutions and trends, it also reflected the ways in which education and learning were viewed as essential to co-operative effort. A further tension operated around gender where differences were asserted by both women and men as a basis for diverging forms of education and social action. The College was also part of a wider international network that pursued peaceful strategies for change and gave rise to further contradictions.

**Wraga, William**

University of Georgia  
United States

**Progressive Education as Resistance: Cooperative Educational Experimentation in the US South, 1936-1946**

During the 1920s and 1930s in the US an approach to curriculum improvement emerged called the 'cooperative educational experiment'. Although the Eight-Year Study was the most famous of such efforts, from six to ten occurred around the US. The Southern Association Study in Secondary Schools and Colleges, also called the Southern Study, involving 33 white high schools in the South (Jenkins et al. 1946), and the Secondary School Study of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes, also called the Secondary School Study, involving 16 black high schools in the South (Brown and Robinson 1946), represented major regional efforts to improve the high school curriculum. Although the funding agency's suggestion that the Southern

Study include black high schools was not acceptable to the leadership of the Southern Study, ultimately the white study provided technical assistance to the segregated Secondary School Study. Wartime exigencies impacted both studies, principally as teachers and administrators departed for military service. Nevertheless, these studies enacted documented improvements in the participating white and black high schools.

Historians tend to dismiss the Eight-Year Study and even characterize the curriculum development work it promoted as production-style manifestations of social efficiency (Herbst 1996, Kliebard 1986). Yet at that time the leadership of the Secondary School Study embraced the progressive practices of the Eight-Year Study as a form of resistance to hegemonic white supremacy. Although the explicit purpose of the Secondary School Study was to resolve local educational problems through cooperative experimentation, the leadership of the study also 'believed that better education meant broader opportunities for intelligent participation in and responsibility for democratic living' (Brown 1943: 121). With collaboration from the staffs of the Eight-Year Study and the Southern Study, the Secondary School Study endeavored not to fit African American students into the existing social order, but to enable them to democratize that order.

This research reconstructed the activities of the two Southern Studies through an examination of published and archival sources, compared the features of the studies, and analyzed their activities from the perspective of resistance. The Secondary School Study, the Eight-Year Study, and the Southern Study collaborated to deploy progressive education as a form of resistance to systematic efforts to maintain the disenfranchisement and inequality of black citizens in the US South.

### **Yamasaki, Yoko**

Mukogawa Women's University  
Japan

### **Building a peaceful society with citizenship: lessons from British progressives 1910-1930s**

According to Boyd and Rawson (1965), "...the New Education rests upon three essential ideas: wholeness, creativity, and the unique value of the individual. If we consider the last two first, we can see that they imply a complete change in the pattern of human relationships." Progressive education, known as New Education during its evolution to the 1930s, has left both a tangible and intangible inheritance that required change in human relationships, between teachers and children, parents and children, and between peoples of the world.

In this respect there was outstanding dedication by progressives, members of the New Education Fellowship (NEF) from 1921 onwards such as E.G. Holmes, H. Finlay-Johnson, B. Ensor, P. Nunn, A.S. Neill, and W.B. Curry in Britain. Ensor and others wished to constitute NEF as an educational nucleus in many nations in order to maintain international peace. Ensor stated "The principles underlying practically all these unrecorded experiments are those of self-development, self-government, and democracy in Education. And not these alone; but a wider understanding of religion as apart from sectarianism; a more true patriotism, which, giving love to the Motherland, yet is International in expression."

Before WWII, Japanese progressives took part in the NEF's International Conference, then introduced progressive ideas to Japan through a new Japanese quarterly magazine *Century of*

Education. Their attitudes were complicated depending on the vagaries of a variety of conditions or paradoxical social contexts; despite such internationalist action on the part of educationists, Japan plunged into war. After the end of hostilities the United Nations (UN) purposing to maintain international peace and to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples was accomplished, NEF contributed to the founding of UNESCO, an “intellectual” agency of the UN. A ‘Convention on the Rights of the Child’ was finally adopted in 1989 following an earlier ‘Declaration’ of children’s rights, originated in 1923 and agreed by the UN (1959).

As a lesson from this history, we should reflect on the role of progressive education, including its methods, which had a significant impact beyond education, in encouraging the maintenance of international peace. How did progressives develop new methods of teaching children? In this paper, for discussion I take the Dramatic Method (1912) by Finlay-Johnson, headmistress and pioneer of new educational method, and ‘Education for Peace’ (1932) by Curry, a pacifist prominent in the NEF. Their ideas for curriculum were based on meaningful philosophies of education, including a wider concept of citizenship, in those days normally associated with the right to work and reside in a country, as participation in political life and facilitating construction of a peaceful society.

**Ydesen, Christian and Andreasen, Karen E.**

Aalborg University  
Denmark

### **Educating for peace – The role and impact of international organisations in interwar and post-war Danish school experiments**

In the aftermath of both world wars strong international networks and organisations have manifested themselves with the promotion of peace through education on the agenda. Thus, the interwar years witnessed the formation of the New Education Fellowship (NEF) in 1921 carrying a strong belief in a new international education for international understanding (Brehony 2004: 740). After the Second World War, although the NEF was still active, the protagonist in the promotion of peace through education was undoubtedly UNESCO explicitly addressing “peace and security” in its charter (UNESCO, 1945). Danish pedagogical experiments and experimental schools established in these periods were strongly influenced by these ideas and played a role in later school policy (Ydesen 2011).

Drawing on the notion of the spatial turn in history of education research (Burke, Cunningham and Grosvenor 2010) and the theoretical concepts of transfer, translation and transformation put forth by Robert Cowen (Cowen 2006) the paper addresses the following research question: To what extent were the NEF and UNESCO’s ideas of promoting peace through education transferred, translated and transformed in Danish school experiments in interwar and post-war scenarios and what was the impact of these ideas?

In exploring this question the paper makes use of archival sources from the NEF archive in IOE London, the UNESCO archive in Paris, the Emdrupborg experimental school archive in Copenhagen city archive, the Frederiksberg education files in Frederiksberg city archive, the National Centre for Pedagogical Experiments (NCPE) files in the Danish national archive and the private archive of former head of the NCPE as well as the journals and reports surrounding the Danish reform pedagogy movement in the interwar and post-war periods.

The expected outcome is a well-founded contribution to the understanding of how ideas travel and which impact they carry in local (national) educational contexts. But in a broader perspective the paper will also add to our understanding of how trends of internationalization and globalization work.

**Yu, Jinyoung**

Seouljeil Graduate University  
Republic of South Korea,

**Endless war and its images: how anti-communism was expressed in children's literature through state manipulated images in Korea**

Generally, modern countries explain the rule of law as a state where governance is based on the agreement and consent of the members of society. The law justifies carrying out violent acts and assumes a "violent nature." In the course of such rule, law enforcement agencies apply laws in accordance with the will of the state and may resort to various acts of violence. State violence can be regarded not only as another name for "law and order" but also as an educational concept related to compliance and discipline. These state condoned norms transform national security into an ideology. In Korea, anti-communism has been in existence since the Japanese colonial period (1910-1945), but became very strong during the Korean War (1950-1953). The modern history of Korea, and indeed the social psychology of Koreans, has been dominated by the War and by the resulting division of the country into North and South. However, due to authoritarian and dictatorial rule, acts of violence, based upon anti-communism, seriously violated people's human rights. Anti-communism combined with violent forces to subdue critics and opponents of the political process.

In this presentation, I will analyse images of anti-communism in children's literature, in magazines, romance novels textbooks used in school, focusing upon the Korean War and its aftermath. Modern children's literature in South Korea started during the Japanese occupation, and its dominant characteristic was that of sadness, which reflected the national sentiment at that time. However, during the Korean War and the resulting division of the country, political power in each state was centralized, and the practice of literacy was increasingly expressed in ideological terms. The influence of anti-communism on Korean children's literature can be seen in terms of the suppression of critical thinking and of the immaturity of critical discourse. In reality, as well as emotionally and mentally, the Korean War is not yet over. The effect of education for "anti-communism" was successful and persists to this day in both the older and younger generations. While the ideological war has subsided across the world, anti-communist ideology can be seen in state manipulated images.

**Zabolotna, Oksana, Koliada, Nataliia and Koliada, Tetiana**

Pavlo Tychyna Uman State Pedagogical University  
Ukraine

**Non-formal education in Ukraine before World War I: Aspiring for Better Life or Learning to Live in Crisis?**

The paper presents the role of non-formal education for Ukrainian children in the hard period around World War I. The paper analyses the activities of children's organizations in the first

decade of the 20th century. They are presented against the background of historical, social, economic situation in Ukraine which was part of Russian Empire, and later – of the Soviet State. They were years marked by pressure of the weakening monarchy on raising democracy processes, and active political struggle and anticipating change. Differentiation in social stratification, earlier children's inclusion in different spheres of community life are presented as factors resulting in emerging numerous children's organizations of different kinds. They ranged from non-formal self-organized gangs of marginalized children to strictly structured political children's associations. They were powerful enough to draw the attention of the government, the church, political parties, as well as the army to the existing problem with the view to use their potential. The forms of their relations are presented in the paper with the emphasis laid on the ability of children's organizations to modify the further life of the children participating in them.

Evidence is taken from academic research and materials from Ukrainian and Russian archives.

This paper seeks to challenge the widespread opinion that children's organizations were purely a means of disciplining the young generation in order to make them obedient parts of the huge power mechanism.

**Zigmunde, Alīda**

Riga Technical University

Latvia

### **The Riga Polytechnic Institute – life of an institution of higher education during WWI**

'War is the father of all things', said Heraklid of Ephesos. The real meaning of this Aphorism is shown when we look at the fate of the Riga Polytechnic Institute (RPI) during WWI. When the battlefield reached the outskirts of the Baltic Provinces of the Russian empire in summer 1915, the RPI was evacuated firstly to Dorpat/Tartu and then to Moscow, where it worked with its own students and those teachers who went to Russia. The RPI functioned within the buildings of moscowite educational institutions and with the participation of Russian teachers. These activities stopped in May 1918, after the Russian Revolution. The director of the RPI was punished for admitting a very large number of students in the study year 1915/16, who thus avoided the military service, a "crime" for which he later lost his office. The future of the RPI was in doubt after the peace-treaty of Brest-Litovsk which the Soviet Union signed with the German Reich in March 1918: the main issue was over whether to stay in Russia or to go back to Riga. Some of the students and professors wanted to stay in Russia, whilst others wanted to return to Riga in the summer of 1918, where the German army was still in power. In October 1918, instead of the RPI a new institution – the German Baltic Technical University (*Deutsche Baltische Technische Hochschule*) was opened, but it did not last long. On November 18th 1918 Latvia declared its independence, as did Estonia and Lithuania.. Following the Versailles peace treaty the German troupes at the Russian border had to retreat to German territory, but the Bolshevik army followed on their heels. At the beginning of 1919, the Bolshevik army reached Riga and captured the largest part of what was to become the Latvian territory. They decided to close down the RPI, which had been reinstated and to found the University of Latvia instead. In May 1919, the Baltic-German *Landeswehr* and the Latvian Formations which had been built up after the declaration of independence drove the Bolshevik army out of Riga and Latvia. The regular government of Latvia then founded the University of Latvia, which incorporated the technical faculties of the

former RPI. WWI was fought on the front with Russia and came to a halt at the Eastern side of the Baltic provinces. Upon the outbreak of the Russian Revolution, the Bolsheviks got rid of the Tsarist officers and the Russian soldiers wanted to go home, so this was by no means comparable to the heavy fighting on the Western front. The RPI, which had been founded in 1862 was evacuated to Russia, from where it operated before it split with those who stayed in Russia and those who wanted to come back to their beloved county. The laboratories and libraries which were not all given back to Riga became the scientific stock of the newly founded institutions of higher education in Soviet Russia.

## **Znotiņa, Lilita**

University of Latvia

Latvia

### **Children's recovery in Latvia after World War I and development of paedology**

The period after the First World War brought moral degradation, famine and revolutions which impacted children's psyche. Moreover, education declined because of the deportation of the best teachers and the influence of war on the constitution of the family. Starting from 1918 when Latvia was proclaimed an independent country, the mood of the nation revived both mentally and physically. The necessity for children's recovery and changes in the education system facilitated important developments in child studies, which had already expanded in Western Europe.

In order to diminish the consequences of the war on children's development, the city's committee established in 1922 the first children's homes. They had developed and adjusted curriculums, and were organized as treatment institutions. Moreover, the state moved deeper into this field and found it increasingly necessary to establish an institute whose main aim was to provide educators with psychiatric advice. Hence, in 1923 the city's department of education founded the Defective children's dispensary of Riga city (director - Dr. Möller). At the beginning the main aim of the dispensary was to send those who needed help to appropriate institutions. Later, the dispensary's work developed and there were more aims, for instance, to give advice and help those who were "intellectually normal", but had other reasons for not being able to follow education. The initial methods employed to examine children were intellectual testing and questionnaires. All this promoted interest in paedology, which was considered as the basis of education and an important research field for educators.

The impact of war on education by the effect it had on children's psyche has raised the following research questions: how was children's recovery organized in the newly founded, democratic state after World War I? What were the longer term consequences on children's development? The theoretical frame of this inquiry is composed of the works of Depaepe (1992, 2002), Dekker (2000), Byford (2012) concerning the historical development of child studies. I studied pedagogical literature from the 1920s to the 1930s as sources, which covered the debate about the development of paedology and the methods used to examine children. In my presentation I will demonstrate how World War I impacted children's lives as well as facilitated child studies. I will argue that war has longer term consequences for children's recovery.



