EDUCATION ACROSS EUROPE
A Visual Conversation
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EDITED BY

Catherine Burke, Ian Grosvenor,
Béatrice Haenggeli-Jenni, Helena Ribeiro de Castro,
Elena Tabacchi, Geert Thyssen, and Pieter Verstraete

Network 17 - Histories of Education
Editors:
Catherine Burke, Ian Grosvenor,
Béatrice Haenggeli-Jenni, Helena Ribeiro de Castro,
Elena Tabacchi, Geert Thyssen, and Pieter Verstraete

E-book organisation:
Helena Ribeiro de Castro

Research assistance and e-book design:
Sílvia Roda Couvaneiro

Linguistic Revision:
Ian Grosvenor and Sílvia Roda Couvaneiro

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DEDICATION

This e-book is dedicated to EERA, and all its associates, on its 20th anniversary.
Armenia - Anna Aleksanyan, Yerevan State University
Austria - Wilfried Göttlicher, University of Vienna
Belgium - Pieter Verstraete, University of Leuven
Denmark - Mette Buchhardt and Christian Ydesen, Aalborg University
Estonia - Karmen Trasberg, University of Tartu
Finland - Marjo Nieminem, University of Turku
France - Philippe Masson, University of Lille II
Germany - Karin Priem and Frederik Herman, University of Luxembourg
Greece - Despina Karakatsani and Pavlina Nikolopoulou, University of the Peloponnese
Hungary - Magdolna Rébay, University of Debrecen
Italy - Elena Tabachi, University of Hamburg; Francesca Gobbo, University of Turin
Latvia - Iveta Ķestere, University of Latvia
Luxembourg - Geert Thyssen and Klaus Dittrich, University of Luxembourg
Netherlands - Nienke Nieveen, Netherlands Institute for Curriculum Development
Norway - Nina Volckmar, Norwegian University of Science and Technology
Poland - Joanna Wojdon, University of Wroclaw
Portugal - Helena Ribeiro de Castro, Instituto Piaget
Serbia - Maja Nikolova, Museum of Pedagogy, Belgrad
Slovenia - Branko Šuštar, Slovenian School Museum
Spain - Rocío García Carrión, University of Cambridge
Sweden - Christian Lundahl, Karlstad University and Stockholm University, and Martin Lawn, University of Oxford
Switzerland - Béatrice Haenggeli-Jenni, University of Geneva
Turkey - Lale Pancaroglu, Tarabya, Istanbul
United Kingdom - Lottie Hoare, University of Cambridge
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Of the Past, Present and Future: 
Visual Conversations on Education across Europe

Dear viewers, readers, commentators,

The pages that follow are snippets from an ongoing visual conversation between researchers across Europe. As a freeze-frame in the ‘movie’ leading to this conversation figures another conversation held over lunch on a beautiful summer day in Cádiz late September 2012 among (ex-)convenors of “Network 17 - Histories of Education”, at the 13th European Conference for Educational Research (ECER). During this conversation, Ian Grosvenor, then Secretary General of the European Educational Research Association (EERA), made the suggestion to apply for EERA network funding for a project that could bring together knowledge and experience about education on the part of scholars from all twenty-eight European countries that make up EERA today. This was to increase collaboration among researchers, not just across Europe, but also across disciplines, and thus to offer a model of good practice for all networks of that innovative transnational research organisation that EERA aspires to be. The result of this project is an e-book which, in the spirit of what has just been mentioned, is hoped to stimulate further commentary and engagement, and is offered as a present to celebrate EERA’s 20th anniversary.

For this e-book, scholars from twenty-four countries have been found willing and able to produce, as commissioned, a ‘conversation piece’ about education in a broad sense on the basis of one or two images. These images, mostly photographs, are all from the period between roughly the early nineteenth century and the late twentieth century. The authors have been left free to approach the images and education in their respective countries in any way they liked but have been encouraged through reviewing to explore the rich potential of ‘visual material’ as a conveyor of knowledge, meaning, values, etc. with regard to education in socially and culturally diverse contexts.
The assignment thus fits neatly within Network 17’s tradition of innovating by foregrounding undervalued and underused ‘sources’ like visual images, material artefacts, built environments, spaces, ‘sense-scapes’, and ‘multi-modal’ constellations of all kinds, as well as novel methodological-theoretical approaches to extract ‘information’ from them.¹

Visual sources and their analysis have somehow come to occupy a particular space within the network’s activities and discussions, either during annual conferences or in individual or collective publications of its members. In 2013, in Istanbul, the network’s programme included a workshop where the attendees were asked to analyse a collection of images. The photograph above was taken during this session, and may well illustrate that moment. But what is a lot more important is that it can also provide information about the way people engaged around the images as well as of the images themselves: bodies, attitudes, movement(s), images’ positions.

It is hoped that the work assembled in this e-book further contributes to the Network’s initiatives in these areas but also offers a wealth of material for reflection and discussion far beyond its confines, about educational research; challenges related...
to the retrieval and analysis of sources/data; limits and possibilities of theories and methods; dimensions of education in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Europe; diversity and/or similarity of national, regional and local contexts and experiences; etc. By providing an example of a web-based project, the e-book is also intended to invite European scholars across national and disciplinary borders to collaborate in new ways around ‘new’ media, to engage with issues around digital technology, the process of digitisation, ‘open’ access and communication, and the like.

Attempting to survey in detail the wealth of images offered and the breadth of material provided in the short texts accompanying them would do injustice both to those who have supplied the visual essays of this e-book and those keen on further engaging with them. Suffice it, therefore, to note that the contributions focus on such diverse things such as images of education buildings pictured, for instance, as monumental and unique and as emblematic of political regimes’ endeavours to ‘renew’ education; pictures of classrooms assumed to be more or less enlightened (also literally) and universal yet nation-specific; visualisations of educational methods meant to portray reform for the better, either in newly managed classrooms or in open ‘nature’; depictions of psycho-pedagogical testing aimed at detecting educational abnormality in children; challenging imaginations of the defining traits of ability and disability; representations of teachers, teacher training, and the professionalisation and feminisation of teaching staff; gendered forms of staging apprenticeship and health instruction; emblematic pictures of institutions’ and students’ different relation to policies aimed at ‘education for all’ as providers and consumers of education, respectively; imaginings of denominational institutions’ place in education systems subject to pendulum swings of secularisation, nationalisation and privatisation; school portraits featuring particularities in terms of school dress, classroom formation, etc. and implicitly conveying notions of the interrelation of schools, pupils and teachers, classrooms, teaching aids and so on; exhibits advertising model ‘national’ school designs or showing student paintings hinting at criticism toward ideological pressure; displays of the working of banners, mottos and processions connecting school with society and the nation-state; snapshots capturing school life more or less inadvertently, photographs of wall inscriptions triggering distinctly sensory memories; and visual ‘ego-documents’ of school and scouts activities loaded with absences and presences about the gendered quality of these activities and the linguistic background of those participating.

Presences and absences are perhaps what characterise images the most, also when they pertain to education. Not only is what they can capture contingent on what
they are allowed to frame and how; not only is the immediacy and wordlessness of the ways in which they convey meaning dependent on context, text and/or word; not only is what they are able to visualise or render imaginable reliant on material substance, technique, technological and industrial development, chemical processes, etc.; but by their very embedment in an untraceable history of pictorial practice they also bear reference to images behind their making, grafted onto the brain of their maker as well as that of their beholders. And so it is, perhaps, that also in the ‘imagined community’ of Europe some images of education more than other ones become part of an ever expanding but also abstracting and reducing ‘visual canon’ a visual rhetoric of education.

Perhaps, however, all images and imaginaries of education in Europe, whether part of such canon or not, can be probed to reveal some of the richness of Europe’s educational past, present and future. Be it in the ripples of their surface, in the captions accompanying them, in the physical repositories and digital archives hosting them, or in the ‘con-text’ surrounding them; somewhere are clues to be found as to their potential meanings at a given time in a given place. All it requires sometimes is to look again, to look more closely, to look further, to look back, to look beyond, to look inside, to un-see, and to un-learn. It is hoped the present e-book can encourage just that among educational researchers to promote interdisciplinary cross-fertilisation and theoretical and methodological innovation.

Catherine Burke
Ian Grosvenor
Béatrice Haenggeli-Jenni
Helena Ribeiro de Castro
Elena Tabacchi
Geert Thyssen
Pieter Verstraete
Further Reading:

1 For references to innovative research performed by scholars currently involved in Network 17’s various initiatives, see the Further Reading list.
2 Ian Grosvenor, Martin Lawn & Kate Rousmaniere (Eds.), Silences & Images. The Social History of the Classroom. New York: Peter Lang, 1999.
Armenia has one of the oldest educational systems in Europe. Officially, the educational system in Armenia was founded during the 5th century. It is related to the gathering and creation of the Armenian new alphabet by Mesrop Mashtots 396-405 AD. By 405-406 the first Armenian language schools were created based on the Armenian language. Subsequently several official educational institutions were founded, such as secular public schools, colleges and seminaries.

However, this does not mean there was no education in Armenia before that period. As Armenia was the first European country to adopt Christianity as a state religion in 301 AD, from that year on public education began in Armenia, in the form of parochial schools and seminaries in the local churches. Nevertheless, education did not yet use the Armenian language, which was a crucial element to assert the Armenian identity. Therefore, the foundation of the educational system is identified with the creation of the new Armenian alphabet, along with the initiative of the Armenian language educational institutions.

