UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI MACERATA

**CORSO DI DOTTORATO DI RICERCA IN
FORMAZIONE, PATRIMONIO CULTURALE E TERRITORI**

CICLO XXVI

TITOLO DELLA TESI

Citizenship Education and the Curriculum in the European Schools System: a multidimensional history (1957-1994)

SUPERVISORE DI TESI
Chiar.mo Prof. Anna Ascenzi

DOTTORANDO
Dott. Elena Girotti

COORDINATORE
Chiar.mo Prof. Anna Ascenzi

ANNO 2024

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Introduction: research questions, organization of the work and aims

Sharing in the same games, grouped in common classes, boys and girls of various languages and nationalities will learn to know and value each other and to live together.
Being brought up in contact with each other and freed at an early age from the prejudices which divide, initiated into the beauties and values of the various cultures, they will as they grow up become conscious of their solidarity. While retaining love for and pride in their country, they will become in spirit Europeans, well prepared to complete and consolidate the work undertaken by their fathers to establish a prosperous and united Europe (Van Houtte, 1960, p. 14)

The above words were inscribed in the founding stone of the European School in Luxembourg and, according to some of the documents of the European Schools published to celebrate the anniversaries of their birth (Schola Europea, 1993), they seem to summarize the educational objectives and spirit of these institutions, underlining their particular civil and civic attitude. Considering these premises, the present work focuses on the European Schools System and is structured around three research questions. The first is the following: what complex image of citizenship education - which status, virtues, ideas of identity and agency, to quote Schugurensky (2010) - can be found in the European Schools System from their origins till the '90s?

Moreover, recognizing the close link between citizenship education and the curriculum (Depaepe, 2002; Tröhler et al., 2011; Tröhler, 2019), the second following question was formulated: how has this image been constructed through the curriculum of the European Schools and considering the curriculum in a broad perspective and in its different layers (Goodson, 2005; Popkewitz, 2011; Tröhler, 2019; Dussel, 2020)?

I believe that answers to these questions have been partially given by previous research: I will review it in Chapter 1 after having explained what the European Schools are and having indicated some fundamental stages and features in their history. However, I think that there is room to try to provide answers that go beyond the mere judgment of their value, positive or negative, and rather attempt to observe the object in a diffractive mode (Barad, 2007; Van Ruyskensvelde et al., 2021), in its construction process, focusing on the different threads that are interwoven in and out of it, tracing them, hypothesizing and understanding their "interplay" (Barad, 2007, p. 42) or part of their journey. In this way, it should be possible to problematize the images that can emerge from here and make them dialogue with their broader context of reference.

Consequently, taking into account previous literature on the topic and not forgetting the intricate transnational nature of the European Schools and the network configuration of the European space of education (Grek, Lawn, 2012), I added a third question based on the entangled

transnational perspective (Roldan Vera, Fuchs, 2019), namely what influences from different traditions and actors can be detected in the European Schools' attitude towards Citizenship Education and curriculum?

In order to formulate answers, I will proceed as follows.

In Chapter 1, the theoretical and methodological foundations underlying the reasoning that will subsequently be constructed and the analysis conducted will be retraced: in particular, I will refer to the panorama of studies on citizenship education, the theories on the curriculum and the research on the transnational perspective in the attempt to position my research.

In Chapter 2, I will conduct the analysis of two discourses regarding the origins of the European Schools and of the contexts in which they were pronounced: the aim is to have a look at the wider horizon the European Schools were part of, at which interactions can be detected there and how and if they could be significant for the images of citizenship education and the curriculum.

In Chapter 3, various documents will be analyzed in order to depict the prescriptive level of the curriculum in search of influences, transfers, pedagogical principles that had a role in defining concepts related to Citizenship Education. Though, since the theorethical prescriptive discourse and aims usually differ from the practice, I will then describe, in Chapter 4, a preliminary analysis on the Pedagogical Bullettins of the European Schools and the provisional observations derived from there on the relational dimension of the curriculum (Goodson, 2005) and its impact on the idea of Citizenship Education.