**Zuniga, Carmen**

University of Western Australia  
Chile

### **What Kind of History is taught in a Dictatorship? The Secondary School History Curriculum during Pinochet's Regime in Chile**

A *coup d'état* organised by General Augusto Pinochet in 1973 in Chile put an abrupt end to Allende's democratic government. This also resulted in the end of the educational reform movement initiated in 1965. Pinochet's dictatorial government stopped the reform, modified the syllabi in 1974, and implemented a new curriculum framework in 1981. This study aims at developing an understanding of the history curriculum modifications for secondary schools undertaken during Pinochet's dictatorial regime in Chile (1973-1990). The research is located within the interpretivist paradigm and adopts grounded theory approaches to data gathering and analysis. Contemporary official documents and literature on the matter were collected and analysed. The study demonstrates that during this time, history teachers were required to conceive of history as the accumulation of factual knowledge through memorisation. In terms of content knowledge, the State, the Catholic Church and the Armed Forces were also positioned as being fundamental institutions of the Chilean nation. Moreover, the history curriculum was concerned with developing in students an appreciation of these institutions during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Chile. In terms of pedagogy, the use of teacher-centred practices and the pre-eminence of chronologically-organised political events was a distinctive feature of the history curriculum. The modifications implemented by the military junta brought back to life traditional content and approaches to teaching. For history teaching, this meant the revival of 'the great tradition' approach. Furthermore, it seems that attention in history as a school subject has not always been paid to the accuracy of historical events, or to the promotion of intellectual skills. In this case, instead, it has focused on certain interpretations of events and their utility for the government in power.

**Zunino, Bérénice**

Université Paris-Sorbonne / Freie Universität Berlin  
France

### **Une guerre de mouvement durant la guerre de position : l'iconographie de la littérature pour enfants allemande en 1914-1918**

La présente contribution s'inscrit dans la thématique « éducation pour la guerre » et traite de la mobilisation patriotique des enfants dans la littérature extrascolaire allemande durant la Première Guerre mondiale (sources : Kinder- und Jugendbuchabteilung der Staatsbibliothek Berlin, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek Leipzig, Bibliothek für Zeitgeschichte Stuttgart). On discutera l'hypothèse suivante : en dépit de la guerre de position qui se mit en place au moins sur le front occidental à partir de l'automne 1914, la littérature pour l'enfance et la jeunesse continuait de véhiculer des images surannées d'une guerre de mouvement. Ce constat est d'autant plus surprenant que certains éditeurs tardèrent à s'adapter au conflit et ne proposèrent des livres de guerre qu'une fois qu'ils envisagèrent la possibilité d'une guerre d'usure amenée à se prolonger. Dans une perspective d'histoire culturelle et sociale fondée en partie sur les méthodes d'analyse du « *visual turn* », une attention particulière sera accordée aux illustrations. Les images des livres

de guerre s'inscrivaient dans des codes iconographiques traditionnels qui existaient avant 1914 et qui connurent un nouvel essor pendant le conflit. L'analyse de ce discours visuel tentera de contribuer à une meilleure compréhension de l'éducation à la guerre des jeunes générations pendant la Grande Guerre.

### **A war of movement during the war of attrition: the iconography of German children's literature in 1914-1918**

This contribution is related to the conference sub-theme "Education for war" and deals with the patriotic mobilization of children as represented in German extracurricular literature during WWI (sources: Kinder- und Jugendbuchabteilung der Staatsbibliothek Berlin, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek Leipzig, Bibliothek für Zeitgeschichte Stuttgart). In this presentation I will discuss my findings that in spite of the war of attrition, which began on the western front at the autumn 1914, children's literature continued to promote images of a war of movement.

Most publishing houses took time to adjust to the conflict and began to produce war books several months after the outbreak, as war went on. Paradoxically, they produced old-fashioned images: keen cavalry charges, rapid attacks, heroic deaths, exalting images of political-military leaders contributed to the glorification of war. From a cultural and social history perspective, partly based on the analysis methods of the "visual turn", special attention will be paid to illustrations. War book images borrowed from traditional iconographic codes such as history painting genre. The analysis of this visual discourse attempts to contribute to a better understanding of children's war education and its impact on the younger generation during the Great War.

#### **Zur, Dafna**

Stanford University  
USA

### **Playing Soldiers: Aesthetics of War in Pre- and Post-liberation Korean children's periodicals**

The Korean War (1950-3) erupted two years after the official division of the peninsula into the Republic of Korea (South Korea) and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea), and yet it was this war that came to symbolize the birth of these two nations. The war's narrative - from the question of who started it to the heroic accounts of bravery on all sides - as well as the contestations over this narrative, became the foundational tale of North and South Korea. Indeed, given the tremendous impact of this war on the Korean peninsula and the pervading militarized culture that followed in its wake, it is perhaps unsurprising that military rhetoric was a key feature of popular culture, including children's magazines. In this paper, I locate the emergence of such aesthetic expressions in children's magazines not in wartime Korea but earlier, in the late colonial period in the context of Japanese assimilation policies (1937-1945). The late colonial period set the stage for a visual and textual lexicon of war aesthetics that was predicated on the institutionalized understanding of the child's "natural" nature and affective excess. It was these early images that were picked up by many of the same artists in the postwar period, and were developed, almost with comic similarity, on both sides of the 38th parallel. I argue that the historical belief in the natural child in fact enabled an un-ironic transition to depictions of children as both victims and perpetrators.

# Synopses of panels

(In order of sessions presented at conference)

Conference participants were invited to convene panels on selected themes and with invited papers. Panel descriptions are listed below in order of programme session.

*Session 1A*

## **Educational heritage and the Great War**

*Convenor and Chair*

**Pieter Verstraete**

*Discussant*

**Ian Grosvenor**

The Great War never seems to have attracted so much attention as it does today. The planned commemoration of 14/18 has triggered an enormous interest in the history of the Great War. Despite this almost ubiquitous interest some aspects seem to remain underexplored. One of these is the relationship between the Great War and the history of education in general and the relationship between the Great War and what one has come to name “educational heritage”. Educational heritage here refers to the material (e.g. school banks) as well as immaterial (e.g. ways of teaching) aspects of our educational past and the critical reflection on how to safeguard these from oblivion. The symposium’s main aim is to discover what kind of attempts have been made in order to safeguard some particular aspects of the educational heritage related to the Great War.

Three different case-studies will be presented. The first one will deal with an anti-war museum that travelled through Belgium between 1936 and 1939 and which featured pictures of so-called “gueulles cassées” or facially mutilated soldiers. Disability here clearly was transformed into an anchor point for educational purposes. The second case study will deal with the way peace education was approached in the Netherlands in the Interwar period. And finally, the third case study will deal with the educational heritage of the Great War in the border region between Austria and Italy.

Nowadays it has become common sense to argue that the way one remembers one’s past and the different strategies to present and exhibit that past are never neutral. There is always a political agenda involved. By focussing on the above mentioned case-studies the symposium aims to contribute to this conviction by exploring to a further extent what place is occupied by education in this politicised attempt to remember one’s past in light of a utopian future.

### **Pieter Verstraete**

The bird of solidarity: Mutilated soldiers and educational heritage

### **Vincent Stolk**

Educating the community. Constructing and preserving WW1 peace education in the Netherlands

### **Andrea Dessardo**

Becoming Italian teachers: Cultural and national teacher education in the former Austrian provinces

*Session 1B*

**Survival, pain and memory: recovering experiences of war, peace and education, in Spain, Poland, Gibraltar, and Britain, 1902-1950**

*Convenor and Chair*

**Mary Clare Martin**

This panel, composed of scholars originating from Spain, Poland and the UK, will analyse how different historical sources and methodological approaches can be used to interpret aspects of children's wartime experiences. It will focus particularly on the relationship between education, survival, and pain, and on membership and exclusion from different forms of community.

Visual culture is represented by children's drawings from the Nazi era, and photographs from an educational institution, the Auxilio Social (1937-9), from the Spanish Civil War. Archival sources include diaries and letters in Polish and German, from and to the camp at Ravensbruck; also magazines produced by children in English in peace time (1902-5, just after the South African Wars), and by Girl Guides during World War I and from 1945-50, after World War II.

Educational processes, some generated by the young themselves, were embedded in different forms of wartime and postwar experience. Sidorenko will highlight long family traditions of subversive education in Poland, dating back to the First World War, and re-emerging in the context of the Warsaw ghetto and Ravensbruck. Martin will demonstrate how the practice of girls' home magazine production, identified by McMaster and Alexander (2010) from the late eighteenth century, provided, not only informal education within a family context, but a way for often isolated or disabled Guides to create their own communities of authors and readers. The photographs of children in pain in the educational institution, Auxilio Social (1937-39), provide another angle on interpreting wartime experience. These came to have social and political meanings for a broader community beyond the institution.

Finally, Sidorenko's cross-generational study, which draws on handwritten sources in German and Polish shows how wartime experience could lead to continuing exclusion from peacetime communities.

**Leticia Fernandez-Fontecha Rumeu**

'They Still Draw Pictures': Pain, separation and creativity in the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939)

**Mary Clare Martin**

Children's writing communities in Britain in war and peace, 1902-1950

**Ewa Sidorenko**

Re-membling survival. Recovering hidden memories of wartime Poland

*Session 1C*

**Education in the Spanish Civil War: 'Las maestras de la República'**

*Convenor and Chair*

**Maria del Mar del Pozo Andres**

*Discussant*

**Peter Cunningham**

Documentary film 'Las maestras de la República' (The Republican Schoolteachers). Original version in Spanish with subtitles in English. Directed by Pilar Pérez Solano. Winner of the Goya Award 2014 given by the Spanish Academy of Cinema.

Discussion with historians of education who participated in this documentary film: María del Mar del Pozo Andrés (University of Alcalá, Madrid, Spain) and Sara Ramos Zamora (Complutense University, Madrid, Spain)

**Women, Higher Education, War and Peace: An International Perspective  
(Parts 1 and 2)**

*Convenor and Chair*

**Ann McClellan**

Women's roles in the military, policy making, and education have improved dramatically since the outbreak of World War I one hundred years ago. They can now actively serve in various nations' military, including in combat situations and as senior officials; they can draft and enact significant policies on military conduct, peace initiatives, and diplomacy. They not only teach in the highest educational institutions in the world but also frequently govern them, acting as university presidents and chancellors. Yet for all of their advancement in various cultural structures, women remain significantly under theorized within histories of education during the World War I and II periods. This panel seeks to provide an international perspective on women's contributions to, and work within, American, Canadian, and British institutions of war and education.

The two related panels deal with three broad themes: the impact of gender on women's participation and policy making in international universities, the ways in which institutions of higher education recruited women for 'war work,' and how women's participation in such war work was portrayed, both discursively and visually, in university publications, autobiography, and fiction. Looking at women university students specifically, Sara Burke's paper, "Insurrection of Women: The Impact of World War I on Canada's Coeducational Universities," analyzes the ways in which women's increased presence on Canadian campuses led to significant fears over coeducation and greater gender segregation after the wars. Paul Stortz's paper, "Distinctly Feminine": Women Academics at the University of Toronto During the Second World War," complements Burke's analysis of women students by focusing on their professorial counterparts, arguing that, rather than providing advancement for Canadian women academics, discourses surrounding the Second World War re-positioned them within more stereotypical and socialized modes of 'feminine' behavior. Both Jane Martin's paper, "Building Internationalism: Education and Labour Movements in War and Peace, 1890 to 1920" and Christine Myers' "University Women in Wartime: A Transatlantic Study, 1914-1918," look outside the university at the ways women's 'work' was co-opted by the war effort. Martin's focus on Mary Bridges Adams and her fight for the right of asylum in World War I builds on Adams' previous policy work with the London School Boards, while Myers looks at U.S. and U.K. efforts to recruit women university students for war work. Lastly, Ann McClellan and Lisa Panayotidis independently look at the role of memory and representation in British and Canadian portrayals of the war. McClellan's paper on Vera Brittain's autobiographical and fictional writing looks at the limits and excesses of memory in British women's writing about university during World War I, while Panayotidis' paper analyzes the discursive and visual production of war memory and allegiance to the British Empire in the University of Toronto's yearbook during World War II.

Combined, these two panels provide unique insight into the ways American, Canadian, and British university women both contributed to, and chronicled, the war effort and how such efforts were often used subsequently to restrict their access to, and participation in, higher education, policy making, and peace throughout the century.

## Part 1

### **Jane Martin**

Building Internationalism: education and labour movements in war and peace

### **Sara Burke**

Insurrection of Women: The Impact of World War I on Canada's Coeducational Universities

### **Lisa Panayotidis**

'After the war, who knows?': Imagining a Gendered Post-War World of Tomorrow, 1939-1947

## Part 2

### **Christine Myers**

University Women in Wartime: A Transatlantic Study, 1914-1918

### **Ann McClellan**

V. Brittain v. Britain: University Women, Autobiography, and Fiction during the Great War

### **Paul Stortz**

"Distinctly Feminine": Women Academics at the University of Toronto During the Second World War

*Session 1E and Session 6B*

## **Child saving and peace-building in 20th century postwar eras: a common ground of humanitarian relief? (Parts 1 and 2)**

*Convenors and Chairs*

**Yves Denéchère and Joëlle Droux**

Child relief proved to be a privileged field of action for many national and international networks in the aftermath of 20th century conflicts. Motivations presiding over this commitment to childhood were multiple: first, they were obviously based on the specific needs of children related to the war and its psychological, physical or material consequences (assistance to children, whether orphans, wounded, hungry, or traumatized). On the other hand, this activism met a series of new challenges, associated to the symbolic role of the young generation in relation to peace-building efforts. In this regard, child and youth relief was considered as a priority for the reconstruction of nations and for the purpose of reconciliation. This common concern for the children's future and well-being among the hitherto belligerent was then pictured as a basis for reconciliation. In contributing to educate the younger generation in order to make them more internationally minded and prone to transnational dialogue, these activists seek to help build peaceful international relations. Childhood thus appeared both as a priority and a unifying field of international humanitarian impetus for a wide range of national and transnational actors.