After the Middle Ages (which in Armenia began in the 5th century), when the first Armenian higher educational institutions were founded, such as: the Higher school of Etchmiadzin (the religious capital of Armenia, where the first church in the
world was built) founded in the 5th century, and was attached to the Mother Church of the Armenian Apostolic Church, the University of Tatev (founded in 9th century), the University of Ani (founded in 10th – 11th centuries), the University of Gladzor (founded in 1280), and so forth. Armenia’s educational heritage was later passed on to the Yerevan State University and it is no coincidence that this university is now called the mother of higher education in Armenia.

Yerevan State University was founded in 1919, and this was the most important event in the history of the Armenian Education System. In the beginning there was only the History and Linguistics faculty, with 262 students and 32 lecturers. In the 1920s, during Soviet time, the university’s first building was located on Astafyan Street (now Abovyan) on the first floor of the teacher's seminary. The building had modest facilities, but it was more than enough, because by then the University had 2 faculties - the Departments of Social Sciences and Biological Sciences. Nowadays there are several other buildings for the approximately 20,000 students who study at the 19 faculties and the 1660 professionals involved in delivering university education.

Today the main building of the Yerevan State University is located in the heart of the Armenian capital, in the center of Yerevan. The building speaks for itself. The main building is very large and provides many opportunities for students and for the
community - it is as long as the long term missions of the university, and as mysterious as human thought. It was built during Soviet time and has very special architectural features. When you look at the building from above, as we can see in the photograph, we can envision the main building as a mother, opening its arms as if it was calling the students to learning.

Moreover, the Armenian educational system has lived through Soviet times, during which the educational institutions were enlarged. Of course, education undergoes political, economic, mass media and other influences. Any change in society reflects on education, and vice versa. Nowadays the Armenian educational system is still extending to foster European educational cohesion. This is crucial for the creation of a common civil cultural atmosphere in our society.
The photographs presented here were collected from books that appeared in the 1950s and that intended to promote the Austrian *Landschulerneuerung* (Reform of Rural Schools). Unlike its predecessor, the Viennese school reform of the Inter-War period, which was mainly an issue of the Social Democrats and was focussed on the big cities, rural school reform after World War II was mostly (but not exclusively) supported by the Conservatives. Its social goals were somewhat ambiguous and oscillated between the ideas of facilitating and avoiding the modernisation of rural areas. However, the pedagogical methods it promoted were those of the new education movement of the 1920s, which were the same as those that had been promoted by the Viennese school reform. Thus, the *Landschulerneuerung* again assumed the pedagogic forms of the Viennese school reform but decontextualised the latter, in what its social and political goals were concerned.

From the late 1940s to the early 1960s, a whole series of books on rural school reform was published. Some of them were illustrated by photographs showing scenes of the “new type” of rural schooling. Nearly all these photographs addressed two themes: they illustrated teaching according to the “new methods” and they made sure that the scenes they showed could be identified as *rural* school scenes.
The first example I chose is entitled “Group work, Heimatkunde [local geography] in the outdoor class”. The other example shows “Instructions in the Orchard”. Both depict children gathered in groups (two autonomous groups in the first photograph and only one single group in the second one). All these children are learning but the way they do so differs from the traditional images of schooling. Although the children are very preoccupied with what they are doing (only one of them is looking in the direction of the camera), their preoccupation is not one of strained concentration, but seems to be caused by the fascination with the issue with which they are engaged. The teacher in both photographs is placed among the children. In the first one, he (or she) is part of the group, in the second he is demonstrating something and the group is assembled around him, which would seem to reflect a more traditional role.

There is one more common element in both pictures worth noting. The children are physically close. Their heads are together, some of them touch each other. Hence they demonstrate that the world in which they live is a world of warmth, of social cohesion and so, too, is the school they attend. The school is placed in this ideal world
and by educating these children it plays its part in preserving this world. This vision can be understood as a response to both the terror of National Socialism and World War II of only one decade before and to the threats of rapid social change that in reality was already challenging traditional rural life style at this time.
References
Photographs have always intrigued me. They kind of embody the potentiality for change I am interested in while performing historical research on educational settings and initiatives. Lately this interest has grown on me due to the discovery of a well-known documentary (at least in particular culture minded circles of the Netherlands) of Johan Van der Keuken: “Herman Slosse/Blind kind 2”. The documentary was made in the late 60’s and features Herman Slosse, a blind child who had already played an important role in Van der Keuken’s first documentary on the blind: “Blind kind”.

The more I think about this documentary, the more I become convinced that it deserves a place in the curricula, aiming to train “special” educators. The movie tries to by-pass the language that existed at that time and how one talked about and with visually disabled individuals. In other words, it does not start by showing what we already know or master, but it tries to show what can be seen, and invites the viewer to start thinking on that basis. Refreshing, innovative and extremely helpful for scholars who are trying to find a way out of the social-constructivist approach of disability.
Thus, Van der Keuken’s documentary can be considered a historical document. It was produced indeed in a particular period and with the technology that was available back then. But the documentary is much more than just a historical document. It seems to me that it can also be considered an educational document, a series of images that challenge existing institutions, like language or care structures for the blind. And that is not all; Van der Keuken also opens up a huge alley in which the interested scholar can find resources that he can use, to come up with a different model to speak about and with disabled people.

At the very end of “Herman Slosse/Blind kind 2” the voice over says the following about Herman Slosse: “Herman is a form; a pleasant form”. Nothing more, nothing less. Doesn’t this sentence open up an avenue of aesthetically thinking where the borders between normal/abnormal, abled/disabled are transcended and replaced by other ways of speaking and handling? It is this visual potential that interests me as a historian of education, a way of examining images that can help us start discussions in the here and now. Van der Keuken’s documentary is only one example of this.

What would happen if we applied the same attitude to the photograph that represents a belgian deaf and blind boy around 1900 being educated by a Catholic nun? Do we have to see it merely as a representation of something that happened in the past or can we relate ourselves in another way to this historical image, one that is not centred around representation, but more around innovation perhaps?

Deaf blind boy, Alexis Cramer
Deviant children have been a recurring phenomenon of the educational systems, especially since the emergence of compulsory schooling. However, a growing science-based knowledge production about children and schooling, like for example the rise of professional testing technologies in the 20th century, has made deviant children more visible, also in the sense of concrete visual images. In Denmark the formation, consolidation and subsequent decline of the universal welfare state model between the 1950s and 1980s provides a good example of how images of the educationally deviant child have changed, and how different professionals and different knowledge paradigms have created and impacted interventions.

The first photograph – probably a model picture – is from a 1959 brochure celebrating the 25th anniversary of Frederiksberg municipal educational psychology service. Frederiksberg was the cradle of Danish educational psychology, and the knowledge and guidelines concerning child assessment developed here spread to the rest of the country in subsequent years.

The picture shows an educational psychologist observing a child playing in a sandpit. This was part of the educational psychology examination; a practice adopted from British child psychologist Margaret Lowenfeld (1890-1973) who advocated the
use of play materials as a method of observing the thought and behaviour of children. The deviant child in the heyday of the welfare state, when new professions such as educational psychologists had entered the school, was the underachieving child or the problematic child. It is noteworthy that the educational psychologist in the photograph is strictly observing the child testifying a subscription to a positivistic knowledge regime according to which objective measurement and scientific descriptions took centre stage. Also, it is worth noticing that the child is playing: the child is in activity, the adult is observing from above.

The second photograph shows pupils and a teacher taking part in the same activity. There are visible markers of cultural particularity and difference: the pupils wear dresses that could look like Punjabi suits, and behind them is a world map on the wall. The photograph appeared in 1981 in the journal of the National Association for Teachers of Foreign Language Pupils. This new group of pupils – children of labour migrants – deviated from the rest of the school population not only due to their language, but also due to what was, particularly from the 1980s onwards, perceived as their different ‘culture’ and religion. The photograph shows
three female pupils occupied with group work while the female teacher bends towards them, presumably explaining a task. The pedagogy signalled is, thus, in line with the emerging constructivist knowledge regime which became a dominant part of Danish welfare state schooling from especially the 1970s onwards.

Although the knowledge regimes, the role of the professionals and the nature of the deviant child changed in a diachronic perspective, the stable background for professional intervention was a combination of a political goal to optimise education and professionals’ desire to aid the child in the best way possible using the categories, knowledge and tools inherent in the system they served. Images of the deviant child are thus also to be understood as pictures of welfare state pedagogy.
References


Skolepsykologisk kontor Frederiksberg 1934-1959 [Educational psychology service, Frederiksberg 1934-1959]. Frederiksberg 1959, photo reprinted with permission from Frederiksberg City Archive.


In this photograph, taken in the 1930s, we can observe a group of future secondary school teachers with their tutor Eerik Jaanvärk (1893-1967) at the Didactical-Methodological Seminar, University of Tartu. The picture leads to the idea of the teacher education process in a comparative history perspective. It makes us reflect about teaching and learning in this particular historical setting, demonstrating the power distance and international impacts in the early 1930s Estonian teacher education.

The University of Tartu had been the centre of the Estonian higher education since the 17th century. During the period of Estonia’s independence (1918-40) an educational policy decision was made to turn the renowned University into an Estonian-language educational institution. The initial and in-service training of teachers became a key priority in the first half of the 1920s, and teacher education programs of high academic standards were created. Due to the scarce financial and human resource conditions, the programmes maintained a dialogue with the best progressive pedagogical thought.

In 1922, the Didactical-Methodological Seminar (DMS) was founded at the University of Tartu to facilitate the preparation of secondary school teachers. This
one-year programme taught future teachers their subject and teaching methodologies, and provided them with their first school practice. The DMS accepted university students who had completed their specialty subject studies and had taken compulsory courses in general pedagogy. During its active years (1922–39), 1286 university students completed the seminar’s requirements for secondary school teachers. Graduating from the DMS’s programme qualified an individual as a teacher candidate in the school system, whereupon they were licensed as secondary school teachers.