The sources analyzed extend over a period of time from 1957 to 1994. As approaching them and considering the different roles that historians of education may choose (Westberg, Primus, 2023, p. 14), I will act as a "detective who searches for clues to provide a more complete stories" (Ib., p. 15) in the second and fourth chapters, and as "a mapmaker attempting to present and package a useful presentation of historical reality" (Ib.) in the third chapter.

Before moving on, I would like to make one final remark on the style used: following Sword's advices (2012), I have often used first-person pronouns and sometimes made the attempt to engage in a direct conversation with the reader to illustrate the reasoning behind my thesis as explicitly and clearly as possible because, in my view, both these stylistic decisions contribute to making more visible the path of going back and forth between the sources and the reflections on them, revealing that "precarious exposition" mentioned by Masschelein and Simons (2008, p. 652) with reference to Koselleck and considered typical of the historian's profession.

Chapter 1 - First Part: theoretical and methodological premises

1.1 The European Schools: history, organization, and previous literature

In this section, I will briefly explain what the European Schools are and why I am interested in them concerning citizenship education and the curriculum. I will also address the main issues researched by previous literature on the European Schools, from which it is clear that the definition of 'pedagogical laboratories' assigned to the European Schools since the 1960s (Van Houtte 1960) is partly questionable and partly not entirely suited to a reality that is highly complex and peculiar and therefore not so easy to replicate.

In what follows, I will go over the main issues raised, especially about the context that characterizes the European Schools and the dimension of identity, citizenship education and curriculum that emerges from them. Regarding the last two elements, I will try to understand how much space has been given to the historical reconstruction of their evolution, as well as to the practices and influences that contributed to their organization, since I would like to make my contribution to this area. At the same time, I would like to point out some of the critical points of the European Schools and how they fit into the dynamics that characterized the construction of the European Education and Research Area (Grek & Lawn 2012). Therefore, the main aim of my literature review is to consider what has already been investigated to place my research in constructive dialogue with this (Kamler & Thomson 2011:18).

The European Schools constitute a peculiar school system whose origin dates back to 1953 when what would then become the first European School was established in Luxembourg after the founding of the ECSC - European Coal and Steel Community - to meet the educational needs of the children of ECSC workers (cf. European Schools Website[1]; Van Lingen, 2012). The first school came into being for practical reasons: the children of ECSC workers did not know the languages spoken in Luxembourg, their parents were supposed to return home after some years of service abroad, and so their children did not have to lose contact with their national education system. A thorough account of the origins and the further developments of the European Schools has been given by Harry Van Lingen (2012). Thanks to the analysis of original documents of that time such as the *Draft for a European School* by Marcel Decombis (1953) and the *Annex Preliminary Concept for a European School* by Albert Van Houtte (1953), together with some collected interviews, Van Lingen points out the practical reasons that were decisive for making the first school come into being: as a matter of fact, Luxembourg

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[1] https://www.eursc.eu/en/European-Schools/background (last access, 27/01/2024)