By comparing different case studies to illustrate the dedication of various networks and organizations to the cause of childhood and youth, this panel aims to better understand the progressive building and legitimizing of this cause over the course of the twentieth century: who were the various activists involved in this effort? What kind of projects and programs did they come up with? What kind of an impact on local, national or international milieus and contexts did they produce? Did this humanitarian impulse ultimately lead to collaborative schemes cutting across borders and rivalries between networks and movements (joint projects, financing, implementation) and with what kind of discernible outcome (competition, tensions, alliances) . Can we discern changes and ruptures, or on the contrary continuity and permanence in the way childhood was erected as a central object of the 20th century humanitarian call? To what

extent this multifaceted investment on childhood has affected the evolution of representations of childhood, and how they came to inform public policy?

### **Part 1**

#### **Eric Pierre**

A forgotten Youth after WWI, juvenile offenders in France

#### **Joelle Droux**

Advocating the Cause of the Child in a Globalized post-war Context : The International Union of Child Welfare, a Case-Study (1945-1955)

#### **Sebastien Farré**

Saving the Children from Hunger: from the American Relief Administration to the International Save the Children Union (1918-1923)

### **Part 2**

#### **Louise Bienvenue**

Construire une société non-violente par la psychoéducation : l'influence des réseaux européens de protection de la jeunesse dans le Québec d'après-guerre

#### **Yves Denéchère**

Le Centre International de l'Enfance : éducation, formation et paix sociale dans l'espace colonial français en Afrique (1949-1960)

#### **Corinne Pernet**

Saving Central American Children from the structural violence of malnutrition: Tensions between UNICEF and its partners

### *Session 2A*

## **Canadian Academic Community Responses to War and Peace, 1914-1957**

*Convenor and Chair*

**Paul Stortz**

Historically, Canadian universities have been conspicuous and important multi-faceted higher education institutions that served a variety of purposes in society. As knowledge creators and disseminators, and engines of research, universities have long helped promote particular policies and mandates as dictated by the government, industry, economy, surrounding community, and members of the university themselves. This mission remained intact even under extraordinary circumstances such as during war. During times of war, the university proved to be flexible and efficacious in meeting specific goals that fulfilled broader directives to protect the nation while fully participating in Allied victories.

When universities in Canada went to war in the twentieth century, students, professors, and administrators adapted in myriad ways to changes in the complex cultures and mechanizations of on-campus activity and socio-intellectual climate. This panel proposes to explore three responses of the university to wartime and immediate postwar peacetime conditions as primarily involving students and professors and their relationships to academic and research cultures as well as to larger institutional and international initiatives. McFadyen studies the University Soldiers' Comfort Club at the University of Alberta during the First World War, where students implemented an ambitious program to help students who enlisted or were recruited into the armed forces stay rooted in the university and community. Blurring gendered lines, male and

female members of the Club coalesced their energetic forces to send news and supplies to the student-soldiers fighting overseas, much to the appreciation of the soldiers and their families. While the Club was an example of the seamlessness of academic activity when adapting to challenging conditions, Stortz argues that the research and teaching cultures at the University of Toronto during the Second World War were characterized more by debate and less communal agreement over practice and procedure. For example, academics often complained of being displaced from their own research projects due to lack of funding. Further, some teaching programs came under scrutiny and were forced to justify their existence under wartime directives. These stresses became acute in some departments and faculties which highlighted that war at times could not compel all campus members to march to the beat of the same drummer. Hyland's paper looks at peacetime reconstruction in Canada embedded within the geopolitical uncertainty of the Cold War. Universities emerged after the Second World War with a renewed focus on expansion and diversity in programs and operations. International organizations were not unaware of this. Higher education institutions in Canada became increasingly involved in foreign affairs directed at peacekeeping and development even before peacekeeping was an official national policy. Utilizing the considerable expertise and resources offered by the university, domestic and international relief and peace organizations worked in close concert with professors and researchers to advance agendas for rebuilding overseas communities dealing with postwar economic and political realities. Taking these three papers together, the university is fundamentally seen as dynamic in its efficaciousness in meeting national and international objectives while representing sites of both resistance and facilitation according to complex intellectual, research, and socio-academic cultures.

**Paul Stortz**

The Rise of Research and Challenges to Academic Cultures in the Faculty of Arts at the University of Toronto During the Second World War

**Ursula McFadyen**

The University Soldiers' Comfort Club at the University of Alberta, 1915-1919

**Christopher Hyland**

English-Canadian Academia's Involvement in International Peace and Community Development during the Cold War, 1945-1957

*Session 2B*

**Women, war, and popular writing: learning about war**

*Convenor and Chair*

**Nancy G Rosoff**

*Discussant*

**Ruth Watts**

This panel considers how popular writing functioned as a means of informal education about war and wartime, using a variety of historical sources. The first paper uses the writing of Mrs Humphry Ward to examine how she attempted to enjoin American to join the war effort. In addition, it considers how she used her perceptions of women's wartime experiences in fiction produced after the First World War. Helen Loader argues that Ward made significant contribution to the education of women through her writing. The second paper uses a series of six books written for American teenagers about the wartime experiences of the heroine of a series of school and college novels to discuss how the experiences of war were mediated through young adult fiction. Novels about Grace Harlowe appeared beginning in 1910 and the series that



featured the plucky heroine as a wartime ambulance driver was published in 1920. In her paper, Nancy G Rosoff argues that these books placed familiar characters in unfamiliar circumstances and served as a means of informal instruction for readers that revolved around ethical and moral lessons. In the third paper in this panel, Stephanie Spencer considers the phenomenon of the Worralls novels, written by the author of the immensely popular Biggles books. The character of Joan Worrallson challenged conventional beliefs about women and embodied a distinctively feminist tone. She suggests that although commissioned to recruit girls to the war effort, Johns' portrayal of his heroine may have served to re-assure young boys that the skies, even in wartime, remained a male preserve. These novels therefore served as a cultural representation and education about the gendered experience of war. This panel, then, examines the educative role of wartime propaganda and multiple forms of fiction, as they conveyed the experiences of war to adult and juvenile audiences.

**Stephanie Spencer**

No Fear of Flying: Captain W.E. Johns and Worralls of the WAAF

**Nancy G Rosoff**

'The Pluck of an Overton Girl': Gender, Ethics, and Experiences of War in the Grace Harlowe Overseas Novels

**Helen Loader**

'Once let in, they are not going to be easily or wholly dislodged.' : Mrs Humphry Ward, Woman and War

*Sessions 2C and 3B*

**Going International : the Role of Educational Networks and Organisations in the Peace-Building Momentum (1860's-1930's) (Parts 1 and 2)**

*Convenors and Chairs*

**Joëlle Droux and Alexandre Fontaine**

The history of movements and organizations that have fueled pacifism has been extensively studied in terms of agencies and national figures, and also in terms of its chronological development, particularly in connection with the outbreak of 20th century world wars. Moreover, as far as international processes are concerned, many issues have drawn interest from researchers: in particular the legal and diplomatic aspects, most notably with studies focusing on the mechanisms for the peaceful settlement of conflicts. More recently, networks, actors, activists and movements involved in the defense of pacifism, or which helped to strengthen it, were also researched.

This panel seeks to contribute to this approach by offering a reading of movements and networks active on the stage of contemporary pacifism that, firstly, focuses on the role of international actors; and secondly, on an issue whose salience proved to be ever more marked during the twentieth century: that of education. In doing so, we plan to assemble a variety of studies on the emergence and affirmation of these networks, from the mid-nineteenth century, and on their transformation during the period preceding the Second World War.

This "incubation" period of the globalization process was characterized by a proliferation of networks and movements for which educational issues and pacifist ambitions were inseparable. We will try to discuss the continuities and common grounds that united these milieus in terms of objectives, recruitment, organizational forms and achievements, or on the contrary the tensions or oppositions tending to separate and alienate them over the course of the period. We will encompass various forms of engagement, from the very first attempts to incarnate

the peace movement during the 1860s, to their transformation with the advent of the earliest forms of internationalization during the nineteenth century; also, their adaptation to the institutionalization of intergovernmental agencies will be of interest. Moreover, we will try to visualize the possible impact of these transnational connections on the congruence of projects, reforms or models circulated and discussed in these forums. We will try to grasp the specificity of these agencies and international organizations' activities and influences in relation to other forms of activism that were deployed at various other scales (local, national, regional). Finally, we will apprehend what links were established between these various levels through joint actions, shared forums, and multiple individual affiliations.

## **Part 1**

### **Rita Hofstetter & Xavier Riandet**

Dis-agreement between international institutions working for agreement among people through education.

### **Alexandre Fontaine**

Si vis pacem, para libertatem.

The Swiss congresses of the International League for peace and liberty (1867-1870).

## **Part 2**

### **Joelle Droux**

«Save the children!» The role of the International Save the Children Union in post-war moral disarmament (1919-1939)

### **Timo Holste**

“*Breaking down the old barriers of nationality*” The International Scout Organisations between Peace-Education and International Cooperation (1920 -1939).

### **Frédéric Mole**

Une pédagogie pour la paix? Débats dans les organisations nationales et internationales d'instituteurs.

*Session 3C*

## **Fabricating National Unity in Torn Contexts: World War I and the Education of Future Citizens in Multilingual Nation-States**

*Convenor and Chair*

**Daniel Tröhler**

*Discussant*

**Eckhardt Fuchs**

Behind the still not definitely clear causes of World War I (Fromkin, 2004; Heart, 2013) nationalism and its brother in arm imperialism in their crudest forms were the major motives in the dramatic clash between the European nation-states in 1914. This nationalism had been cultivated all along the nineteenth century, and European intellectuals did not restrain themselves either in praising their fatherland and in humiliating their neighbouring states (see for instance Durkheim, 1915; Sombart, 1915; see also Hanna; 1996; Wallace, 1988).

A central element of European nationalism was the unity of language. Ever since the turn to the nineteenth century the unity of language was - first in France (Rivarol, 1784) and then in Germany (Fichte, 1809) - understood to be the ties that bind the inhabitants of a (constitutionally legitimated) and (internationally accepted) territory. Italy followed, some decades later when it

became united as constitutional monarchy with Rome as its capital between 1861 and 1870, by standardizing one particular language and downgrading others to “dialects” (Tosi, 2004, pp. 259).

However, some of the European nation-states faced the challenge that most of present-day countries are facing; they were (in some way or another) multilingual and therefore the ideology of one language-one nation was not at stake. In the course of the nineteenth century, when the public behaviour of the eminent European nation-states became dominant, slogans were invented to describe their respective idiosyncrasy: in Luxembourg it was the “mixed culture” (Mischkultur) and in Switzerland the idea of a nation united by choice (Willensnation). Each of them served around 1900 to materialize this vision of idiosyncrasy in their respective curricula in order to integrate the future citizens to the nation-state.

World War I proved to be a real test case for this Mischkultur and Willensnation, for in both multilingual countries, Luxembourg and Switzerland, some social and political groups sympathized with the French, and some with the Germans. This panel examines the effects these tensions had with regard to the construction of curriculum, curriculum understood as major tool in educating the future citizens of the respective nation states.

### **Ragnhild Barbu, Barbara Rothmüller, Catherina Schreiber**

Conceptions of civic education in the Luxembourg school system during World War I and the subsequent years

### **Matias Gardin**

Teachers at war: reflections on education, citizenship and national identity in Luxembourg from 1914 to 1918

### **Ingrid Brühwiler**

Swiss Teachers and the First World War

*Session 3D*

### **Progressivism, peace and war in Japan: written composition, citizenship, and the wider curriculum in the first half of the twentieth century.**

*Convenor and Chair*

**Yoko Yamasaki**

*Discussant*

**Peter Cunningham**

This panel examines aspects of peace and war embedded in Japanese curriculum practice from the 1910s to 1945. Over an extended period that embraces two world wars and contradictory trends of pacifism and militarism between the wars, we examine curriculum developments through the lens of ‘war and peace’. Individual papers offer case studies of citizenship, of travel and physical exercise, and of creative writing. Influences brought to bear internationally from the New Education Fellowship are seen to affect curriculum practice in written composition and in citizenship. National trends emerging from the Ministry of Education and Tokyo Higher Normal School encourage distinctive practices of outdoor education. In the 1930s a culture of heightened patriotism, nationalism and pro-war sentiment is reflected in students’ written composition.

Together, these case studies invite discussion of war and peace in schools, tensions between educational progressivism and national political culture. Taken together, also, they outline an agenda for further research into the wider curriculum and cross-curricular trends in an era of international conflict.

**Greg Johnson**

Expanding the Space of Modern Education: Militarism, Patriotism and Cultural Edification in the Emergence of School Travel in Japan.