During the 1920-30s questions were raised that differed little from the challenges of the current decade: who coordinates teacher education? Is it under faculty control or should a special institution be created? How should teacher training be supported to satisfy professional requirements? How can the best candidates for the teaching profession be identified? How can teacher educators, who are overworked and burdened with administrative responsibilities, be motivated?

A debate occurred in the integration of national and international educational research and the resulting choices made concerned teacher education. The contemporary discussion concerning innovations in education and teacher training reached Estonia primarily via research literature and to a lesser extent through relations with other universities, study trips and long-term sabbaticals. Close relations
with Germany remained intact, due to the previous cultural traditions and the language fluency of Estonians, and contacts were established with France and Great Britain through the diplomatic corps as well as from the academics’ personal communication channels.

Many issues, particularly teachers’ professional standards, the conceptual underpinnings of teacher education curricula, optimising student teachers’ school practice and the establishment of training schools, that were topical in Estonian teacher education in interwar period, became relevant again after Estonia regained its national independence in 1991. Despite the lengthy time span separating these two periods, when educational science grew in its variety of approaches and depth, the period under consideration teaches many lessons from the parallels drawn and the causal relations analysed.

It cannot go unnoticed that the high status and relevance of teacher education as a field was ensured by strong leadership, that is, by the faculty members who were actively involved in educational policy-making and in developing the content of teacher education. No less valuable was the practice of organising teacher in-service training and summer courses that drew together the professionals of university teacher education and developed fruitful contacts between the university faculty and secondary and elementary school teachers.
In the first photograph we see school children in the classroom with their teacher. The classroom setting is familiar and recognisable: pupils, a teacher, desks and some educational materials. Like Catherine Burke (2001) has noted, photographs concerning schooling and education take part in an essential public universal narrative, the story of school. To understand the photo better we need to know more about it and its historical context (Grosvenor & Lawn 2005; Braster 2011). Photos not only reveal something about the past but they are products made in the past and they – like texts – could be interpreted in many different ways (Grosvenor, Lawn, Nóvoa, Rousmaniere & Smaller 2004).

Let’s have a closer look at this photograph and its educational history frame. The Finnish basic elementary education was established in 1866 and it was part of the nation state building project. The purpose of the national education system was to educate children to be civilised citizens, especially to give the basic education to rural children. (Ahonen & Rantala 2001; Simola 2002.) Burke and Ribeiro de Castro have noted that in school photos, schools, teachers and pupils were presented in a certain way underlining schools’ purposes and position in society (Burke & Ribeiro de Castro 2007; also Grosvenor & Lawn 2005).
This photograph was taken by Lauri Karttunen, the brother of the teacher Aili Karttunen, in 1925 in Savulahti, which was a small and rural community in the eastern part of Finland. The classroom in the photo is simple and plain. The bare timber walls and the oil lamp tell us the scarcity of the living conditions of the rural parts of Finland.

Children in the photo are senior pupils in the compulsory school of the countryside. Elementary education became compulsory in 1921, four years before the picture was taken. The class consisted of both boys and girls. At first coeducation was organised for practical reasons and later, since the late 19th century, it gradually gained more popularity as an ideology in Finland (Halila 1949, 84–88). The pupils presented the ideal schoolgirl and boy: they were clean, neat and well behaved. The expressions on pupils’ faces were serious as if they were giving a message of the importance of the event and of the school itself. The educational picture hanging on the classroom wall gives the viewer a hint of the curriculum. The curriculum included,
as it has done from the very beginning of the elementary education, for example natural history, geography, history, religion, drawing, gymnastics, music and handicraft besides reading, writing and arithmetic (Halila 1949, 229; Halila 1950, 151–153). The picture does not show that, although the curriculum was wide, education given to rural children was still shorter and differed from schooling given in grammar schools or urban schools.

The viewer also does not know that in 1925, elementary education of Savulahti only comprised this classroom. The school got a new building a few years later, which increased the learning opportunities for the community’s children. The aim of the Finnish education policy to build up the basic elementary education system in rural areas and to educate children to be “proper” citizens for the democratic society proceeded. (Ahonen & Rantala 2001; Nieminen 2007).
References
Halila, Aimo (1949) Suomen kansakoululaitoksen historia II (The History of Finnish Elementary Education. Part II). Porvoo: WSOY.
The design of the French classroom has changed with time, and it is now very different from the school of our grandparents. This change is linked to the role that was given to the classroom when we were little; it was where we all spent much of our childhood, with more or less pleasant memories, specific odours and decorated walls.

The classroom we can see in the first photograph is an example from Jules Ferry School. Here spatial arrangement in the classroom was used to make the relationship between the teacher and the students very evident. The teacher was the one who instilled the mind and heart of the children with the programme of the Republic. The relationship with the teacher was direct, privileging communication between the teacher and the students.

Typically, on the walls we can see some elements of the curriculum, notably the map of France, and other strong elements that could illustrate the building of citizenship, through the appropriation of space. This was reinforced by travel stories that could take us on a journey related to the wall map, allowing our imagination to flow. The story *Le Tour de la France par deux enfants* (The Tour of France by two children) from 1877, a travel school book written by Augustine Fouillée with the pseudonym of G. Bruno, was emblematic of this era.
This classroom space was meant to be a sanctuary of the knowledge taught by the teacher, the master. The school was like the Republic: the master sat on his chair and the students acted like obeying citizens. The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, along with the image of Marianne were essential elements among the school furniture. The Jacobin centralisation of power was also present at school.

The classroom, with the wood stove in the centre of the room, is characteristic of the rural schools of the 1870s. But today, as we can see in the second photograph, some elements of this space remain timeless, except for the heating system and the compulsory gown. Time went by and, just like the French republic, school was able to change and gradually adapt to the reality outside the classroom and especially to the unexpected vagaries of turbulent French people. The mixing is also present in the school spaces and nowadays the map of France is placed beside the map of Europe.
Industry-related educational reform initiatives in Germany during the first third of the 20th century provide the wider frame of reference for this essay. Those reforms included hygiene and healthcare initiatives, factory dormitories and villages, childcare and youth welfare projects, and vocational training, all of which were directed at mining and steel industry workers and their families. In our contribution, we focus on two photographs selected from a collection of more than one thousand photographs that chronicle the process of industrialisation in the Saarland, a German region famous for its once booming steel production and mining industry.¹

The photographs can catch the viewer’s eyes because the way the bodies are displayed differs tremendously from traditional studio portraits. More specifically, the bodies and the material environment, in both photographs, are intertwined by complex methods of spatial framing and composition. The photographs thus appear as arenas of arranged bodies modelled by a material matrix, and simultaneously referring to symbolic connotations and cultural formula.

The first photograph shows male apprentices staged within the circular structure of a huge valve system. Some of the human bodies even appear like bolts in the metal structure of the outer frame of this apparatus. This strong interconnectedness
represents a binding entity of physical labor, processed raw materials, machinery and a sense of belonging on the one hand, and social stratification on the other hand. In addition, this formation may symbolise both the structured time of the precisely running clockwork of modern productivity and endless cyclical time, a possible reminder of the continuous flow of generations of workers. The apprentices, displayed as the future generation of proud workers with a strongly internalised work ethic, visually highlight societal progress through education and its promises for the future.

The second photograph can be analysed as a visual complement to this impressive wheel of progress. The structure of the photograph is that of a Greek theatre: the basin may well represent the central court, or orchestra, which serves as a foreground for the front stage (proskenion and paraskenia) and the main stage (skene). The arcadia-like arrangement of girls on the front stage highlights the skene with the pyramid-like formation of human bodies crowned by a gracious female figure surrounded by an arch of light. In fact, the choreography of bodies in the background and the swimming pool as a site of katharsis may very well, as in the first photograph, foster a belief in societal progress and social reform.
The photograph therefore combines different aspects of the educational reform: it refers to rational technologies of body hygiene and at the same time reveals idealistic cultural patterns that are glorifying Ancient Greek and Roman times as crucial elements of educational thinking. In addition, hygiene-oriented education and its machinery seem to fit well into religious visions of purity and moral cleansing.

Staged as a quasi-sacred bathing ritual and part of hygiene-oriented educational interventions, the scenery may represent the transition from a contaminated way of life to an enlightened form of existence. As for the various references to the Greek model of a theatre, it can be added that the photograph was taken from the perspective of the priest of Dionysus – the god of wine, drama and fertility – who usually sat in the centre of the front row of the audience. This very perspective connects to the light and dark coloured water generally symbolising female fertility and sexuality, respectively. In addition, the circular formation of bodies positioned on different levels of this theatrical scenery displays a human lifecycle from birth to death.
It can be concluded that both photographs employ a visual rhetoric of modernity that combines established cultural formula with science- and technology-based visions of educational reform and societal progress. In both photographs human bodies are literally connected with and formed by industrial or hygiene apparatuses, which rather stress the mechanisms and functions of a social body than the cheerful interactions within a group. Nevertheless, the symbolic layers of what is on display emphasise, and connect to, traditional and harmonising features. In fact, the photographs do not provide a space of critical observation or inquiry, as they clearly determine and frame how the arenas and theatres of ‘progressive reform’ should be perceived, and most probably legitimise education as a means to create an ideal future.

Since the mid-1950’s, education emerged as an important aspect of Greek social struggles. Student protests are associated with the vision of social mobility through education, which in Greece seems particularly enhanced in comparison with other countries. Education was a key field of conflict during this period. The Karamanlis conservative government of the right, that reacted violently to student protests, expresses perfectly the Cold War logic of post-civil war Greek society. The struggles for education through demonstrations are eloquently captured in the photograph we have chosen.