didn't have any international schools and, although French, German, and part of the Belgian pupils could have been arranged into national Luxembourg schools where French and German were taught, the same possibility would not have fitted for Italians, Dutch and Flemish students. Different solutions were considered: bringing "the pupils together in one building with teachers from each of the six countries" (Van Lingen, 2012, p. 31) was deemed the best solution. However, Van Lingen underlines two additional problems and circumstances: the first is the fact that the ECSC guaranteed financial support and consequently the practical and organizational matters were left to the newly born parents' association created with "the wish to arrive at the foundation of a school, partly based on a number of practices in the Luxembourg model such as bilingual tuition" (Van Lingen, 2012, p. 32); the second one is the fact that a private school was not allowed by Luxembourg law and so a special law had to be introduced to allow the existence of the school as "a private entity in the shape of an association without pursuit of profit" (Ib., p. 33). As a result of it, "at Easter 1953 nursery class began. On October 4, under primitive conditions, 16 German, 11 Belgian, 26 French, 43 Italian, 13 Dutch and 5 teachers started their first day in primary school in 4 language sections - French, German, Dutch and Italian[2]" (Ib., p. 32). The following year some students reached the age to attend secondary school and so the request was made to add the secondary cycle as well. However, the financial expense that this required was not conceivable under the initial conditions and therefore greater support was requested from the ECSC and the Member States; this contributed to the opening of the secondary school in 1954 and, above all, to the start of the procedures that would ultimately lead to the signing of the Statute of the European School in 1957, recognizing the latter as an intergovernmental public school controlled jointly by the Member States (cf. Van Lingen, 2012) and to the establishing of the *Baccalauréat européen*, the European Baccalaureate[3]. Scholars such as Swan (1996) and Van Lingen (2012) point out the historical legal and cultural significance of the fact that the first European School was recognized as an intergovernmental institution in a time when the European project was truly in its infancy.

With the Treaty of Rome (1957) and the establishment of the European Economic Community and the Euratom in Brussels, the possibility of replicating the Luxembourg experiment to deal with the educational challenges faced by foreign civil servants' children started to be discussed

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[2] Van Lingen explains that the school was also open to children of parents not working for the ECSC and, in his view, this could explain the high number of Italians (Van Lingen, 2012, p. 32).
[3] In the third Chapter of the present work, space will be given to an analysis of the 1957 Statute and of the European Baccalaureate.

taking into account the reservations expressed by some of the Member States[4]. In the end, despite some doubts, it was opted for the creation of a second European School which was inaugurated in Brussels in 1958, The European School Brussels I. Due to new research centres established by Euratom in the other Member States, and then with the expansion of the European Community before and the European Union after, new European Schools continued to be created[5]: in Mol-Geel, Belgium, in 1960; in Varese, Italy, in 1960; in Karlsruhe, Germany, in 1962; in Bergen, The Netherlands, in 1963; the European School Brussels II in Brussels in 1974; in Munich in 1977; in Culham, in United Kingdom near Oxford, in 1978[6]; the European School of Brussels III in 1999; in Alicante, Spain, in 2002; in Frankfurt in 2002; the European School Luxembourg II in 2004 and the European School of Brussels IV in 2007.

Today there are 13 European Schools throughout the EU and 23 Accredited European Schools[7]; the former are reserved for the children of EU officials, although other students may attend the schools if places are available but this is quite uncommon and controversial.

The structure of the schools will be better analyzed in Chapter 4 focusing specifically on the analysis of curricula and syllabuses and their impact on theESs'organization; however, it will be briefly mentions here. Each European Schools was and is still composed by:

- a Nursery School nowadays called Early Education (ESs Website);
- a five-year Primary School;
- a seven-year Secondary cycle ending with the European Baccalaureate; the Secondary cycle consists – since its beginnings of three parts: the Observation cycle, a *tronc commun* made of the first three years. According to literature, the establishment of this tronc commun could be considered quite innovative at that time, in 1957 (Swan, 1984; Van Lingen, 2012); two more years of Pre-orientation Cycle for pupils aged 14 and 15; the final two years of Orientation cycle.

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[4] In his work Van Lingen highlights the doubts of the Netherlands and Italy: the former were sceptical about the costs that creating a new European school would have involved, the latter instead hypothesized an active role of the Italian Cultural Institute in Brussels in the education of Italian children (Van Lingen, 2012, p. 46).

[5] With regards to the creation of new European Schools, Van Lingen distinguishes three different periods: the "First Wave and Other Initiatives" till 1964 (Van Lingen, 2012, p. 47); the "Lean Years" from 1964 to 1990 (Ib., p. 48-49); the "1990s and Beyond" (Ib., p. 50-52).