**Tatsuya Sakai**

Japanese children's writing from progressivism to militarism during the later 1930s.

**Yoko Yamasaki**

Building a peaceful society with citizenship: lessons from British progressives 1910-1930s.

*Session 3E*

**Educators and the Peace Movement in World War 1 and Beyond: The Limits of Conscience**

*Convenor and Chair*

**Joyce Goodman**

*Discussant*

**Nancy Rosoff**

World War I era schools in the US and Britain became a battleground in the struggle for the moral high ground between pacifists and militarists. Each sought to impress the other with the logic and immediacy of the need to convert the schools to their cause. Similar schisms played out in the larger peace movement of the period as the relationship between masculinity and military became reified in opposition to femininity and peace (Southard 2011, McCarthy 2008; Kennedy 1999, Ruddick 1989), but also within an ideological competition between isolationism and internationalism (Patterson, 2008; Snider 2005; Vellacott, 1993), socialism and nationalism (Delegard 2012; Howlett 1997; Kennedy 1995) red-baiting and civil liberties (Craig 1987; Early 1990; Pfannestiel 2003).

The panel use some of the oppositional lenses noted above to explore research on teachers' peace activism during the early and mid 20th Century, by looking at different contexts for activism. Patricia Carter reviews the role of New York City teachers' involvement in the WWI-era peace movement and the subsequent assault on their academic freedom through the political activities of Henrietta Rodman, a particularly active teacher. Joyce Goodman explores how alliances between women teachers' organizations, international teachers' organizations and international women's organizations played out for British women teachers differently across their professional organizations in the face of rising militarism in Europe. Harry Smaller looks at discussion at the Teachers' World Conference on Peace in Edinburgh (1925) about the importance of teachers and schools in achieving global peace and understanding and at the establishment of a plan for the development of a global peace education programme. All three papers are drawn from original research, utilizing archival sources, newspaper, and other period publications, school, state, and legal proceedings.

As a whole the papers demonstrate the difficulties of enacting a pacifist framework within the militaristic ethos which generally pervaded the State and the school during and after WWI and at some of the different responses and strategies this engendered amongst teachers. Our work suggests that powerful forces colluded to prevent the efforts of the pacifists to explore alternatives to the war. Educators like Rodman exposed themselves to community hostility and economic insecurity by continuing to pursue their work and demand their civil right to do so especially during the Red Scare period that followed the war. The different approaches to peace activism adopted by women teachers' organisations in Britain reflected tensions apparent in the larger peace movement; while the education for peace that the World Federation of Education

Associations planned, entitled the Herman-Jordan Plan, would become a relatively short lived project.

Taken together the papers highlight the strain between academic freedom, civil rights, and the ethical dilemma of the educator when in conflict with an overwhelmingly oppositional ideology of the community and school. The visibility and vulnerability of teachers as public employees provides insights for the study of limitations placed on teachers in other eras, particularly during periods of great social anxiety such as the Great Depression, WWII, the Viet Nam War, and the September 11 attacks.

**Joyce Goodman**

Internationalism, Empire and Peace: Women Teachers' Professional Organisations and Peace Education in England, 1920-1939

**Patricia Carter**

Between Loyalty and Subversion: One Teacher's Struggle for Free Speech in World War 1 Era

**Harry Smaller**

The Teachers' World Conference on Peace - Edinburgh 1925

*Session 4A*

**'War culture' in the classroom. European schools during the Second World War**

*Convenor*

**Sarah van Ruyskensvelde**

*Chair*

**Marc Depaepe**

*Discussant*

**Emily Charkin**

Education has always enjoyed the particular attention of political, social and religious elites, since it is an instrument in shaping secular and religious values of the future generation and an important vehicle for social mobility. Debates about the function of education in instructing youth to become 'good citizens' are by no means limited to the present. Also during the 19th and 20th century, education has been a major stake in the process of nation-building. In that sense, it was not only the subject of struggle between different political national groupings. The 20th century saw the emergence of totalitarian regimes, such as Fascism, National Socialism or Communism, which attached great importance to gaining total control over education in order to bring about acceptance of the regime and in creating a 'new' (political) class.

This panel is precisely concerned with the ways in which educational systems developed during the Second World War in (occupied) Europe. More specifically, the aim of this symposium is twofold. First, this panel aims at investigating the ways in which totalitarian regimes, such as Fascism or National Socialism, aimed at gaining total control over the educational system. Second, this panel explicitly aims at shedding light on the ways in which the war redressed classroom culture into 'war culture'. More specifically, how did the Second World War surface in the classroom, teaching equipment, the learning process, daily rituals, teaching aids, students' personal belongings, or visual images? And, how were Fascist, National Socialist or Communist reforms projected in teachers', pupils' and parents' war experiences?

By focussing both on the effects of totalitarian regime changes on school culture and teachers' and pupils' subjective experiences of wartime schooling, this panel contributes to the history of wartime education, which still remains an underdeveloped theme in the history of education. Also, by linking educational reform and political-decision making under totalitarian rule to the

development of schooling 'at the chalk face', this panel aims at contributing to a different concept of school culture that – apart from defining the specific characteristics of schooling – aims at discussing how the educational and political institutional domains overlap, intersect or clash.

### **Gianluca Gabrielli**

La guerre de conquête de l'Éthiopie (1935-36) dans les écoles italiennes

### **Iveta Kestere**

Classroom culture as a scene of political propaganda: Communism and nazi regime in Latvian classroom

### **Sarah Van Ruyskensvelde**

Education in turmoil. The development of school culture in Belgian private schools during the Second World War

*Session 4B*

### **Children and Education in the Spanish Civil War: The discourses.**

*Convenor and Chair*

**Antonio Fco. Canales Serrano**

*Discussant*

**Gary McCulloch**

On many occasions it has been said that the Spanish Civil War was the first rehearsal of the Second World War. And this sentence is rather true in relation with children and education. The first consequence of the conflict was that thousands of children had become “refugees”, had to abandon their families and homes and were gathered in children camps or “school colonies” that were founded all along the Mediterranean coast or, as the Republican army was losing its positions, were evacuated to several European and Latin-American countries, like England, Russia, Belgium, France, the Netherlands or Mexico. The second consequence of the conflict was that the Republican government had discovered the power of childhood in the international forum as a means of getting support and financial help from Western democracies and were using children as a category for showing the differences and contrast between the Republican and the Fascist factions. The third consequence of the war, in educational terms, was that both sides, Republican and Francoist, were developing in the background the first experiments of their new models of education, a kind of education that, in both cases, was expected to be the basis of the “new Spain”. When the war was almost finished, the review *Pour l'Ère Nouvelle*, the international journal of the New Education Fellowship, pointed out - with a kind of clairvoyance - the main lines of the “new education” dreamed by the Republican authorities and of the “new education” drafted by the Francoist government, that was imposed and extended to the whole of Spain from the first day after their victory, on April 1st, 1939.

The panel intends to explore further some of these consequences, from different points of view. In this first session, this approach will be done through the analysis of discourses on children. Firstly, the discourses on children of the Republican side will be studied to show the conflict between the traditional Spanish progressive discourse and the new discourses that claimed a more openly political commitment of children. Second, the conception of childhood in the Francoist side will be discussed from a double perspective: the educative discourses, developed by pedagogues and educators, and the scientific discourses, developed by psychiatrists, psychologists and doctors. In both cases, the new approaches of the Franco side will be underlined.

**Antonio Fco. Canales Serrano**

Re-educating children for the New Spain. Educational discourses in Franco's side during the Spanish Civil War

**Till Kössler**

Children in the Spanish Civil War: The Republican Zone

**Amparo Gomez Rodriguez & Antonio Fco. Canales Serrano**

Child Psychiatry and Psychology in Franco's side during the Spanish Civil War.

*Session 4C*

**Cold War, Hot Ideologies**

*Convenor and Chair*

**A.J Angulo**

Two decades ago, U.S. historian Alan Brinkley decried the lack of attention historians paid to the rise of conservative ideology during the Cold War and the lasting legacy it left in its wake. He called the topic an "orphan" that deserved much more attention from the scholarly community. Ever since Brinkley's admonishment, however, historians from around the world have left few stones unturned. The deluge of books, articles, and dissertations on national studies of conservatism have painted a much more detailed portrait of the way the ideology has intersected with race, gender, religion, regionalism, economic thought, and so on. Despite the surge of interest, education has not figured prominently in the work of mainline political historians. It has received far less attention than the sundry other topics now well-developed in the literature.

Bringing together recent scholarship and in keeping with the ISCHE conference theme of "Education, War and Peace," this panel session responds to the research gap by offering a fresh analysis of ideological battles that intersected with education during the Cold War era. In particular, this panel examines the educational thought of "cold warriors" from transnational perspectives. Using biographical, political, and collective biographical lenses, these papers take us across the Americas and the Atlantic from Mexico City (Mexico) to Cambridge (US) to Copenhagen (Denmark) to Mont Pelerin (Switzerland). Along the way, they draw from the published primary works of scholars and legislative reports and decisions of politicians who had their eye on globally significant scientific and economic developments. The papers explore how educational ideas were individually, socially, and politically constructed within the Cold War context and the implications these ideas had for the remainder of the century. Collectively, the panellists seek to challenge our assumptions about nation-state level analyses of the Cold War and push us to reconsider the transnational role education played in the heated ideological battles of the mid-twentieth century.

**Josep Simon**

Universal Humanism meets Unilateral Nationalism: American Physics and the Making of Latin American Education during the Cold War

**Wayne Urban**

James Bryant Conant: Internationalist and Cold War Educator (1948-1959)

**A.J. Angulo**

Education, Globalization, and Economic Thought in the Mid-Twentieth Century

**Mette Buchardt**

The Nordic Model of Education and "The Sputnik Shock": Systemic Competition during the Cold War and Its Aftermath in the Educational System, Denmark 1957-1960 and 2008-2012.

**Escultismo y Guidismo: Cien años de educación para la paz**  
**Scouting and Girl Guiding: one hundred years of education for peace**

*Convenor*

**María Luisa García Rodríguez**

*Chair*

**Valeria Vittoria Aurora Bosna**

Las comunicaciones de este Panel proponen una reflexión histórica y pedagógica sobre el Escultismo de Baden Powell en relación con la Educación para la Paz. Partiendo del análisis pedagógico del Método educativo scout y de sus principales técnicas utilizadas para Educar en la Paz a los jóvenes desde hace cien años, queremos profundizar sobre los contextos específicos de dos países europeos que han tenido la oportunidad de vivir el Escultismo y el Guidismo desde las primeras décadas del siglo XX. Tomando como estudios de caso la situación de Italia y España durante la época de las dictaduras fascistas, centraremos la atención sobre la relación entre el monopolio educativo de los regímenes políticos y los valores pacifistas del movimiento scout-guía.

El Escultismo, movimiento juvenil mundial de educación no formal iniciado en 1907 en Inglaterra por Robert Baden Powell, tiene como fin principal formar, a partir de la Ley y de la Promesa scout, buenos, responsables y activos ciudadanos y ciudadanas en la sociedad y en la comunidad mundial. El Método scout, gracias a específicas estrategias educativas presenta un estilo propio de trabajo dirigido a una educación integral de los (y de las) jóvenes atendiendo a todas las áreas del desarrollo personal.

El Escultismo en sus dos ramas -masculina y femenina- se ha distinguido desde su nacimiento por ser un movimiento educativo dirigido a la construcción, difusión y mantenimiento de la Paz entre los Scout, las Scout y las Guías de todo el Mundo en sus comunidades de pertenencia.

In Italia, en particular las asociaciones scout laicas, educaban a los jóvenes en un modelo diferente de ciudadanía con respecto a lo teorizado por Mussolini y su partido político.

El Escultismo laico italiano fue desde el primer momento soportado por una élite liberal-nacionalista, que llevaba los mismos valores de Cavour y que fue la principal activista del recorrido de unificación del país y primer gobierno italiano hasta al golpe de Mussolini. La vida de la asociación laica italiana desde 1912 hasta 1927 parece ser un caso de estudio muy interesante para observar las políticas del Régimen fascista en el marco de la Educación y en proceso de construcción del estado totalitario.

En el caso de España llegó el Guidismo -rama femenina del Escultismo- en 1929 gracias al empeño de una mujer extraordinaria: María Abrisqueta. A la larga historia de intervenciones a favor de la Educación para la Paz vino a sumarse dicho movimiento juvenil trabajando en la prevención de conflictos. Algunas evidencias aparecen al analizar las publicaciones de la Asociación de Guías de España (AGE) durante el franquismo. En la década de los 60 resalta la llamada a intervenir, a edificar, a cambiar, a mantenerse alerta y activa para conseguir la Paz. Se aprecia la forma en la que se insta a “hacer algo útil” para lograr la Paz, ya sea una reforma radical de índole política y moral, ya vivir en el mundo luchando, construyendo y contribuyendo a un trabajo común con todos los hombres desarrollando varias de sus dimensiones: personal, social ...

These papers propose historical and pedagogical reflection on Baden Powell’s Scouting in relationship to Peace Education. Starting from a pedagogical analysis of the Scout educational method and its main techniques used to educate young people in the value of peace already 100 years ago, we wish to go deeper into the specific contexts of two European countries that had the



opportunity to experience Scouting and Girl Guiding from the first decades of the 20th Century. Taking Italy and Spain during both Fascist dictatorships as a case study, we focus our attention on the relationship between educational monopoly within the two political regimes and the peaceful values of the Scouting and Girl Guide Movement.