The Cypriot issue played an important role in the development of social struggles and it influenced the creation of a strong youth and student movement for the democratisation of education. The violent outbursts of the first generation against the police after the civil war was the first phase for the development of the youth movement. In only a few months after a bloody conflict on the island of Cyprus in March 1956 the first major student mobilisation to reduce tuition fees was held. In the summer of 1959, the Second Congress of Students took the struggle further and protests in the fall and winter of 1959 and early 1960 voiced the slogan “studies for the poor.” This slogan captured the pure class character of the struggle involved around
opening up higher education to the mass of the population.

In April 1962, students started new struggles. On 31st March 1962 a Physics Faculty student demonstration took place; they reacted to the decision made by OTE (the Hellenic Telecommunications Organisation) to exclude them from the appointments of the Agency. OTE wanted to employ senior executives that came only from the Polytechnic, so the mathematicians and physicists in the University at Propylea protested. The police invaded the campus and there was bloodshed. From then on, the dominant protest was not against OTE, but for academic freedom. The incidents escalated with new protests and new police interventions, showing the bloody face of a democracy that behaved almost in a fascist way. The violent invasion of university campuses by the police triggered the “1-1-4” movement which defined an entire generation.

1-1-4 was the last article of the Constitution which provided that “the defence of the Constitution was entrusted to the patriotism of the Greek”. Students wanted to evict “informers” from the Universities and abolish the student security section. They wanted better buildings, increased funds and freedom of thought. They thundered out
“We can’t fit in refrigerators!” and raised Greek flags with the number 114. The Ministry of Education initially tried to gain time while the police labelled the student protests as communist designed to disturb the social and political order. Finally, after all the conflicts, the government met the students demands.

In December 1962, there was an additional reinforcement of the student movement. Students were determined to change the Government policy of that period, which was marked by the lavish spending on the wedding of Princess Sofia, while providing meagre funds for children to study. Young people required the revival of education. They wanted better Universities, better schools, better books and better study conditions. Massive demonstrations asked for 15% of the national budget to be allocated to education. In the photograph we can see the thousands of male students who participated in a mass rally wearing suits and holding banners of protest. They complained about the disproportionate expenditure, argued for universities with structured programmes and organised workshops. The students held banners and shouted slogans such as:

- Renaissance culture resurrection of the nation
- Students ask 15% for education
- Hands off education
- Enough with the mockery/deception/delusion
- The workshops stink
- Reorganisation of the program
- No more patches

Another interesting slogan of the demonstration criticised the expenses of the Royal family at a time when the younger generations lacked the opportunity to have access to a proper education. They complained about the educational policies and recalled the wedding expenses with the slogan: “Dowry to education, not to Sofia – 15% for Education”, highlighting the need to establish free public education so that everyone could study and “escape poverty or exile”.

We have captured some interesting elements of the Hungarian education in the 20th century in these two photographs. They portray a moment in the school-life of two reformed schools in Budapest.

Juliánna Reformed Elementary School, located in Budapest, was named after the Dutch crown princess, since the Dutch had an important role in establishing the school. Hungary was struggling with difficulties after the First World War, but the Dutch helped the country through their reformed church network. Dutch families received poor and orphaned Hungarian children. After the relative stabilisation of the Hungarian economy, the country had to decide on how to use the Dutch funding. Finally, the parties agreed on establishing a school. The school opened in 1926, and it operated with four mixed classes. The school had its own scout team and they can be seen wearing their uniforms in the photograph. Scouting had become the most significant youth association between the two World Wars in Hungary.

In the middle of the picture, Imre Szabó pastor (later Dean) can be seen, the leader of the peculiar maintained the school. He was a leading figure of the school, the chairman of the school board. Other children can be seen in festive clothing. The whole picture presents togetherness and discipline. The national flags indicate...
national identity, which was very important in 1920s in Hungary. It was a main task of schools to design such an identity.

In 1947-1948, under a law adopted in 1945, the extension of the institution to an eight-grade elementary school began. In 1948 an act for the nationalisation of schools was implemented and that was the beginning of the socialist educational system. The Dutch supporters were disappointed with these changes and saw them as a lost historical moment. The school re-opened after the transition in 1991, again with the Dutch support. Since then, it has kept its original name.

The Baár-Madas reformed boarding school for girls was founded in 1907, due to the interest of the middle and upper strata of the society in providing schooling for girls at higher levels. By that time women had been able to apply to higher educational institutions, although not to all faculties. Coeducation in schools was not allowed during this period in Hungary, thus only the girls could go to this school. The Baár-Madas was an important and prestigious girl’s high school in Budapest.

This second photograph was taken at a school ceremony in the school yard. The students are going through a paper gate modelled like a Golden Gate, as students
called it. The gate symbolised school: if someone passed through the Gate, they would change completely. What had school got to offer? Literacy, preparedness for higher education studies and a strong moral background. In the photograph we can see the students remembering and expressing their appreciation for passing through the Golden Gate. The older girls are wearing Hungarian traditional costumes and the younger ones are wearing their uniforms. The photograph depicts the older girls as role models, they were involved in child rearing and were responsible for the younger ones, a common practice in boarding schools.
This photograph depicts an eight-year-old girl, Anna Maria, sitting on a desk chair. It was taken in 1960 and it comes from her family archive. The smock, the furniture and all the details make it immediately clear that she is at school. As most children displayed in individual school portraits, Anna Maria communicates a number of standardised feelings: staring at the camera and smiling, she expresses self-confidence, an optimist attitude, happiness and industriousness whereas the map on the wall behind her suggests that she is attending an Italian school. For many reasons, since school portrait became a popular photographic genre (since at least 1950s), it represents an outstanding source for historians of education.

As all highly powerful media, photography organises perception and ideological meanings, by using iconographic conventions. This kind of visualisation of schoolchildren works as a rhetoric figure, depicting families’ and society’s expectations, instead of representing a truly individual school experience. In other words, the school portrait sheds light on visual rhetoric of school over time, as part of the context into which all representations of school enter.

School portraits do not usually show any indicators of social distinction. It may be due to different reasons, based on the idea that school system was supposed to be
equal and nationalised, in harmony with the principles of the republican Constitution. References to family status, religion and origins are rare. This photograph could have been taken anywhere in Italy. However, it lacks relevant input to articulate the relationship between visual rhetoric and the school system. Anna Maria comes from a lower middle class family; in the following years she attended the *scuola media unificata* and then a professional course.

The secondary education act (1962) is considered one of the most significant school reforms of the Post-World War II in Italy, designed to reduce income inequality and to improve social mobility and education standards among the new generation. Although the progress of literacy and education in the twentieth century Italy has been significant, especially after the democratisation process that followed the fall of the Fascist regime, it has not been proportional to the economic progress, and Italy remains significantly undereducated in respect to other advanced European societies. Data from Eurostat and OECD shows how the Italian investment in instruction (both investment per student and total investment) is still well below the European average, as well as the percentage of people holding a university degree.
Some months ago, a friend from primary school, whom I had last met in 1970, surprised me by emailing a photo of the two of us when we were eight. It is not the usual school picture, though it was taken at school, because there is only the two of us, holding hands and smiling shyly into the camera. Furthermore, while my friend is in the white school uniform and blue cravat, I unexpectedly wear a skirt and a blouse. Looking at the photo almost sixty years later, I wonder what a show I must have given that day: I must now assume that I discarded my white uniform so as to boldly show off the new red skirt my mother had sewn, but while I can remember the color with great precision I have trouble seeing myself as someone other than the non-descriptive, withdrawn child I had always thought I was.

Yet, on that occasion, and for a reason I cannot today fathom, I had obviously come forward and asked the photographer to portray me as an eight year old girl proudly sporting her new red skirt. Maybe I entertained unspoken ambitions, if not dreams, and having an additional photo taken (surely with the teacher’s permission) gave me the chance to play with a different image of myself. However, it is today that I make this interpretation, as I am quite certain that originally that 1953 photo was looked at as that of two good school friends - third grade pupils at the Vittorino da Feltre, the scuola elementare in Rome, facing the Colosseum.
Today I would also describe that school as “multicultural”, since children attending it came from widely different socio-economic backgrounds, spoke Italian with a local accent and often according to a grammar and a syntax that did not promote their school success and social mobility, and were at the same time surrounded (among other things) by the ruins of classical times, the lingering signs of the Fascist era, the graffitis either celebrating the brighter future promised by Communism or reclaiming the towns and areas still under military control after World War Two, as well as by the colourful posters advertising the most recent Hollywood movies.

By looking back at such memories without nostalgia but rather through the lens of the contemporary debate on multi/intercultural identities, I would point out how the construction of one’s own identity and cultural membership proceeded through multiple, diverse, contradictory images and visual suggestions. They would continue to diversify, become more complex and challenging to the eyes of the red skirted pupil, not unlike the worlds and the people today assiduously portrayed by photographers.

From this point of view, photography seems intrinsically intercultural to me, in the sense of being an effective way to gauge differences in meanings and understanding across generations and events, and to promote a clarifying conversation, if not a dialogue, around conflicting interpretations, misunderstandings, silences. From this point of view, it can be agreed that photos not only illustrate or exhibit familiar and exotic places and people, but also provoke – i.e., call forth – thinking and questioning from the viewers, as well as communicate, namely they invite the latter to that sort of participation and mutual exchange that can engender new, unforeseen meanings, besides suggesting that what is
taken for granted can be highly problematic.

The usual class photographs are these other two: the first was taken at the same time that the one above but for the official picture of the school year. We stood in three lines with the teacher in the middle. Instead, on our last year of elementary school we sat at the desks with the school books in front of us; our teacher was now seated at our side as if indicating that she accompanied us that far and now we were ready to leave.