[6] Due to Brexit, the European School in Culham was closed in August 2017 (ESs Website).

[7] As explained in the ESs Website, following the 2005 Recommendation by the European Parliament, the ESs curriculum has been opened up to national schools: indeed, "Accredited European Schools are schools which offer a European education that meets the pedagogical requirements laid down for the European Schools but within the framework of the national school networks of the Member States. Accredited European Schools are thus outside the legal, administrative and financial framework to which the European Schools are compulsorily subject" (ESs Website, https://www.eursc.eu/en/Accredited-European-Schools/About last accessed 25/01/2024).

Even though they underwent periods of reform – in particular in 1971, in 1990 and in 2009, since their establishment, the Schools have been characterized by a multilingual environment; the schools' language policy aimed at promoting cooperation and exchange is definitely a distinctive trademark since their origins. There are indeed various language sections depending on the children's mother tongue; from Secondary School vehicular languages are used in the teaching of subjects such as History, Geography and Social Sciences, as well as in the communal teaching of European Hours; the latter starts from the 3rd year of Primary school with the aim to foster communications within the various language groups through the means of "incidental learning" (Swan, 1984, p. 110) through activities such as arts and crafts, singing, painting, etc. The main apparently appeared to be to make true the following words by Marcel Decombis, Head of the European School in Luxembourg, between 1953 and 1960:

Educated side by side, untroubled from infancy by divisive prejudices, acquainted with all that is great and good in the different cultures, it will be borne in upon them as they mature that they belong together. Without ceasing to look to their own lands with love and pride, they will become in mind Europeans, schooled and ready to complete and consolidate the work of their fathers before them, to bring into being a united and thriving Europe (Decombis, ESs Website[8])

The civic aim to educate young adults capable of recognizing a common sense of belonging apparently going beyond a purely national dimension seems to be quite present since the beginning. However, research has problematized and questioned this feature, in particular with regards to the development of a shared identity (Finaldi-Baratieri, 2000; Savvides, 2006b, 2006c; Savvides, Faas, 2016)). An examination of previous literature focused on the history and general functioning and curriculum of the ESs, their language policy and ability to foster a sense of European identity in its students has been conducted to give a brief overview of the state of the art.

One of the first to study the ESs schools with a critical and problematizing approach was Desmond Swan, Professor of Education at the University College Dublin, who firstly carried out a study for the Report *The European Schools, Crossroads of Education in Europe* (1984) based on the resolution of the European Parliament passed in June 1983 and "calling for a report on all aspects of the European School System" (Swan, 1984, p. 12). Swan describes the legal and administrative structure that distinguishes the ESs, as well as the organizational and pedagogical aspects; particularly interesting, in my opinion, are the considerations he makes on the lack of an explicit pedagogical vision, and some of the problems he highlights. About the first, he writes that

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[8] https://www.eursc.eu/en/European-Schools/principles (last access 12/02/2024)

A perusal of the official documentation reveals a strange lacuna, particularly when compared to the corresponding documents, legal or constitutional, in the member - or any other -states. This is the absence of any commitment to aims envisaged for education as residing in the individual pupil rather than in the politic, or based on a rounded concept of the pupil as a person. While it is true that some fundamental objectives of the Observation period alone are provided, one finds no such statement either in the Statute or its Protocols with reference to either the primary schooling or the education of the pupil as a whole from the nursery to school leaving (Swan, 1984, p. 20)

The other interesting aspect highlighted concerns, instead, the main problems detected interviewing the personnel; among them, the following are mentioned:

Problems related to the 'the Reform'; the need for a short Leaving Certificate; problems with the 'European hours'; school courses 12 years shorter than Germany/Italy; History taught by a non-compatriot; matching the curriculum to wide range of pupils' abilities; teaching Human Sciences through 'langue vehiculaire'; too frequent testing; 'European dimension' not emphasized; difficult to maintain high standards in pupil's mother tongue; textbooks lacking or linguistically inappropriate; study of Civics/Citizenship neglected; tests used summatively; 'School spirit' not cultivated; bureaucracy stifles innovation (Swan, 1984, p. 88).