Scouting started in 1907 as a non-formal youth movement in England by Robert Baden Powell and has as its main responsibility that of applying the Scout Law and Promise to formation of good, responsible and active citizens in both society and the wider world. The scout method, thanks to specific educational strategies presents a distinctive working style directed to integral education of the youth in all areas of personal development. Scouting in both its branches - Scouting itself and Girl Guiding - has distinguished itself from the time it was founded as an educative movement directed to the construction and maintenance of peace between Scouts and Girl Guides in its communities throughout the world.

In Italy, specifically the non-religious Girl Guides educated youth in a different model of citizenship than that theorized by Mussolini and his political party. Non-religious Girl Guides were supported, from the beginning by a liberal-nationalist elite that maintained the values of Cavour, the inspiration for the unification of the country and first Italian Government until Mussolini's coup. A study of the Italian case from 1912 until 1927 enables us to critically observe the policy of the Fascist regime as far as education is concerned in the construction of a totalitarian state.

In Spain the Girl Guide movement arrived in 1929 thanks to María Abrisqueta, an amazing woman. Her long contribution of interventions in favour of Peace Education was another step towards avoiding conflict. Some evidence appears when we try to analyse publications of the Spanish Association of Girl Guides (AGE) during Franco's rule in Spain. In the 1960s the call to intervene, build, change and be ready and active to work for peace is highlighted. We evaluate the way in which Girl Guides were encouraged to "do something useful" to gain peace in all its various contexts, personal, social ...

### **Valeria Vittoria Aurora Bosna**

"Somos de la misma sangre, hermano, tú y yo": Educación para la Paz por el Método Scout

### **Mattia Pessina**

"If you want Peace, prepare for War": Scoutism and the monopoly of education in Fascist Italy

### **María Luisa García Rodríguez**

Guidismo en España: la historia de una Pedagogía de la Paz

*Session 4E*

## **Peace Education in the Interwar Years**

*Convenor and Discussant*

**Diana Gonçalves Vidal**

After World War I, the claims of New Education promoters arouse a new phase of interest among those who want to build a new society, pacific and tolerant. Several groups dedicated to this cause are created all over the world. The intention was to prevent future wars. But could education either at the system level or of its end-actors, take this task? This is a preliminary question that should be asked when questioning the role of the school in a period dominated by the affirmation of militarism and patriotism. Education for Peace is one of those key issues that challenges educators and the educational system as to their contribution to promote awareness and active responsibility of citizens in favor of peaceful solutions.

In this panel, we will explore three experiences of interwar education in three different countries: Sweden, Portugal and Switzerland. On each paper, we can follow educators trying to understand what happened in the world and making efforts to interfere in order to create a new society. In Sweden, the focus relies on history of education textbooks and the assumption that cleansing the textbooks from any and all false and prejudiced descriptions of neighboring countries people, culture and history could prevent future wars. That is the discussion we can find in Daniel Lindmark & Ingela Nilsson's paper, examining attitudes towards and ideas about history education among teachers active in two associations promoting peace education in interwar Scandinavia, Svenska skolornas fredsförening (Peace Association of Swedish Schools) and Nordiska lärares fredsförbund (Peace Union of Nordic Teachers).

In Portugal, Margarida Felgueiras also examines how teacher education raised the issue of peace in the period between the two world wars. The analysis covers the republican and democratic period and then the period of the establishment of the dictatorship. But in this case the questions are: Could the New School Movement be an antidote to intolerance, under the dictatorship? The child-centred pedagogical discourse would, by itself, be a means to create an awareness of humanity and respect for the other? Could this group develop peace education content? She argues that New School accommodated and served the dictatorship, by analyzing the position of some national and international leaders, in particular Adolphe Ferrière, regarding arrest of educators in Portugal, during the initial period of the dictatorship.

Adolphe Ferrière, among other key figures like Elisabeth Rotten, Beatrice Ensor and Helena Radlinska, will be explored by Beatrice Haenggeli-Jenni in her paper. She proposes to question the role of international organizations based in Geneva in the diffusion of New Education's principles. The sources of her investigations are made of correspondence between these actors, reports of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom congresses, letters from and to the International Bureau of Education and articles published in the New Education Fellowship journals. The goal is a better understanding of the pacifist components of New Education philosophy.

Enlacing these three different approaches, we expect to establish a debate on the possibilities of Peace education in the interwar period and nowadays.

### **Beatrice Haenggeli-Jenni**

New Education, a peace movement? The role of Geneva and its international organizations (1920-1930)

### **Margarida Louro Felgueiras**

Peace Education and the contradictions of Portuguese Escola Nova in the interwar period

### **Daniel Lindmark & Ingela Nilsson**

Peace Education and History Teaching in Interwar Scandinavia

## **Education as formal international politics: During and after the Second World War**

*Convenor*

**Elisabeth Teige**

*Chair and discussant*

**Poul Duedahl**

Education formed an important part of discussions of a future international order during and after the Second World War. This panel will discuss how events during that war can be understood as catalysts for ideas that emphasized international understanding as the basis for future peace.

The challenge posed by Fascism and Nazism to other contemporary ideologies was one of the catalysts that in different ways influenced the on-going and later debate on education. In the context of this panel, the initial reactions to and efforts to resist attempted nazification of occupied societies in the early years of the Second World War will be illustrated by some European case studies. In particular, the challenge mentioned brought forward arguments built on the legacy of the interwar period that democratic values should be promoted through international cooperation. At the time of transition from war to peace, questions of the role of democratic values formed part of the general international debate on education. Here, the panel seeks to capture a snapshot of that general debate through a study built around discussions that took place in San Francisco 1945, at the time of the establishment of the United Nations. Simultaneously, the international debate on education can be said to have had an international turn. Education, it was argued, should contribute to increased international understanding and ameliorate inter-state relations, through improved knowledge of the world and other cultures. On this point, the panel offers a discussion on the ambiguous relationship between the national and international aspects of the debate on education as an important tool for post-war rehabilitation. Through its papers, the panel seeks to highlight and contribute to discussions of the role of education in formal politics during the transition from war to peace during the 1940s and in the fostering of peace in the decades that followed.

The panel seeks to illustrate how the transition out of war and into peace in the 1940s had elements of both continuity and innovation, and to contribute to our understanding of history of education in such processes. Education was given an important part to play in long-term plans for the building of a positive peace. Positive peace is a state of affairs where conflicts of interests are settled through peaceful mechanisms, and where the promotion of better living standards for all is an important common goal. The theoretical foundations will vary, as will the methods chosen. However, all papers will have a strong focus on the historical actors involved, and be to a large extent based on new empirical research. The panel seeks to contribute to a discussion on the place of education in international politics in general. Albeit that all three presenters are based at Norwegian institutions, their backgrounds and perspectives are international and only one paper will use Norway as a case.

### **Nicola Karcher**

Democratic convincement versus “race community”:

The Norwegian case of civil resistance and the role of the teaching profession.

### **Kjersti Brathagen**

Pushing education: The place of education in rehabilitation after the Second World War.

### **Elisabeth Teige**

Education for international understanding: in between the national and the international.

## **The Power of Education in Teaching and Learning Peace and Tolerance in the European Class Room: Ideals, Attempts, Constraints, and Illusions in post-Second World War Europe.**

*Convenors and Chairs*

**Hilda Amsing and Jeroen Dekker**

All over Europe, after the devastating Second World War and its genocide, educators tried to make both school climate and school curricula part of their attempts to teach peace and tolerance in their classrooms, and to cope with diversity. Motivated by their wish of no more war and no more genocide, they tried to use the curriculum to educate their students - the new generations - into tolerance towards diversity in order to prevent war in the near future.

But at roughly the same time, two major constraints to tolerance and diversity emerged. The first constraint was the impact of that other war, without clash of arms, the Cold War, with major impact both on Western and Eastern European societies and their schools. The second constraint consisted of migration: from Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean to former colonial empires, namely Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Portugal, because of decolonization; migrant workers from countries around the Mediterranean, such as Turkey and Morocco to countries like Germany, the Netherlands, and Belgium; finally, after the end of the Cold War and the extension of the European Union, migrant workers from Eastern and Central-European countries to western European countries.

In this panel, we study how in several European countries educators strove to tolerance and peace in their classrooms and how they coped with the constraints mentioned - the Cold War and migration. What were their ideals? How did they give concrete form to them in curricula and text books? Which was the space available for them to not see their ideals ending in mere illusions due to the two constraints? Finally, in which respect were they used - and misused - by their governments?

### **Iveta Kestere and Aija Gravite**

Defending world peace as a concept of civic education in the Soviet School after World War II.

### **Alexander Albicher**

Peace education in transition. About the reception and the shifting nature of peace education in Dutch history education (± 1914-1985).

### **Hilda Amsing and Jeroen Dekker**

Changing Youngsters' Mentalities: Dutch Peace Education During the Cold War

### **Kevin Myers**

Race relations in Britain, 1965-1981: discourses, practices and influences.

## **Educational Reforms During the Napoleonic War and Reign**

*Convenor*

**Rebekka Horlacher**

*Chair*

**Daniel Tröhler**

The American and French revolutions brought about the idea that political entities should be based on constitutions, giving legitimacy to the political power over a defined territory and transforming inhabitants of this territory into citizens. The inhabitants were not meant to be

born as citizens but to 'be made' through education (Tröhler, Popkewitz, & Labaree, 2011; Horlacher, 2012). From this point of view, the transformation period between the Ancien Régime and Europe's thorough reorganization – the Napoleonic war and reign and (partly) Restoration (Dwyer, 2001; Grab, 2003; Wright, 1984) – may also be understood as an educational transformation, in which the modern mass schooling was erected to 'make' the future citizens of the new constitutionally based nation states.

The educationalization of the manifold social, economic, and political challenges in the context of the spread of (some of) the ideals of the French Revolution brought about by Napoleon by first its troops and then, based on the victory, by Napoleon's legislative reforms, is still a rather unexplored area in historiography. The creation of the modern constitutional, legal, and administrative structures – largely independent of the church – integrated the school into the secular realm of the states without completely abandoning the sanctified language of education, which fit nicely into the sanctified nation towards the end of the nineteenth century (Tröhler, 2013)

Napoleon's initiated and enforced reorganization of Europe therefore did not in the long term limit itself to a territorial reorganization of Continental Europe – (for England and Ireland see Kennedy, 2013) – , but triggered the breeding ground for competing educational/pedagogical concepts aiming at integrating different social classes within the new nation states. These concepts were compared from the tsarist capital in St. Petersburg to Spain, from France to the Balkan, modified, adjusted and adapted, and re-formulated in demarcation to other nation-states. In contrast to the perception of the traditional historiography, this proposal panel considers the time period of the Napoleonic War and Reign as most dynamic in terms of discourse, theory, pedagogy, and policy, a time period which deserves to be further explored.

### **Barbara Caluori**

Pestalozzi or Bell-Lancaster? The two big competing pedagogical methods in Napoleonic Europe

### **Alexander Grab**

Secondary Schools in Napoleonic Italy (1802-1814)

### **Rebekka Horlacher**

Schooling as political education in the context of the Napoleonic wars

*Session 6A*

## **'I have no enemies below the age of 11': children and the impact of war**

*Convenor and Chair*

**Ian Grosvenor**

*Discussant*

**Cathy Burke**

In 1919, Eglantyne Jebb, one of the founders of the Save the Children Fund, was arrested for distributing leaflets illustrated with an image of a starving child. During her trial she is reputed to have responded "My Lord, I have no enemies below the age of 11." She was acquitted. Jebb, on another occasion, commented that 'Every war, just or unjust, is a war against the child'. Children have, of course, always been caught up in warfare. They usually have little choice but to experience, at minimum, the same horrors as their parents. This aim of this panel is to explore from different perspectives how war impacted on children's life experiences. The panel will address the education experiences of children of the 'Home Front' in England during the First World War and after; the experiences of children who fled war and lived as refugees abroad and

then later went home at war's end; and the experiences of children who lived in conflict zones, in environments where war was part of everyday life which they recorded in school.

The two decades following the Great War were identified by contemporaries as promoting 'new education, for a new era'. This period also saw the emergence of new ideas about child development, child psychology and child guidance. Using a case study of one urban area - Birmingham - and a broad range of archival resources relating to this city, the first paper will consider the impact of the war on children's lives and then explore the extent to which the life experiences of children and young people during a period of total war shaped future legacies relating to urban childhoods. Birmingham will also feature as the spatial focus for the second paper which will take as its theme the experience of Belgian refugee children during their exile in Britain as a consequence of the First World War. It will evaluate effects of the refugee children's experiences during their exile not only on their lives in Britain but also beyond. As the end of the war was not an event, but rather a process, the paper will also look at ways that wartime experiences influenced the post-war years. Manz and Panayi (2012) indicate that the Belgian refugees saw themselves as temporary exiles and not as refugees and this was the reason why there were virtually no attempts to assimilate. When the Belgians returned home they were leaving relatively few traces. As a consequence, Manz and Panayi argue that a transfer between cultures did not take place. Questioning the latter the paper will concentrate on Belgian refugees in Birmingham, where the local refugee committees processed over 4,000 Belgian refugees. The focus of the third paper moves to another city, Barcelona during the Spanish Civil War. It was here that schoolchildren recorded the daily impact of war on their lives. Historical studies of children's lives during the Spanish Civil War persistently consider the child as a 'casual victim' of the war and as 'passive receivers' of conflict. This paper will use the graphic and textual representations of war produced by schoolchildren in Barcelona to argue that the relationship between the child and war was not passive but active. The paper will support the analysis that children were 'active receivers' by also considering drawings produced in French schools during the First World War and a collection of drawings made by refugee children.