The last picture shows all the girl students (29!) of the 1st year of scuola media: students were separated by gender, they all had to take an entrance exam and those who passed it were to study Latin for the following three years. Before the 1962 school reform, after which all graduates from scuola elementare were recognised the right to access scuola media (no more entrance exam!), there were only two alternatives that children of age 10 could take: scuola media or avviamento (vocational school).

Obviously, scuola media – with all its Latin – paved the way to social mobility (if one succeeded) and because it was originally thought for those whose family could claim some degree of cultural and social capital, it was a rather hard experience for those who lacked such capital. The emphasis was on Latin, but during the second and third years we also studied the Italian versions of Iliad and Odissey. Italian was presented and used as the language of the Italians, but in the 1950s television had not yet disseminated it all over the country. We future teachers had to wait until 1967 for the Lettera a una professoressa, written by the pupils of the Scuola di Barbiana, to see recognised what some of us had known all along – that there were different versions of Italian and that they usually matched and expressed the social status of families and children.
History told by pictures often seems more eloquent and truthful than that of written sources, which in Latvia’s case has often been closely checked by the censors’ watchful eyes. The short study presented here, however, did not start with pictures, but with a school. My aim was to find a photograph that would reflect the turbulent transformations of education in Latvia over the centuries. Therefore, the study led me to a school in Riga which for its 800 year-old history has experienced 15 different political regimes, survived the influence of three religious denominations, changed its language of instruction four times, and changed the content of education and its name ever so many times.

The present-day Riga State Gymnasium No 1 was the first school in the Baltics, founded in about 1211 as a classical cathedral school. Its aim was to train clergymen for the Christianisation of the Baltic tribes subjugated by German crusaders. For many centuries Riga Dome School, as the school was previously known, was not accessible to indigenous people. If any of them happened to enter the school, in the future they would be regarded as Germans and as belonging to the ruling class. The German culture dominated in Riga for a long time, despite the fact that the territory of
Latvia was part of the Russian Empire since the 18th century. Russian was the language of instruction at schools.

However, the prosperity and self-confidence of local inhabitants – Latvians – was gradually increasing. They educated their children and no longer intended to assume either the German or the Russian identity. In 1918, the Latvian state was founded, and instruction in the Gymnasium, the former Dome School, was conducted in Latvian for the first time in its history. The period of independence was short, however.

The photograph I chose from the school museum’s collection depicts students of the fine arts society posing at an exhibition opening in March 1941. In June 1940, Latvia had already lost its independence and had been incorporated in the Soviet Union, where it would stay until 1991. Since education was under strict political control in the USSR, the values of the new power had to be reflected in students’ paintings. Therefore, they depict the buildings of factories and industrial landscapes. Still, in the foreground of one of the paintings, there is a family with no trace of smiling. Was the young artist brave enough to express his attitude to the alien power?

In the photograph, obstinate, enquiring, proud, ironic and shy young men are staring at the camera. What will their destiny be? The dramatic future of Latvia and Europe is just a few months ahead: the deportation of Latvians to Russia in June 1941, World War II with the recruitment in the Soviet or Nazi army, the exile into Western countries, and life under the Soviet Union. On this day of March, a group of students are captured standing between the stable past and the uncertain future just as their peers did countless times throughout the history of Latvia.

References
Luxembourg has largely been built up from iron and steel, so the dominant national narrative goes. Indeed, the steel industry – particularly ARBED (Aciéries Réunies de Burbach-Eich-Dudelange) and its partner and daughter companies like those of Terres Rouges – is commonly claimed to have functioned as a catalyst of both economic and social development. The large array of ‘social’ provisions, however, created with the support from concerns like ARBED, can clearly be shown to have served educational purposes. The first photograph we have chosen to analyse – in fact a film still from ‘Columeta’ (1921-1922), directed by Gustave Labruyère of the Paris company l’Art Cinématographique and baptised ‘Vu Feier an Eisen’ after its 1997 restoration by the Luxembourg Centre National de Audiovisuel – testifies of this, however covertly.

The image, which, like thematically similar photographs, now lives a material and immaterial life of its own, invites educational historians concerned traditionally with the schooling of children and youth to broaden and sharpen their view. The scene it depicts, in a short sequence of frames exposed to audiences at private and public screenings in cinema theatres or at international exhibitions, has received the caption ‘Diddeléng, d’Schwemm am Schwaarze Wee’ (‘Dudelange, the swimming...')
pool at the black road’) and can be seen as a bridge between movie episodes centring on industry proper and on ‘social’ provisions proper, respectively.

Prominently in the centre background arise blast furnaces, as if representing a secular church, around which new ‘salvational’ activities like those displayed have been organised. More at the fore, and from a present-day perspective awkwardly close to the factory, swimming pool installations draw one’s attention; in and around a purposely designed or improvised pool a variety of people can be spotted – mainly adult, all male and presumably connected to the factory – whose hierarchical positioning enforces the sense of industrialist paternalism surrounding the image.

Its ‘punctum’, in Roland Barthes’ terms, for us emerges precisely here, from the tensions and contradictions evoked around health and pollution, freedom and exploitation, nature and industry (the latter having added dramatic new dimensions to part of Luxembourg’s largely agricultural landscape), etc. Staged to convey a sense of contentment and order just after major workers’ strikes in the frame of large-scale international advertisement by ARBED’s and Terres Rouges’ joint sales company, over time such imagery has become part of Luxembourg’s “collective memory”.

‘Diddeléng, d’Schwemm am Schwaarze Wee’ © [CNA]
Its ambiguous quality of reflecting, critiquing and affecting ‘reality’, in this frame explicitly for educational reasons, becomes clearer through ‘montage’, a method to construct ‘dialectical images’ evoking disruptive ‘constellations’ of the then and now, put forward by Walter Benjamin. To this end we have chosen a second (undated) image from a 2248 large CNA glass plate negative collection connected to a vocational school, the Institut Emile Metz.

Meant to portray the health-educational virtues of scouts activities the institute organised, the image conveys implicit views on (partly immigrant) worker populations, their sanitary state and habits, and their spending of leisure time, all in view of the three ‘social plagues’: alcoholism, tuberculosis and syphilis. Its very staging of a bathing scene in front of a neatly engineered road and bridge undoes the pure Rousseauian naturalness one may have wanted it to assume.

Featuring what is understood not to come natural for all viewed and viewing, both photographs – while engaging with the contentious question of industry’s and engineers’ ‘natural’ place in ‘modern’ societies – have the potential to denaturalise inherent qualities of education. Here in relation to health, particularly its endeavour to improve, that is: to ‘straighten’ – notice the impression evoked of a man in the
swimming pool being attached to an orthopaedic device –, while ‘washing out’ hidden assumptions and agendas, fragile counter-voices, etc. under the guise of doing good may unite the then and now in new ‘constellations’. The embedment of both images in similar constellations of the time (a film as sequences of image frames, and a larger photo collection) adds threads of its own to the web of meaning that thus emerges around them.

In the 18th century, cities, churches and private groups decided on their particular school regulations. In this first picture we can see a typical 18th century classroom, presenting a teacher rehearsing a pupil while the other pupils are working and playing on their own or in small groups.

With the Educational Act in 1806, education became a matter of national concern. As a consequence, new pedagogies and textbooks were introduced (Los, 2012). The second picture depicts a classroom around 1840. All pupils are sitting in one room in long rows with desks and are grouped based on their age and level of proficiency. The two teachers and the subject matter are central; pupils are to obey. In order to improve the physical situation, the national government put forward several guidelines for the school building. Instead of dark rooms with an open fire place and a cold stone floor, schools were to have high windows for day light and fresh air, a chimney and wooden floors.

The Dutch constitution, dating back to 1848, regulates that all children should be able to go to a public school and declares freedom of education (vrijheid van onderwijs). It guarantees three types of freedom within certain government-based boundaries: i) freedom to found schools (vrijheid van oprichting), that is, the right of
citizens to establish schools apart from public education that the government provides; ii) freedom to base schools on religious or philosophical beliefs or educational principles at public expense (vrijheid van richting); iii) freedom of schools to create their own school curriculum (vrijheid van inrichting), that is, schools are entitled to create or select appropriate learning and teaching materials and activities, to plan their own budget and to hire staff. Moreover, parents and children have the freedom to choose a school that fits their needs, wishes and beliefs. The freedom of education makes it possible for schools to follow their own profile and conduct their own unique activities. Thus, although curriculum frameworks are the same for all schools, one will find variations among Dutch schools in the main learning activities during the day, the teachers' role, the learning materials, the grouping of the pupils, the timetable and the layout of the school building and classrooms. For instance, this photograph shows the interior of a Jenaplan school that recently opened its doors. The school building encourages inquiry-learning and cooperative working in groups, which are important characteristics of the Jenaplan philosophy.

Against the background of freedom of education and within the boundaries of a national curriculum framework, schools in the Netherlands are offered ample 'curricular space', which is defined as the room to arrange the curriculum according to

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18th century classroom by Matthias de Sallieth (in Atlas van Stolk, Rotterdam)

the school’s own aspirations for site-specific curriculum decision making (Nieveen, van den Akker, & Resink, 2010). The boundaries vary across the different sectors in the educational system, with the greatest level of autonomy in primary and junior secondary education (Nieveen & Kuiper, 2012). So, within this curriculum policy context labelled as “freedom within boundaries”, Dutch schools and teachers are challenged to continuously re-examine their local curriculum and redevelop it in accordance with their own aspirations.