### **Angelo Van Gorp**

Belgian refugee children in Birmingham during the First World War, their experiences and its post-war effects

### **Ian Grosvenor and Sian Roberts**

'Every war, just or unjust, is a war against the child': Birmingham children during the Great War and beyond.

### **Eulàlia Collelldemont and Núria Padrós**

From viewer to subject. Children as a subject in war

**Le nettoyage des manuels scolaires dans l'Entre-deux-guerres : entre internationalisme, stratégies pacifistes et mondes en guerre**

**Textbooks in the interwar period : between internationalism and peace strategies worlds at war**

*Convenors and Chairs*

**Xavier Riondet and Rita Hofstetter**

Pendant la période de l'Entre-deux-guerres, les questions éducatives se retrouvaient au cœur d'enjeux idéologiques, politiques et diplomatiques. L'enseignement de l'histoire et la question des manuels scolaires représentaient en particulier un champ de tensions et de débats particulièrement représentatifs de ces rémanences de conflits et des germes de paix que pouvait véhiculer l'éducation.

En effet, la responsabilité des scientifiques et des historiens fut très tôt évoquée pour rendre compte des tendances bellicistes en jeu et le rôle qu'elles jouèrent dans l'évolution catastrophique des événements. Par ailleurs, aux lendemains de la Grande guerre, les instituteurs chauvins et les manuels étaient régulièrement montrés du doigt pour avoir endoctriné plusieurs générations d'enfants et d'adolescents et d'avoir contribué à cette expérience traumatisante de la Grande guerre.

Ainsi, les questions de l'enseignement de l'histoire et les manuels scolaires mobilisèrent rapidement de multiples chantiers de réflexion. Il ne fut pas donc surprenant de retrouver les acteurs précédemment évoqués (d'une part, les intellectuels, les scientifiques, les universitaires, les historiens ; et d'autre part, les instituteurs et les enseignants) au cœur des réflexions engagées au sujet de la paix et de la compréhension des peuples. Ces réflexions sur les manuels scolaires s'articulèrent à deux niveaux : faire en sorte qu'il n'y ait pas de nouveaux conflits tout en favorisant la compréhension mutuelle des peuples, la promotion de la paix et l'esprit international chez les jeunes générations. Nombreuses furent alors les réflexions sur les manuels scolaires.

Au sujet de ces questions traversées d'enjeux diplomatiques, politiques, disciplinaires, voire épistémologiques, ce symposium se propose de revenir sur les débats, les controverses et les compromis qu'ont suscités les échanges et les réflexions sur la révision des manuels scolaires au niveau des organisations, institutions, associations ou manifestations internationales (le Bureau International d'Éducation (BIE) de Genève, l'Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle (IICI), le Congrès international des Sciences historiques, la Conférence internationale de l'enseignement de l'histoire, le Comité internationale des sciences historiques, etc.).

During the period between the two world wars, educational questions were influenced by ideological, political and diplomatic issues. The teaching of history and the issue of textbooks in particular represented a field of tensions and debates particularly representative of these afterimages conflict and germs that could convey peace education.

Indeed, the responsibility of scientists and historians was soon raised to account hawkish tendencies involved and the role they played in the catastrophic developments. Moreover, in the aftermath of the Great War, the chauvinist teachers and textbooks were regularly stigmatized for having indoctrinated several generations of children and adolescents and having contributed to the traumatic experience of the Great War.

The issues of history teaching and textbooks quickly mobilized many reflections and proceedings. It was not surprising to observe the influence of the actors mentioned above (intellectuals,

scientists, academics, historians, and teachers) in the discussions initiated on peace and understanding between peoples. These reflections on textbooks were articulated at two levels: to prevent new conflicts while promoting mutual understanding between peoples, the promotion of peace and international spirit among the younger generations.

About these issues crossing diplomatic, political, disciplinary or epistemological dimensions, this symposium intends to revisit the debates, controversies and compromises in the reflections about the revision of textbooks in international organizations, institutions, associations or events, between the wars.

### **Xavier Riondet et Rita Hofstetter**

Make war bellicist textbook. Return on the investigation process undertaken by international institutions

### **Eckhardt Fuchs**

Textbook Revision in the Interwar Period: A Transnational Approach

### **Marcello Verga**

Manuels d'histoire en Europe,(1923-1938). Entre débats historiographique et pacifisme

*Session 6D*

## **War, Nation and School in Chile: pathways in the development of nationalism and citizenship (c.1810-c.1945)**

*Convenor and Chair*

**Pablo Toro Blanco**

One of the most traditional historical interpretations on the allegedly Chilean republican singularity and national cohesion regards both war and military institutions as critical forces in the state building process. Mario Góngora, a contemporary conservative historian, has pointed out in the 1980s that in Chile “the Nation would not exist without the State, which has set it up throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries” and, complementarily, has stated that the country has been historically “a land of war”. Despite some essentialism that is implicit in this view, it is undeniable that war has been a very significant element used as a device in order to guarantee social and political order, and to reinforce a shared conception of Nationhood as well.

This panel seeks to shed light on three different processes that gathered war and education in Chile, and that are linked to a common issue: how war became an influence that shaped or oriented educational policies. As a dialogue among researchers from different academic institutions and countries (United Kingdom, Germany and Chile) with distinct historical approaches and emphasis as well, each historical object that is analyzed here seeks to contribute to a new view on war and school relationships. The tensions between the desire to achieve a degree of harmony and internal consolidation (peace), and the need to prepare new citizens against possible external threats (war) in the emerging Chilean education system, during the first decades of nineteenth century, is analyzed by Andrés Baeza (Bristol University). Cristina Alarcón (Humboldt University) studies the connections between war and educational reform efforts, or more precisely, between military rivalry and educational reform in the context of German influence in late nineteenth century Chile. Finally, in the context of the Second World War, Pablo Toro (Alberto Hurtado University) analyzes how a far and not directly threatening global war played the role of an instrument to strengthen national identity by means of schools.



**Pablo Toro Blanco**

A remote menace, an opportunity to build sovereignty: Chilean educational messages in schools during Second World War and the promotion of a civic nationalism (1938-1945).

**Andrés Baeza Ruz**

Education, war and peace in post-independent Chile, 1817-1830

**Cristina Alarcón**

In the Shadow of the Saltpeter war - The “German” Educational Reform and the Need of Citizen Education in Chile (1879-1920)

*Session 6E*

**Native and Non-Native Education in Colonial North America**

*Convenor and Chair*

**Abigail Gundlach-Graham**

*Discussant*

**Christian Ydesen**

This panel considers the education of Native and non-Native peoples in North America, recognizing that educational processes were integral to Indigenous lives before contact with colonists, and continued to be integral within colonial contexts. Using unconventional sources - especially children’s books and oral histories - and historiographical synthesis, the authors interpret colonialism as a form of war, particularly as it has manifested in schooling practices. Together, these three papers encourage substantive and methodological reconsideration of the multiple forms and sites of education among Indigenous people, and between them and Euroamerican colonists.

The first two papers offer case studies of education that demonstrate the centrality of education in colonial contact and conflict between 1880 and 1910. “Co-Opting Coyote: Claiming the Indigenous in Children’s Magazines” is an examination of Tiwa stories written down by Charles Fletcher Lummis and published in St. Nicholas Magazine in the 1890s. These Tiwa stories were represented as myths, and published for non-Indigenous children; they were tools for the education of their young audience. “Educated People: Education in Alaska Native Oral History” analyzes the education of both Alaska Natives and non-Native colonists from 1884 and 1910, as represented in Native oral tradition and oral histories. These accounts demonstrate that education was not only a tool for oppression, but also for adaptation.

“War and Education among Native North Americans” provides a theoretical and synthetic conclusion to the panel. Through a critique of Bernard Bailyn’s 2012 book *The Barbarous Years*, the paper argues that historians of education must do more to acknowledge Indigenous education. Omitting traditional forms of teaching and learning from the history of education suggests a narrow mindset at work, a gap to be filled only by beginning with expanded, more complex concepts of education. As this panel shows, filling it reorders the structure and content of the familiar American story.

**Donald Warren**

War and Education among Native North Americans

**Abigail Gundlach-Graham**

Educated People: Education in Alaska Native Oral History

**Adrea Lawrence**

Co-Opting Coyote: Claiming the Indigenous in Children’s Magazines

## **Children and education in the Spanish Civil War: images and epistolary sources**

*Convenor*

**Eulàlia Collelldemont**

*Discussant*

**Ian Grosvenor**

On many occasions it has been observed that the Spanish Civil War was the first rehearsal of the Second World War. And this observation rings true in relation with children and education. The first consequence of the conflict was that thousands of children became refugees, having to abandon their families and homes, and were gathered in children's camps or "school colonies" that were founded all along the Mediterranean coast. As the Republican army lost ground, they were evacuated to several European and Latin-American countries, such as England, Russia, Belgium, France, the Netherlands or Mexico. The second consequence of the conflict was that the Republican government had discovered the power of childhood in the international forum as a means of gaining support and financial help from Western democracies. They used children as a category to illustrate the differences and contrast between the Republican and the Fascist factions. The third consequence of the war, in educational terms, was that both sides, Republican and Francoist, were developing in the background early experiments in their new models of education, a kind of education that, in both cases, was expected to be the basis of the "new Spain". When the war was almost over, the review *Pour l'Ère Nouvelle*, international journal of the New Education Fellowship, pointed out with a kind of clairvoyance the main lines of the "new education" dreamed of by Republican authorities and of a different "new education" drafted by the Francoist government, that was imposed and extended to the whole of Spain from the first day following their victory, on April 1st, 1939.

The panel intends to explore further some of these consequences, from different points of view. But all the perspectives will have in common an analysis of the iconographic discourses. Studied will be the main sets of images produced during the Spanish Civil War: children's drawings, very much present in exhibitions for collecting money for the Republican side, but also used in the intimacy of the classroom; the photographs made of one of the most emblematic educational experiences of the Republican education during the war, the "school colonies"; and the movies made from different educational experiences with children and adults, on the battlefield or in the back lines.

**Núria Padrós, Eulàlia Collelldemont, Josep Casanovas, Anna Gómez**

Learning in wartime: what images tell us and what they evoke

**Sjaak Braster and M<sup>a</sup> del Mar del Pozo Andrés**

Education and children's colonies in the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939): images of an "ideal" community

**Verónica Sierra Blas**

Censure, Propaganda and Repression in the Private Letters of the Spanish Evacuated Children to the Soviet Union (1937-1938)

## **Colonial Education (Parts 1 and 2)**

*Convenor and chair*

**Peter Kallaway**

*Discussant*

**Gary McCulloch**

The attempt to rethink colonial history has been a feature of recent historiography, and this initiative is aimed at networking scholars who are interested in that project by linking education to wider research fields. Key issues for the twentieth century involve issues of relating to the challenges to mission education, increasing state involvement in education, the relationships between emergent development policy and education, the influence of science on policy, politics and education in a changing colonial world, curriculum issues, culture and language. The work begun at the Cape Town Workshop began to shape a platform for the consideration of such research and assisted in linking disparate chronological, geographical and ideological/political themes.

In an international context where history of education is not receiving the kind of attention it deserves given its vital role in providing and understanding the construction of modern educational policy we feel that this work provides an essential aspect of the work of ISCHE in engaging with policy work.

### **Part 1**

#### **Peter Kallaway**

German Lutheranism, African missions and Anthropology in the construction of African Colonial Education, 1850-1950

#### **Roberta Wollons**

Missionaries and the Colonizing Aspects of 19th Century Western Education

#### **Rebecca Swartz**

Educability and civilization in British imperial contexts:  
Natal, Western Australia and Britain, 1830-1870

#### **Nancy Beadie**

War, Education, and State Formation: Problems of Territorial and Political Integration in the United States, 1848-1912

### **Part 2**

#### **Ana Isabel Madeira**

Portuguese Colonial and Education in the twentieth century

#### **Karen Hulstaert and Marc Depaepe**

The language of education in post-colonial Congo. The case of College Imara

#### **Luís Grosso Correia**

The Portuguese colonial war and the new players in the international education arena in the 1960s

#### **Ellen Vea Rosnes and Monique Rakotoanosy**

Langue d'enseignement à Madagascar durant et après la colonisation – Malgache ou français?  
[presentation in English]

## **The Effects of War on Early Years Programs**

*Convenor and Chair*

**Blythe Hinitz**

*Discussant*

**Kristen Nawrotzki**

This panel, including presenters from the U.S.A. and the U.K., is designed to demonstrate relationships between education and war through case studies showing the effects of war and impending war on young children. It presents studies of the history of early years programs developed in the U.S. and England to meet the needs of children and parents during World Wars I and II. Highlighted are: The Rachel McMillan Nursery School of Deptford, England; the U.S. Emergency (WPA) Nursery Schools (1933-1943) and Lanham Act Child Care Centers (1943-1946); and the Kaiser Child Care Centers in the U.S.

The interrelated studies examine the creation of child care programs based on the need for women in general, and mothers in particular, to staff factories producing implements of war for use in battle. They investigate the impact of meeting the needs of government on the role of women in the two societies during the period from 1914 to 1946. A timeline and in-depth review of three examples from the international historical record on the provision of wartime child care is provided. Additionally, the implications of related government policies and practices for the economic status and well-being of the women and children are reviewed.

Paper One describes the founding and beginnings of the McMillan nursery, as well as the struggles to maintain it in the face of poison gas bombings, air and fire raids. Paper Two provides anthropological, sociological, psychological, economic and historical insights into the development of the Emergency Nursery Schools and Lanham Act Centers. Paper Three is a case study of one Lanham Act Center, sponsored by Edgar Kaiser at his shipyards, Swan Island and Oregonship, including the work of Drs. Lois Hayden Meek Stolz and James L. Hymes, Jr.

All of the papers utilize data from primary, archival, and relevant secondary sources to address Conference Theme Three : The impact of war on education: the experience of war and its direct impact on children, schools, teachers and education systems, and the longer term consequences and legacies of war for education.

### **Betty Liebovich**

The McMillan Nursery School : Founded in Anticipation of World War I

### **Edna Ranck**

The U.S. Emergency Nursery Schools Leading to the Lanham Act Centers in World War II

### **Blythe Hinitz and Charlotte Anderson**

The U.S. Kaiser [Shipbuilding] Child Care Centers in World War II

## **Children and Adults on War and Peace: a Case Study of Children Literature and Cinema**

**Convenor**

**Moshe Shner**

*Discussants*

**Natália Frizzo de Almeida**

**Joanna Michlic**

A discussion following the 1958 movie “King Mathew the first” based on the 1923 novel of the Polish Jewish educator Janusz Korczak.

What is the role of educators in our long and unsuccessful struggle for peace? Can education be the endeavor that will bring about peace among men? One educator dealt at length – in theory, literature and in his life work – with this question: the Polish educator Janusz Korczak. In this session I suggest a multidisciplinary discussion of his understanding of education as the sanctuary of peace among men through his most known literary work *King Mathew the First* (1923) and a wonderful children’s movie (Poland, 1958) that is based on this story of a child king who sought peace and was cynically betrayed by the adults around him.

The book *King Mathew the First* had established Korczak’s name as a leading progressive educationalist who knew wars from his very personal life experience as a medical military officer but tried to establish education and the cause of children as the basis of all human solidarity. The book offers through a naïve story the core of Korczak’s ideas about the world of children and suggests the potential role of educators in human struggle for a better society. While the children tried to create a world of understanding among people from different races, faiths, nationalities, social status and gender, the adults around them, politicians, doctors and educators failed them. In a way, the main adult characters in the book are representations of Korczak himself who ironically discusses his own failure to offer his children a better reality of peace and harmony.

The full length color movie (Poland, 1958), made by Korczak’s disciples, is a naïve children’s movie, maybe not fast enough for the current eye and not so sophisticated as movies created in these days, but it is a wonderful document and a unique Polish piece of art that opens a window to Korczak’s ideas about education, the interaction between children and adults, peace education and the realities of war.

The panel – based on showing parts of the movie – will hopefully open a further discussion of the triangle of education, war and peace and about the role of children’s literature and cinema in promoting ideas of all human solidarity and world peace.

**Moshe Shner**

The Unfulfilled Promise of Education: a Meeting Place of all Humanity

Extracts from the 1958 movie “King Mathew the first” based on the 1923 novel of the Polish Jewish educator Janusz Korczak

**‘Loss’ or ‘opportunity’: the view of the child on evacuation and education**

*Convenor*

**Emma Lautman**

*Discussant*

**Michael Fielding**

This panel will consider the effect of the Second World War and the evacuation of children on educational ideas and lived experiences. It will explore whether education should be understood as a ‘casualty’ of war or whether it benefited, as the contemporary philosopher, John Macmurray hoped, from ‘a golden opportunity for experimental advance in educational methods’.

The three panellists will draw on close analysis of oral testimony, memoirs and private family collections of British child evacuees. It will offer a trans-national perspective by examining both the experiences of children who moved from industrial cities and coastal areas to safer parts of the UK and children who were sent to Canada, America and South-Africa. The sources will be used to explore the often neglected view of the child and add another dimension to Cunningham and Gardner’s oral history work which uncovered the views of teachers in this period.

This panel seeks to cast light on the following:

- historical debates about evacuated children’s education, refining Peter Gosden’s claim that wartime disruptions led to ‘serious educational loss’
- methodological debates about the use of oral testimony and memoir
- and philosophical debates about what counts as ‘education’ and the conditions for a ‘good’ education.

**Claire Halstead**

From British Shelters to Canadian Classrooms: The Educational Experiences of British Children Evacuated to Canada in the Second World War

**Emily Charkin**

‘We had to learn a new way of living’: children’s experiences of being evacuated abroad (1939-1945)

**Emma Lautman**

Educating Children on the British Home Front, 1939-1945: oral history, memory and personal narratives

**Innocents or Aggressors: Children and War in East Asian Media and Educational Products**

*Convenor and Chair*

**Orna Naftali**

*Discussant*

**Nicholas Stargardt**

Children have often been used in warfare: as symbols of virtue, sacrifice, and patriotism; and as both volunteers and recruits called upon to play an active role in domestic and international conflicts. Employing modern notions of childhood as a time of innocence and vulnerability, critical strains of discourse in 20th-century Europe and North America have nonetheless tended to depict children’s active involvement in war as a serious offense against a moral and natural order, or as a violation of the ‘sacred’ nature of childhood. The present panel seeks to examine whether this critical stance was equally evident in East Asian public discourse during the first half of the 20th century. Drawing on historical analyses of primary sources and on theoretical

insights offered by anthropology, literary theory, and visual studies, the papers will explore the visual and textual lexicon of war aesthetics in modern China, Japan, and Korea, while focusing on the following questions: What were some of the uses and effects of the ubiquitous configuration of children and soldiers in East Asian media and educational works of the first half of the twentieth century? Did East Asian public discourse on childhood and war reflect a tension between the notion of children as innocents and children as aggressors? If so, how did media and education producers in East Asia attempt to negotiate this tension? Finally, what are the broader implications of these findings for our current understanding of the historical conceptualization of war and the military, childhood and education in the East Asian region and beyond?

**Dafna Zur**

Playing Soldiers: Aesthetics of War in Pre- and Post-liberation Korean children's periodicals

**Sabine Fruhstuck**

Trinketizing Children, Infantilizing War in Early Twentieth Century East Asia

**Orna Naftali**

Gendering violence: Constructions of war and the military in Chinese children's media of the early 1950s

*Session 8A*

**Kevin, Kindergartens and Critique: Froebelian and Early Years Histories in Memory of Kevin J. Brehony (1948-2013)**

*Supported by the History of Education Society (UK)*

*Convenor and Chair*

**Kristen Nawrotzki**

*Discussant*

**Johannes Westberg**

Prof. Kevin J. Brehony (1948-2013) was an internationally respected historian of education whose interests and publications spanned topics from the origins of the British infant school in the early 19th century, to the educational theories of the Theosophical Society a hundred years later, to the development of neoliberal childcare policies a hundred years after that. Whether it was about higher education management or the primary school curriculum, Kevin's work was suffused with both unusual intellectual rigour and his abiding concern for social justice. He is perhaps best known among ISCHE participants for his contributions to the history of early childhood education, where he brought his extraordinary eye for detail and masterful application of social and cultural theory to the analysis of the philosophies, pedagogies, and institutions of Friedrich Froebel and his intellectual heirs.

This panel will highlight Kevin's significant scholarly contributions to the history of education by examining the diverse work of Froebelians and what may be considered their descendants in the USA, Canada, and the United Kingdom. First, Larry Prochner (University of Alberta, Canada) will present 'Channeling Froebel: Kindergarten and New Education in Canada and the United States, 1890 to 1920', in which he investigates the role of kindergarten education in the New Education movement with a focus on developments in private, progressive kindergartens.

In the second paper, entitled 'Digging for victory and supporting families: Froebelian pedagogy and the British war effort in World War One', Jane Read (University of Roehampton, UK) will explore two examples of British Froebelians' practical responses to the Great War. In doing so, she will interrogate rhetoric espoused by these two groups of Froebelians across the

period from 1914-1918 and in the immediate aftermath to the war. And, finally, in the third paper, 'Mission(s) Accomplished? The US Public School Kindergarten, 1950-1980', Kristen Nawrotzki (University of Education Heidelberg, Germany) will challenge historians' treatment of the post-war period as a mere postscript to narratives of the "real" US kindergarten movement in the 19th and early 20th centuries, and aims to offer a more contextualized and critical perspective in its place. As may be seen from their individually-submitted abstracts, each of these presentations draws inspiration directly from Kevin's work.

The three presentations will be followed by a brief roundtable discussion in which each of the presenters will discuss one of the other two presenters' papers, highlighting the ways in which it builds upon Kevin's research in the field, and offering up a critical perspective on its main claims as a means of paying tribute to Kevin and his work as well as a way of honouring his appreciation for critical engagement. Our fourth panel participant will be Johannes Westberg (Uppsala University, Sweden), who will moderate our discussion and contribute to it from his own perspective as a fellow historian of early childhood education and as another scholar influenced by Kevin's substantial and wide-ranging scholarship.

### **Larry Prochner**

Channeling Froebel: Kindergarten and New Education in Canada and the United States, 1890 to 1920

### **Jane Read**

Digging for victory and supporting families: Froebelian pedagogy and the British war effort in World War One

### **Kristen D. Nawrotzki**

Mission(s) Accomplished? The US Public School Kindergarten, 1950-1980

*Session 8B*

## **A Spectrum of Subtle Strategies: Children and Education as Passe-Partouts in War-Related Photography?**

*Convenor and Chair*

**Karin Priem**

Starting from photographs, and in close connection with the theme of the 36th ISCHE, this panel will explore complex, entangled relations between education and childhood on the one hand, and war and peace on the other hand.

More particularly, the panel will approach photographs as cultural artifacts inscribed in strategies of formal and informal education in the broadest possible sense. Thus, it fits in most neatly with the conference's intention to investigate representations of war (and peace) in the educational realm. Concrete means of representation on which the panel will focus include, for instance, photographs of a documentary, artistic and ego-document-like kind (taken by photo-journalists, artistic photographers, soldiers, etc.), propaganda media, press material, art books, interviews, and fieldwork testimonies. What is represented in turn centers on children or childhoods in war-related contexts, while rehearsing basic pedagogical themes.

Over time, childhood in its many forms along the lines of class, gender and ethnicity, on the one hand, has increasingly become regarded as a moratorium or a passage in life during which education can make an explicit difference between good and evil. It has, on the other hand, become associated at least in Western cultures with romantic imaginations of nature, pureness and innocence. Education thereby has come to be seen as a means to conserve the status quo.



Children in turn have come to signify both good and evil, humanity and barbarity, victimhood and threat, perhaps the more so in contexts of war. Especially in these contexts such contradictory representations commonly serve to critically assess the nature of humankind and the role of education.

Questions central to this panel, then, are: to what extent do children and childhoods represented in sources investigated affirm education's mission as a suitable means to secure humanity and civilization? And to what degree do these representations act as structuring epistemological tools which add educative potential to any medium?

In exploring the epistemological power of images as potential educators, of children and education as *pas-partouts* in war-related photography, etc., panel contributions will follow four different paths. A first, common path will involve investigation of what the mere presence and often-contradictory representations of children and education in various sources, especially photographs, add to how war and peace are framed. A second path will include an analysis of tensions, for instance, between educationally and socially shaped conditions of childhood, between the aesthetic, iconic and ethic, etc. on the basis of a selection of photographs on war and children from the Magnum Photos collection. Along a third path will be studied photographs shot by soldiers during the Second World War, which found their way in individual albums circulating as relics that gather autobiographically constructed and handed-down memories of war. A fourth path will entail retrospection and introspection from the perspective of a female artistic photographer with regard to the realization of photographs portraying children in war contexts.

### **Petra Bopp**

Ambivalence of Images and Narration in Times of War and Peace: Memories in German Private Second World War Photo Albums

### **Jenny Matthews**

Contemporary and Past Representations of Children Growing up with War: A Photographer's Perspective

### **Frederik Herman, Karin Priem & Geert Thyssen**

The Aesthetic, Ethic and Iconic in Children's Images Related to War and Peace: A Historical-Educational Take on the Magnum Photos Collection

*Session 8C*

## **Disability, Education and War**

*Convenor and Chair*

**Kate Rousmaniere**

This panel explores the impact of war-time disabilities on education. War is closely implicated with disabilities: violence causes both mental and physical impairments; disabled citizens fare badly in war-time society; war-time economies offer opportunities for people with disabilities; and military veterans with disabilities face a new and uncertain future in the post-war world. This panel explores these concepts in the context of the history of education across four nations: Canada, the United States, the United Kingdom, and Portugal. The panel relies on the concept of disability as a social construct which identifies systemic barriers, negative attitudes and exclusions by society as the major contributing factor in the disabling of people. Rather than treating disability as merely a medical impairment, we will investigate the historical and cultural variability of disability during war-time across time periods and nations.

The first paper examines how in World War II Toronto, Canada, girls who had been identified as “sub-normal” took up the opportunity offered by war-time conditions to convince educators that they were capable of being trained in the new vocational skills to contribute to the war effort. Yet, having fought for and achieved agency during the war, these girls ultimately lost the peace, when negative views of disability returned after the war to limit their opportunities once again. Yet this is still a case of agency and empowerment, however temporary, as it was the young women who, through their wartime service, ended up changing the minds of the educators who had defined narrowly their abilities and opportunities.