*Classroom around 2010, Jenaplan school "de Driehoek", Dordrecht, the Netherlands; (in de Jong Gortemaker Algra, www.djga.nl)*
References
On 17th May 2014 Norway celebrated the Norwegian Constitution’s 200th anniversary. This first photograph was taken on the Celebration Day in Oslo on 17th May 2013.¹ The peak moment of the day is the Children’s parade when most school age children are marching in the streets accompanied by marching bands and flag bearers. The Children’s parade as a way of celebrating the Constitution Day emerged during the last decades of the nineteenth century and since then it has developed to become a living tradition. All cities and local communities have this parade, and all schools participate. At the front of each school there is a school banner. To imagine a celebration without the school banners and the Children’s parade is unthinkable.

The photograph was taken by a journalist and was published in one of the main newspapers in Norway after the 2013 celebration. The photograph was taken in Oslo’s main street leading up to the King’s palace. The surrounding buildings are decorated with Norwegian colours and flags. The angle of the photograph shows both the children’s central position as well as the popular character of the celebration. Notice that the children’s marching is slightly unstructured. The photograph in itself is a well-known and typical representation of the Constitution Day.
The Children’s parade and school banners for the Constitution Day celebration are broadly supported. The majority of the population looks upon it as a result of boundless and joyful patriotism, but there is a minority who perceive this celebration as self-righteous nationalism. You have to go to Norway on 17th May and see it for yourself. The other two photographs are the front and back of a school banner from 1929. The banner was found at the school but was now replaced by a new banner for the 17th May celebration. The motif and text of school banners have changed over time. The main motif of this specific banner is a girl and a boy watering and taking care of plants, and a plausible interpretation is that it reflects the introduction of the pedagogical reform and child-centred pedagogy in Norwegian schools at the time. Also, there are elements pointing to what was urgent in the late 19th century’s nation building, the Norwegian flag colours and the cross representing Christianity as the Norwegian state religion. The text at the back, “As you sow, so you reap”, is a biblical proverb, but it also underpins the message in the main motif on the front: the school has to make its environment fertile in order for pupils to grow and develop.

The Children’s Parade and the school banners’ tradition emerged when Norway became an independent nation and accordingly developed a national culture. In the aftermath of the Napoleonic wars and the Kiel-peace, Norway was liberated from the Danish-Norwegian union in 1814 and made subject to Sweden. Norway escaped direct
subjugation to Sweden and got its own constitution signed at Eidsvoll on 17th May 1814. The Constitution built on the principle of sovereignty of the people and gave Norway a political position as a state in relation to Sweden. However, Norway was not yet a nation state with its own national culture. The development and consciousness-raising of a specific Norwegian national culture was a prerequisite for the liberation from Sweden and independence in 1905.

Compulsory schooling was seen as an instrument for promoting consciousness about the national culture for the next generation. The wealthy and those living in the cities had access to the Latin Schools and schools for the Middle Class. However, in 1889 the Primary School Act legalised five-year compulsory schooling for all children of legal school age and thereby the school became a central venue for nation building.3

As part of this, the teacher was seen as the foremost promoter of national culture to the next generation, and thus a prominent person in society. The Primary School Act of 1889 resulted in a nationwide and large-scale construction of new primary schools, and the schools themselves, often under the leadership of the teachers, arranged the Children’s Parades on the Constitution Day 17th May. Most often the teachers also initiated the making of a school banner. The message of the school banners at that time was the fight for national independence and the promotion of the national culture.
1 Photograph by Runar Nørstad, ANB (Avisenes Nyhetsbyrå) [Newspapers’ news agency].
3 Alfred O.Telhaug & Odd A. Mediås (2003). Grunnskolen som nasjonsbygger [The compulsory school as a nation-builder]. Oslo: Abstrakt forlag AS.
These two photographs present two schools built to celebrate the 1966 Millennium of Poland. They represent the most typical examples of post-World War Two school architecture in Poland. The first one, located in Jawor in south-western Poland displays traces of the socialist realism – a trend in arts that dominated in the countries of the Soviet bloc in the 1950s. The building is monumental with classicist elements. The second one is more modernist, though less sophisticated in style. This type of construction started in Poland in the 1960s and dominated in the 1970s with the communist authorities’ pressure to modernise the country and to construct new buildings quickly and cheaply.

The school in Jawor is decorated with Polish national banners, which suggests that the photograph was taken on or around a celebration day. The school in the second photograph was apparently photographed on no special occasion. It looks like the photographer was only interested in the building itself. What is striking about both photographs, is the lack of pupils. Intentionally or not, the photographs reflected the low position of children in the communist schools: they were objects, not subjects, of the regime education.
School buildings similar to the two discussed here are widespread in Poland because they are the result of the campaign of building “1000 schools for 1000 years” of the Polish state, proclaimed by the communist authorities on September 24, 1958. It was the regime’s response to the concept of the Millennial celebrations developed at least two years earlier by the Catholic Church and its Primate, Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński, to observe the Millennium of baptism of Mieszko I, the first historical duke of Poland.

The idea behind the “1000 schools” project was to improve the educational infrastructure, which indeed needed investment: due both to war material losses and the post-war baby-boom, on average there were 74 pupils per classroom in Poland in 1961. But this action also had political goals.

Choosing education as a topic of the Millennial celebrations corresponded to the role that education had played from the very beginning of the communist regime in Poland. It was regarded as an important tool in the attempts to impose the communist ideology on the Polish people. The Ministry of Education had already been created in 1944 on the territories freed by the Soviet Army from the Nazi occupation. Its first decisions were to include stories in the curriculum about the agricultural reform introduced by the communist government and about the positive role of the Soviet Army. By the end of the 1940s all textbooks had been revised and were constantly controlled to present the latest interpretations of the communist doctrine, to promote the Polish-Soviet friendship, a materialistic (atheist)
view of the world, the superiority of communism (socialism) over capitalism, and of the Soviet Union over the rest of the world. Private institutions, including Catholic convents were removed from the system of education. It is evident that the communist regime broadly used schools as a tool of indoctrination. In 1961, during the “1000 schools” action, a reform of education removed religious instruction from schools in Poland definitely.

Another political aspect of the action was an attempt to create a platform of communication and cooperation between the communist regime and Polish society. The programme seemed to be universal enough to be accepted both by communists and non-communists, believers and non-believers – everybody should be willing to facilitate education of the young Poles. The appeals to donate money addressed to the Poles in Poland and abroad accompanied the action. As a result, 8.5 billion Polish zlotys and more than 200,000 dollars were collected.

Altogether, 1417 new schools were opened within the framework of the Millennial campaign (of more than 20,000 existing in general) – the fastest growth in Poland ever, and the most sustainable element of the Millennial celebrations.
In Portugal, photographers visit schools each year at least once. In private schools this happens several times a year. The photographer is so well known to everyone, students, teachers, employees and parents, that s/he can easily walk around without disturbing the daily activities. Although being noticed when showing up, this presence is part of the second half of 20th century’s school life.

Everybody knows that somewhere, somewhen, they will be surprised with a snapshot: in the classroom, in the playground and, of course, during the annual feasts.

The first photograph brings us to one of these moments: a school feast in the 70’s. A group of young girls is waiting (or resting after) their turn to perform. They sit in a bench along the wall, wearing dark ballet maillots and, some of them, light coloured ribbons. They use white tights, except for the second girl who wears dark tights. Their arms are down, most of them on the bench; the sixth girl repairs her ribbon. The wall is covered with tiles to the height of their heads, revealing this to be an old building.

“Hey! Look here!” the photographer must have whispered. The first half of the row looked at the camera. They seem quite calm. Some of them smiling. They are
certainly acquainted with the stage. Again, have a look at the second girl. She is far away. Legs crossed, one hand over the other resting on her right leg. The photographer interrupted time. She was lost in her thoughts and the photographer suddenly came in the moment and fixed it forever.

The photographer must have gone ahead along the row to take other photographs to sell to other parents. We wonder how parents must have been delighted with the idea of keeping this photograph as a memory of their daughters’ school time. Memory of a time, memory of a moment, memory of a group, memory of a school tradition. For the researcher, they are evidences of educational issues, but for those who lived the moment other memories should remain. The photograph is there to remind us.

The second photograph shows us a tile on a white wall with an inscription in Portuguese, a popular rhyme: “A lot? Not much? It doesn't matter – Each person gives what s/he has –There is nobody in the world – who can not do good”.

It brings us personal memories: there was a series of tiles, spread along the (long) corridor linking the classrooms to the school canteen. Looking at this one again
awoke all five senses: the smell of the food, the taste of the rice, the sound of the laughs of the children running, the touch of the rugged wall, and the rhyme written in the tile. In our heads, deeply in our minds, the sound of the words repeated countless times came up: “Mui-to-pou-co-não-im-por-ta-ca-da-um-dá-o-que-tem-–-não-há-nin-gué-m-nes-te-mun-do-que-não-po-ssa-fa-zer-bem-–”.

The intriguing evidence is that four decades after having been there, the words flow as easily as the sense they made at that time. The image remains. And somehow the repetition of the rhyme, again and again, turned its meaning into a motto for life.

In the central part of Serbia, the period of national liberation and creation of the new national state started with the first uprising at the beginning of the 19th century. The Serbian government undertook the concern for education and in that way, the domination of the church in this field ceased to exist. The first minister of education was Dositej Obradovic who opened a big school for higher education in 1808 and a Seminary in 1810, both in Belgrade. In elementary school, in this period, the reading primers were used for teaching reading and writing, as well as church manuscripts: prayer books, books of psalms and catechises.