The second paper also refers to the agency of the disabled by focusing on the way in which disabled war veterans in Portugal changed popular understandings of the social norm, thus acting as active educators of popular understanding. Portuguese military veterans with disabilities from World War I to the 60s War veterans are referred to as sculptures, or active constructors, of social norms because of the ways in which their experiences, writings, and other work educated the public in different conceptions of humanity and of beauty.

The third paper explores the ambiguous gender dynamics at play when British and American educators considered the hiring of disabled male veterans to their teaching staff. Although privileged by their gender and military experience, male veterans had been “feminized” by the social construction of their disability, and that new identity conflicted with a socially desired emphasis on gendered social normality in the classroom. Teaching was yet another profession that excluded military veterans with disabilities who were considered war heroes deserving only of vocational rehabilitation at a limited level, and whose intellectual capacity was considered damaged by their physical wounds. The paper, centring on the experience of American and British war veterans spanning the last 150 years will establish an argumentative thread for considering the ways in which war veterans with disabilities were treated and conceived of as educators in post-war eras.

### **Maria Romeiras**

War Sculptures, Disability, and Social Learning

### **Jason Ellis**

Young People with Disabilities, Schools, and the Canadian WWII effort

### **Kate Rousmaniere**

Disability, Masculinity, and the Classroom: Disabled War Veterans and the Occupation of Teaching

*Session 8E*

## **Transfer of Knowledge between Military and School in Times of Peace**

*Convenor*

**Lukas Boser**

*Chair*

**William J. Reese**

*Discussant*

**Barry Blades**

For the last two centuries Switzerland has had a peaceful history. Except for a very short period of civil war in the mid nineteenth century it has not been involved in any kind of war. Nevertheless, Switzerland has always had a very large number of armed forces in proportion to its size and population. The experience of being neighbors with belligerent nations on several occasions had deep influences on the Swiss society. As a consequence, the so-called ‘armed neutrality’ became one of the cornerstones of the Swiss national mythology (cf. Suter, 1998).

Not only in times of war but also – and especially – in times of peace military and society were strongly interconnected in Switzerland. This was not least due to the fact that most of the men served their time in the armed forces. Since 1874 every male citizen at the age of 20 to 44 (nowadays: 18 to 30) – provided that he is able-bodied – has to attend military training school and serve in the army for several days a year. In addition, the military provides a lot of jobs (civilian and military) as well as money for research and infrastructure. The military’s close integration with society leads to a constant transfer of knowledge between the two of them. A very interesting subfield of this transfer process is the one between military and school.

Albeit the connections between military and school is a neglected field in the historiography of schooling in Switzerland, there is little, but very interesting research on that topic. First and foremost concerning the national examinations of the recruits that took place from 1875 onwards (cf. Lustenberger, 1996) – these examinations were composed of a medical as well as a pedagogical part. However, much more research is still to be done (cf. Hofmann, 2012; Boser, 2013).

The aim of this panel is twofold: On the one hand to further explore the above-mentioned transfer of knowledge between military and school in the nineteenth and early twentieth century on different levels. The topics treated will be: 1) Overlapping networks of military personnel and schoolteachers/school reformers. 2) The transfer of the concept of medical examinations from military to school. 3) Army psychiatry, the new importance of mental health and the growing interest in special education. On the other hand, the aim of the panel is to discuss the results from the Swiss case studies with experts from countries with a more belligerent history – like the USA and the UK – and to jointly analyze whether the results from Switzerland represent national idiosyncrasies or international patterns.

**Lukas Boser**

Teachers in Uniforms – Soldiers in the Classrooms: Networks of Military Personnel and School Teachers/School Reformers

**Patrick Bühler**

The “sanitary inspection of all school recruits” in Switzerland Special Education and mental Health around 1900

**Michèle Hofmann**

“Little soldiers” – Transfer of the Concept of Medical Examinations from Military to School in Switzerland

*Session 9A*

**Context and professional identity: teachers from Spain, Mexico and Chile, facing social, educational and gender challenges in the twentieth century.**

*Convenor and Chairs*

**Teresa González and Oresta López**

*Panel description not received*

**Oresta López**

La lucha de las maestras mexicanas por sus derechos de salud reproductiva e igualdad de salarios en la primera mitad del siglo XX.

**Teresa González and María Jesús Cazorla**

El profesorado español ante el cambio político y cultural. La revolución tecnocrática y nuevos saberes académicos.

**Teresa González**

Entre la paz y la guerra. Maestras en tiempos difíciles.

*Session 9B*

**Evacuation made visible - Images of Children, Parents and Teachers from the WWII Evacuations in England, Germany and Japan.**

*Convenor and Chair*

**Niko Gärtner**

This panel will debate comparative readings of representations of three wartime mass evacuations: the British Government Evacuation Scheme, the German *Erweiterte Kinderlandverschickung*, and the Japanese *Gakudō Shōdan Sokai*. Images (photographs, posters, moving pictures) created by official observers are used to showcase the similarities and differences of those large-scale operations attempted by governments confronted with the bombing of cities. For this, the panelists will not present three distinct papers, but contribute their local knowledge to a collective panel on visual representations of children, parents and teachers.

Images not only illustrate events, but also embody the desired perception of events by the images' producers. To promote the evacuation schemes, advertising experts tried to bridge the gap between governments and their peoples. Hence the evacuations' visual sources are not only evidence for different governments' attitudes towards children and parents, but also reveal lack of consistency within each country's executive over the course of the war. Such 'official' imagery was still a comparatively new phenomenon; only in the First World War had state administrators widely adopted techniques from advertising like presenting desirable visions of the future, idealising the intended audience or demonising the enemy. It has been argued that English propaganda in the Second World War was still amateurish and unconvincing, which makes a comparison with Goebbels' efficient propaganda machinery (seemingly modeled to some extent by Japan) vital for discussion.

Images selected will show similarities between the three evacuation schemes as controversial policies that could be regarded as strategic mobilisation (children as valuable state resources rather than humanitarian victims), pursued largely against parents' opposition. Yet distinct political and ideological stances are equally visible in photographs and films. While British officials offered the reality of war to parents, German propaganda instead refrained from 'evacuation'-terminology to market the scheme to children as an adventure-packed holiday. In Britain, officials might have desired compulsion to overrule adult resistance, but only in totalitarian regimes was compulsory evacuation actually introduced. Japanese imagery shows the government's need to market the program both to skeptical parents as well as military and bureaucratic conservatives. Other differences include divergent constructions of childhood (as passive beneficiaries of government provision or as prospective soldiers successfully separated from family influence), and different attitudes towards the teaching profession (willing assistants to officials' ambitions or suspiciously independent academics to be sidelined by powerful party youth organisations).

The panel will additionally explore recurring themes in this material, like idealisation of family (despite the very real dissolution of family unity proposed by the schemes), idealisation of state and/or party institutions, and the promotion of peer-led outdoor pursuits and rustification.

Overall, visual images themselves will dominate this panel and we anticipate this unscripted session to prompt lively discussion on the imagery of three controversial schemes set against their distinctive national backgrounds.

**Peter Cunningham**

Evacuation made visible - Images of Children, Parents and Teachers from the WWII  
Evacuations in England.

**Niko Gärtner**

Evacuation made visible - Images of Children, Parents and Teachers from the WWII  
Evacuations in Germany.

**Gregory S Johnson**

Evacuation made visible - Images of Children, Parents and Teachers from the WWII  
Evacuations in Japan.

*Session 9C*

**Images of Battle in German Children's Education: Visual Depictions of War and Militarism in the Kaiserreich and in National Socialism**

*Convenor and Chair*

**Carolyn Kay**

The three papers will address ways in which the militarism and nationalism of World Wars One and Two were communicated to German children by book authors and illustrators, teachers, and youth leaders. The particular emphasis of our panel will be the visual depiction of war -- in children's books, in children's art, and in photographs of wartime exercises and Nazi "heroism." Carolyn Kay will consider the artworks and essays of primary school children during the First World War, who were encouraged by teachers to creatively imagine the war and identify positively with the national struggle. Berenice Zunino's paper addresses the iconography of German children's books during WWI, showing how the war was presented by authors and illustrators as an adventure of movement and bravery, in stark contrast to the reality of trench warfare. In the final paper, the German child in World War Two will be considered. Dorothy Mas will analyze the wartime newsletters of the National Socialist elite schools (the Napolas) and her focus will be the depiction of the war in these newsletters -- used by Nazi authors as a means of encouraging student support for the war and solidifying the connection between the home front and the battlefield.

**Carolyn Kay**

War Frenzy in the Volksschule: How German Children Imagined World War One

**B er enice Zunino**

Une guerre de mouvement durant la guerre de position : l'iconographie de la litt erature pour enfants allemande en 1914-1918

**Dorothy Mas**

Nurturing the Volksgemeinschaft, 1939-1945:

The use of school newsletters in the education of Napola pupils to war

*Session 9D*

**Students in Wartime: Case studies from the British world, 1914-1945**

*Convenor and Chair*

**Georgina Brewis**

This panel brings together three independent case studies considering university students' wartime lives and interwar experiences. We present students' stories from across the British World as a contribution to knowledge and understanding of students' experiences and subjectivities in the period of two world wars.

**Lisa Panayotidis**

Fighting the Good War on Campus: Contesting and Defending Military Deferment of English-Canadian University Students during the Second World War

**Georgina Brewis**

The students' contribution to victory? Students, universities and war work, 1939-1945

**Tamson Pietsch**

Mobilising knowledge: WWI and the University of Sydney

*Session 9E*

**Separated children and 'emergency schooling' in wartime Europe**

*Convenor and Chair*

**Rebecca Gill**

This panel addresses the history of separated children and the role of 'emergency schooling' in response to war and social conflict. It takes a multi-national approach, examining the education of children in Sweden, the UK, France and Hungary between 1919 and 1945, as well as inquiring into the development of international social welfare and educational models in this period.

We are interested both in the experience of children and their educators when removed from their homes, and the way in which separation also offered the opportunity for ideological and pedagogical experiment.

**Daryl Leeworthy**

Exporting the Workhouse: Education, Citizenship, and British Charitable Activism in Interwar Hungary

**Lindsey Dodd**

'For the unity of the Patrie': evacuated children's and teachers' experiences in rural France, 1943-1944

**Ann Nehlin**

Building bridges of trust - the use of Finnish children in Swedish wartime politics

**Rebecca Gill**

Play-based education and its role in peace and war: the work of the Save the Children Fund in Britain, 1930-1945

*Session 10A*

*SWG: Gender and Education*

**Panel: Boundary Activism: Educated Women, Politics, and Historical Memory**

*Convenor and Chair*

**Jane Martin**

*Discussant*

**Kate Rousmaniere**

This panel considers the interplay between women building a career in education, social activism and political conflict in twentieth-century Britain and Canada. Following Kathleen Weiler our intention is to go beyond the ongoing process of historical retrieval strongly associated with the political project of second wave feminism 'to an analysis of the process of gendering - in the educational archive we study and in the writing of history as an intellectual enterprise'. Alert to the working of patriarchal power, the panel explores both formal and informal encounters among women teachers and academics working with the educational state that charted new territory during times of political conflict and social transformation. Through analysis of a substantial data base of twentieth century women educator activists the papers give attention to transnational networks of exchange and participation grounded upon some perception of common identity as women negotiated within social worlds that span more than one place.

The panel is concerned with ways of seeing the relation between educated women, politics and historical memory. The object is to reflect on the relation between theory and method focusing on concepts of place, space, community, notions of subjectivity and the role of education and work bound to identity formation and social action. In the period from the 1860s to the 1920s women teachers struggled to obtain citizen rights from a system that attempted to define and redefine their role as apolitical service providers to a patriarchal state. We use biographical approaches and oral testimonies to explore the ways in which ideologies of gender pushed women to the edges of formal power, yet some resisted and criticized the rules - carving out spaces of authority to establish new boundaries and live their lives as agents of change. Our qualitative research methods centre primarily on oral testimonies, but we also analysed material from a range of archival sources, including interpreting discursive representations of women and girls through sociology for women written by an early British sociologist.

These papers speak directly to questions of method and methodology. Drawing extensively from biography/autobiography and oral history, the panellists explore historical memories, both individual and collective, to understand how women may or may not have gained political influence, especially with regard to various ways transnational settings and dynamics affect the construction, negotiation and reproduction of knowledge and power. The chair for this session is Kate Rousmaniere. Rousmaniere is a preeminent expert on women teachers, school reform, and oral history within the United States. This panel provides a conversation among international, interdisciplinary, and intergenerational scholars. Together, we critically question: How were educated women pushed to the boundaries of activism? What do the memories of women's conflicts with the educational state and women's contribution to the organisation and development of new social knowledge offer for understanding teachers' activism and knowledge mobilisation today?

**Rebecca Priegert Coulter**

Working the Edges: Women Teachers and Agency in Twentieth-Century Ontario, Canada

**Kristina R. Llewellyn**

Powers of the Weak?: Canadian Cold War Suppression of Women Teachers' Talk

**Jane Martin**

Gendering British social science: intellectual portraiture, politics and history

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Statue of Mahatma Gandhi sculpted by Fredda Brilliant and installed in 1968 in Tavistock Square, Bloomsbury, London

The front cover photograph shows a soldier teaching an Algerian schoolgirl French, circa 1954-1962, courtesy of Service Historique de la Défense

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