Systematical work on the organisation and development of the Serbian educational system of the bourgeois was started with the uprising of modern civil state in the second half of the 19th century. The system of elementary schools continuously spread; various kinds of secondary schools were established and higher education, which started with lyceum, turned into university through the advanced school. The Law on Elementary Schools from 1863 created a favourable environment for the opening of new schools, improvement of teaching methods, and education of the teaching staff. Elementary education, where catechesis, reading, writing, arithmetic, and singing were taught, was not mandatory, and the minister of
education himself determined the teaching methods and textbooks to be used by teachers.

The first high school, at the level of the grammar school, opened in Belgrade in 1830. A detailed curriculum, made in 1845 and mostly including social sciences, gave didactics and methodological instructions concerning the teaching of all subjects. Almost two decades later, the *Law on the Organisation of Grammar Schools* passed in 1863, made certain organisational and substantial modifications reflecting the current possibilities and needs. The six-year-long education in the grammar school had its purpose in preparing students for further studies. The development of natural sciences and technical knowledge had an effect on the teaching content so that the students also studied experimental physics, chemistry, mechanics, and practical geometry with geometric drawing.

First World War and the occupation of the country broke the development of education in Serbia. During the first decade of its involvement in education, the state was looking for ways, like in other areas of social life, to harmonise the schooling system and to pass a unique law on schools. The development of the educational thought was obvious in this period as it was under a great influence of a number of both domestic and foreign, prominent educational workers. The school system started to upraise again. The aim of the elementary school was to prepare students to be moral, loyal, and active members of society, through instruction and education. Besides elementary, there were grammar schools as well. The aim of these schools was to develop general abilities in students, to guide them towards certain vocations, and to facilitate their scientific improvement at higher education institutions and universities.

Taking a look at the photographs chosen, the first one is probably of graduates, young men of about 19 years old, dressed up in a suit and with a tie, photographed in the studio in Nis, in the town which is annexed to Serbia in 1878. Their serious expressions, some of them have moustaches, show that they are ready to accept all the difficulties that the teaching profession may bring. In the photograph, the student with folk costumes details is allocated - he defines the atmosphere presented - the teachers were the
people who educated and cultivated the national identity.
The second photograph shows the bright faces of students of an elite school for future engineers. Caps were part of the school uniforms, and they had the name of the school and the students’ grade on the front side. On the stairs of the building, which is now the Pedagogical Museum, there are two little boys curiously looking at the camera. The beginning of the stairs marks the beginning of their education, which gives them a high place in that society.
The education of female was an important step in the personal emancipation of women and in the modernisation process in Serbia, and it is depicted in the third photograph. The traditional duty of women was only to take care of their families, children and houses. Educated women were rare in everyday life. On the photograph there are serious faces of nicely dressed girls. There is only one smiling face of a boy, whom society provided with a dominant role determined by his gender.
In the early 19th century, every seventh school-able child attended elementary school and the number increased to every third child by the middle of the century. After implementing the 8-year compulsory elementary education by law in 1869, illiteracy declined rapidly. In 1890 there was only 28.5% of illiterate Slovenes. The number dropped by another 10% by 1900 and 100 years ago Slovenia became a fully literate nation (1910: 85.5% literate).

Teachers, who were trained at colleges of education since the 1870s, also influenced this success. After 1889 the Slovenian teachers’ associations made a constant effort to improve the teacher’s modest salary and to encourage ethnic and cultural development. These associations had various national and political orientations, mainly political Catholicism and liberalism. The Slovenian female teachers association was only founded in 1897.

Unlike in the 1870s, when there were only a few female teachers, the majority of the staff in elementary schools in the early 20th century were women. They had a significant impact on the extent of the elementary education and its role as a shaper of general culture, also in rural areas. For that, we can look at the first photograph as an example. Training to become a teacher was women’s favourite way to education; it en
abled professional independence, but also brought the social engagement of the first intellectual women.

Since the mid-19th century, teachers, and later on their associations, brought about the development of pedagogical publications. The most important journals, like *Učiteljski tovariš* (Teacher’s Comrade, 1861-1941), *Popotnik/Sodobna pedagogika* (Traveller/Contemporary Pedagogy, 1900-) and *Slovenski učitelj* (Slovenian Teacher, 1899-1944), testify to the diversity of various conceptual and pedagogical orientations.

The development of education was influenced by the language policy in the Austrian half of the Empire, namely in the linguistically mixed administrative regions (crown lands) and individual municipalities, when it came to the question of German or Slovene as the language of education. The path to the (in some cases at least partial) implementation of elementary teaching with Slovenian as the pupils’ mother tongue was full of obstacles until 1918.

In the Austrian period, Slovenian language strived for greater importance in secondary schools, since the classes in *gymnasiums*, secondary modern school and colleges of education for Slovenian students were held mostly in German or in Italian in the towns in the west of the country. The question of classes in Slovene at the
gymnasium in the town of Celje in 1895 even had the intervention of the Austrian government.

Besides the influence of the state, the linguistic profile of schools among Slovenes from the 1880s onwards was also influenced by three private school societies, namely Schulverein, which built German schools, Lega nationale, which built Italian schools and national defence, CMD Society, which built Slovenian schools. During this time, Slovene education was shaped by the influential Catholic Church, for which the second photograph can serve as an illustration, and Protestantism in Prekmurje, under the rule of Hungary. Religion had the strongest influence on elementary school in the period from the beginning of the 19th century up to 1869, when the school law gave a responsibility for carrying out elementary education to the church network of dioceses, deaneries and parishes. One of the influential educational figures was Anton Martin Slomšek (1800-1862), who became a Bishop of Maribor and was also the author of school textbooks.
By unifying the language in school textbooks, school contributed to the emergence of common Slovenian literary language in different regions. The clergy generally supported not only elementary education in Slovene, but together with intellectuals also the secondary and higher education of talented boys from the countryside through scholarship institutions. As much as two thirds of the small number of influential secular intelligentsia studied at the University of Vienna, while others studied in Graz and, from the beginning of the 20th century, also in Prague.

The most noted Slovenian pedagogue was Franc Močnik (1814-1892). He wrote many mathematics textbooks which were used for decades throughout the country due to the successful method they used. Out of many Slovene university teachers, the most internationally known was the famous philologist Fran Miklošič/Miklosich (1813-1891), the founder of modern Slav studies at Vienna University.

During the period between the two world wars, Slovenians were educated within four state systems. Slovenians did not have minority rights in Italy, Austria and Hungary, while the situation was very different in a very culturally diverse Yugoslav state. After 1918, the Yugoslav part of Slovenia experienced the slovenisation of the elementary and secondary education and in 1919 the third university in the Yugoslav state was established in Ljubljana.

After 1945 education continued in the frame of the Yugoslav state, but under the influence of the official communist ideology. With prominent technical and didactic development since the 1960s and a simultaneous expansion of education at all levels, education, culture and the Slovenian language remained the cultural foundation in the development of Slovenianism. At that time, the education of a small number of Italian and Hungarian national minorities also developed, and that has remained since the 1990s as an important element of openness of modern education in independent Slovenia.
The most profound transformations in Spanish education have been led by educational movements grounded on science and utopian ideas. At the end of the nineteenth century, with illiteracy at 56% (Frago, 1990), public intellectuals committed themselves to education. In 1876, Giner de los Ríos and his colleagues founded the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza (ILE)* [Free Institution of Education, FIE], a movement that made the international scientific knowledge available to Spanish education and culture. The FIE made possible for many children to be in an educational system that incorporated the principles of Dewey, Montessori and of the *krausist* philosophy, influenced by Darwin, Russell, or Tagore. Spanish classrooms of that time were photographed by Franzen; he also captured the life of aristocrats in royal palaces, and workers in the factories, thanks to a lighting technique which was the predecessor of the current flash.

The *Institución Libre de Enseñanza* led several projects such as the *Misiones Pedagógicas* [Educational Missions] that brought education and culture to hundreds of villages. They established libraries and brought classical theatre to their inhabitants. This educational revolution included also the Ferrer i Guardia’s project of *Escuela Moderna* [The Modern School], one of the Spanish educational experiences
with higher international impact. This school was also influenced by the rationalistic approaches which aimed at giving all working class people access to an education based on the latest scientific and educational advances.

As a result of the educational, cultural and scientific revolution, a generation of writers, poets, artists and scientists like Machado, Picasso, Ramón y Cajal, Dalí, García Lorca, among others, emerged in Spain. They placed the Spanish intellectuals in a highly relevant position in the sciences and cultural worlds internationally. But the Civil War, followed by Franco’s dictatorship (1936-1975), brought one of the most splendidous times for the Spanish education, culture and science to an end.

After the dictatorship, in 1978 the transformation of schools into learning communities began. This was the educational project in the history of Spanish education that had the highest international impact (1999, 2013). This transformation was based on the evidence provided by the international scientific community. Based on the process of knowing, discussing and recreating this evidence, the project aimed at developing new theories and practices, which were ultimately defined as successful educational actions, that can be transferred to many diverse contexts.
The photograph illustrates how in multicultural classrooms children are learning together with other adults through egalitarian dialogue. This principle relies on the basis of the dialogic learning (Flecha, 2000) which is being conducted across more than two hundred Spanish schools. The transformation of schools into learning communities is leading a Spanish educational movement that has expanded to other countries including Brazil and England. Together, children and adults are not only improving their educational results but behaviour issues are also eradicated from their classrooms.
References
Just next to the entrance to the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia 1876, beside a Japanese bazaar and in a prominent place, stood a nicely crafted modern Schoolhouse catching the visitor’s attention. The building was built by Swedish craftsmen, from Swedish timber, in 1875 and 1876, and was Sweden’s most important contribution to the exhibition. The Schoolhouse was intended to represent the advanced education system of Sweden, and it contained Swedish objects, instruments, pedagogical materials and texts. The Schoolhouse symbolised the idea of a complete effective and efficient schoolwork system.

There is evidence drawn from formal exhibition reports, newspapers, letter correspondence and policy documents that the Swedish School house in Philadelphia was highly appreciated. It was seen to represent the highest achievement of contemporary education progress and it was very influential on other countries. It won a Gold Medal at the Exhibition. The School house roughly followed the ”normal plan” for school buildings legislated by the Swedish government in 1865, but had a much more extensive ornamentation. Swedish newspapers did not always react positively when reading about the very favourable American and international response to the school. This was because not more than one out of fifty Swedish
schoolhouses followed the ‘normal plan’ at the time and they were more cheaply built. But this ideal Schoolhouse model was useful to many other country representatives to the Exhibition, as it enabled them to argue for increased school budgets. It was produced as a competitive challenge by a small country to a leading nation intending to promote its own progress in this area.

So, the Schoolhouse was both real and ideal, and both actual and mythological. For the visitor, it offered material evidence of its status as an excellent Swedish school, a good representative of a modern education system. Appearing as modern and progressive made it possible to participate in international elite conversations about education – which could inform, enlighten and legitimise national reforms. Sweden was now to be viewed, through its representations, as a leading world country in education. At the same time, Swedes could now see themselves as part of the construction of a leading modern system. The modern Swedish school would not be built only of these designs, materials and objects, but just as importantly, they formed the foundation of a core myth about modern Swedish education, at home and abroad.
The Exhibition was a significant element in modernity as comparisons could be made, progress assumed and the future managed. Nations could be symbolised and embodied through the selection and display of objects. It became possible to sum up the achievements of a nation and present them in an elevated, viewable space. They could be walked around, studied closely and seen in relation to others, from different angles.

When the Exhibition closed, the Schoolhouse was chosen to be part of the new Central Park in New York, where it still exists today.¹
1 http://www.centralpark.com/guide/attractions/swedish-cottage.html
CHAPTER 22

SWITZERLAND

A “laboratory school” for young children

Béatrice Haenggeli-Jenni

Founded in 1913 by Edouard Claparède (1873-1940), the Maison des Petits welcomed children between 3 and 9 years old. It was attached to the Institute J.-J. Rousseau, an international training and research center in Educational Sciences, created in 1912 in Geneva. The school was led for 30 years by two teachers, Mina Audemars (1883-1971) and Louise Lafendel (1872-1971). Both were trained in Montessori methods and inspired by Decroly and Dewey’s experiments. They collaborated closely with Claparède in order to apply his pedagogical approach based on a functional conception of education and a theory of child’s development structured in stages.

The first objective of the school was to search, to experiment and to verify the existing psychological truths; the second one was to train and to orientate a team of young educators according to these truths. The Maison des Petits was a laboratory school which worked like an observation platform of the child’s development. According to its directors, “the observation rigorously imposes the laws the educator has to follow. It drives the environmental conditions which have to be in harmony with this environment.”

They assumed that each child was born as a producer, experimenter and builder. That’s why they thought the child would spontaneously
look for whatever would help him/her to build his/her personal being.

This photograph shows working pupils who are experiencing a “new” type of teaching: in this school, boys and girls have the same programmes, receive a familiar education and share the same space, which looks more like a workshop rather than like a classroom. Everyone is busy, learning by doing his/her own task. The teacher is not in front of the pupils delivering knowledge; she is at the back, observing everyone’s activity, and taking notes. She provides a stimulating environment where each pupil can learn through experiments. In this school, the role of the teacher is to guide children in their discoveries, to answer their questions and help them follow their “learning path”.

The photograph acts like a testimony of the “new” way to teach advocated by the New Education movement. During the interwar period, this movement spread internationally. It brought together thousands of teachers, pedagogues, psychologists, parents and school administrators to promote a large educational reform. Among their claims stands the idea of inverting the educational logic: henceforth, the teacher should respect children’s interests and abilities and adapt the school programs. According to these reformers, the teacher should be a guide and not a knowledge
diffuser, a person who needs to be trained in child psychology. The members of the Institute J.J. Rousseau contributed to research in this domain and to the creation of new teaching methods; as part of this training and research center, the *Maison des Petits* contributed to the efforts of the *New Education* movement: they promoted not only new teaching methods but also an educational posture which respected children’s rights.
The three photographs were taken in the grounds of the primary school Hakimiyeti Milliye (the name meaning National Sovereignty Primary School). This state school was located in the Göztepe neighbourhood of the port city of Izmir in Turkey. I attended this school between the years 1949-1952.

The building itself was a mansion, built as a residence for a well-to-do Greek Ottoman merchant who left the country following the Turkish war of Independence. It was an elegant building with a vast black and white marble entrance hall to which four large rooms opened. At the back of the hall, there was a service area.

A beautiful wooden staircase, with a dainty balustrade, led up to the second floor. There were three or four rooms upstairs. In the winter, as Izmir winters are mild, each classroom had its own wood stove for heating purposes. The restrooms, probably built after the mansion was turned into a school, were located in the garden. The grounds were very large. The terraced olive grove was behind the building, leading to the top of the hill, but we were never allowed to go up there.

At that time primary school lasted for five years. School was compulsory for children aged 6 to 7 years old. Classrooms were crowded, 60 to 70 students in each class. The floors and the stairs used to squeak as we ran up and down.
There was a class teacher for each of the 5 classes. The class teacher would start with the first grade children and continue up to grade five, teaching all the subjects, including gymnastics and handicrafts. My class teacher, who was a man, showed us how to make lace, make button holes and sew buttons, but also taught us how to draw and paint.

The teaching aid we had was a book called *Alfabe* (The Alphabet). For arithmetic, we used dried white beans for counting and adding. The mandolin was the instrument we were taught to play, again by the class teacher. The school uniform, was a black cotton satin overall buttoned at the back, over which we wore a white collar.

The first photograph is my 2nd grade class with the teacher, taken in front of the school building. The second photograph was taken the following year in the 3rd grade, whereas the third photograph shows three of us girls in scout uniforms. In those days, there was a scout programme in all state primary and secondary schools. From what I remember, being a scout was a lot of fun. We were taken on day-trips to the surrounding countryside and were taught various small skills, such as tying knots and helping each other.
No foreign languages were included in the school curriculum. After 3rd grade in this school, my family and I moved back to Ankara, the Capital city. There, I was sent to a private school where we had English everyday. 'Hakimiyeti Milliye Primary School' still exists today, though the olive orchard is gone. A few more school buildings were put up on its grounds, but the system of primary education is very different today.
I first worked in a classroom in the autumn of 1992. It was a nursery class in London. This photograph shows a boy I had conversations with about drawing. He was Japanese and living in London for a few years while his father’s job was based in the United Kingdom. I had, up until that point, met few children born outside Europe. I had grown up in Devon and had recently completed an undergraduate degree in Cambridge. My international experiences were limited to looking at the shapes of the edges of land on the page of an Atlas.

In this photograph, T, as I shall call him, was trying to draw the Eiffel Tower in sections on separate pieces of paper that he had stuck together with sticky tape. He found a book in our classroom where the Eiffel Tower was split over two pages — the base on the left hand page and the top on the right (you can see these in the background of this photograph). He kept asking me why did the ‘drawing man’ not just draw a smaller Eiffel Tower to fit on one page? He would open the book repeatedly, laugh as if there was something slightly ridiculous about this layout and then put his hand to his mouth covering his amusement. I took this photograph because taking photographs helps me remember certain moments that I was surprised by. Things that happened, that I could not have made up. It wasn’t until...
about a decade later, in another school, that any colleagues saw my photographs as ‘evidence of practice’ and wanted me to put them on the wall.

Before this photograph was taken T had been sitting on the floor with the book next to him trying to make an Eiffel Tower with Stickle Bricks. The bumpy plastic rectangles and rods were either too wide or too thin for his liking. He would sort them in rows on the worn out cork tile floor – discarding them neatly when they did not suit his purpose. He did not mind if other children ran into them with a dolls pram or touched them lightly with their feet in passing.

In the early 1990s the channel tunnel was being built and T was intrigued that the United Kingdom had no bridges linking off shore places. He would bring me an Atlas and point to the zig-zag of islands off Scotland and ask if there was some bridges for the people to get across the water. I also remember T because he was the first child I met who drew computer games. There was no computer or screen in our classroom.

With a thick black marker-pen on rough calico coloured-paper, T would draw the tracks for the trains that would be travelling under the channel tunnel soon. He drew them as influenced by Nintendo memories and seen from aerial view with signs for ‘Start’ and ‘Stop.’ He gave me these pictures to keep and for years I blu-tacked them to the wall of various homes until they curled at the edges and fell apart un-archived. This photograph, kept flat in the dark of an album, survived.

T. drawing the Eiffel Tower
Network 17 - Histories of Education
“As a freeze-frame in the ‘movie’ leading to this visual conversation figures another conversation held over lunch one beautiful summer day in Cádiz late September 2012 among (ex-)convenors of “Network 17 - Histories of Education”, at the 13th European Conference for Educational Research (ECER). During this conversation, Ian Grosvenor, then Secretary General of the European Educational Research Association (EERA), made the suggestion to apply for EERA network funding for a project that could bring together knowledge and experience about education on the part of scholars from all twenty-eight European countries that make up EERA today. This was to increase collaboration among researchers, not just across Europe, but also across disciplines, and thus to offer a model of good practice for all networks of that innovative transnational research organisation that EERA aspires to be. The result of this project is an e-book which, in the spirit of what has just been mentioned, is hoped to stimulate further commentary and engagement, and is offered as a present to celebrate EERA’s 20th anniversary.”