Some of these problems are underlined again, few years later, in the 1996 work *A Singular Pluralism, The European Schools 1984-1994*: here, the lack of adequate textbooks are for instance mentioned again, together with the not homogeneous pedagogical approach within the different language sections. The selectivity of the Schools, the isolated positions of the Schools, the not sufficient preparation of the teachers and the lack of proper developed pupil support services are mentioned, too (Swan, 1996, p. 120). His works were also published in the ESs' official publication, Schola Europea, as, for instance, the article on Cultural Fusion or Fission at the European Schools where he also investigates the perceptions of teachers and students (Swan in Schola Europea, 1993); the latter ones see the European Schools as a collection of different national units and identify primarily with one of these; they also claim to be able to communicate in several languages and seem to acquire a European consciousness and identity although this does not necessarily always derive from elements within the school environment, but also from external ones (Swan in Schola Europea 1993, p. 85). Swan also notes how a student can become lost in the highly linguistically and culturally diverse reality of the European Schools and disconnected from the local community (Swan in Schola Europea, 1993, p. 86). Furthermore, due to the complex administrative structure, Swan also points out that the whole system is quite slow at making changes, but he also acknowledges that some changes have been made over the years, such as the introduction of remedial teaching aimed at helping the weakest students (Swan in Schola Europea, 1993, p. 87). As for the teachers, Swan underlines that their initial training may not always be suitable enough to meet the standards

and needs of teaching at the European Schools, which are extremely different from the environment of a national school (Swan in Schola Europea, 1993, p. 88). Following Swan, Finaldi-Baratieri (2000) also studies the European Schools and presents some of the paradoxes of the European identity they help to form by exploring the history of these schools, their structure and funding sources through interviews, questionnaires, statistics, historical resources and fieldwork. Her work reveals a certain problematic nature and a particular emphasis on the preservation of national traditions and languages and a sense of the indefiniteness of what it means to be European. Finaldi-Baratieri also examines students' points of view and shows problems with the elitist character of these schools. The main aim of her work is to understand the problem of European identity and the construction of an elite within the process of the unfolding, expansion, and development of the European Union (Finaldi-Baratieri, 2000, p. 3). It emerges quite clearly from her work (2000) - and the later one with Shore (Shore & Finaldi-Baratieri 2005) - that these Schools came into being for practical reasons related to the preservation of national traditions. In particular, she focuses on the teaching of European Hours understood as "a semi-ritual practice" (Finaldi-Baratieri, 2000, p.16) and of Social Sciences in foreign languages (*langue véhiculaire*). The latter, above all, seems to give rise to various doubts in teachers who find themselves having to mediate a national point of view with a "more European" perspective where it is not at all easy to define what this implies (Finaldi-Baratieri, 2000, p. 18) also because the teaching is based on national textbooks (Finaldi-Baratieri, 2000, p. 19-20)[9]. The theme of the vehicular languages is also addressed focusing, in particular, on the fact that English, French and German are used in the teaching of social sciences: Finaldi-Baratieri highlights how, in doing so, these languages are given greater power than the others and showing "how languages reflect in themselves the different cultural, political and economic power of various nations" (Finaldi-Baratieri, 2000, p. 27). Also quoting the previous study by Swan (1996), Finaldi-Baratieri shows the elitist character of these schools whose students are mostly "middle class" (Finaldi-Baratieri, 2000, p. 31) and where there are very few pupils from ethnic minorities (Finaldi-Baratieri, 2000, p. 32). Finally, she addresses the issue of the academic standards which appear to be extremely high. Finaldi-Baratieri also highlights how this is more visible if we consider the fact that only in the 1980s was remedial teaching introduced in primary school and students with disabilities were admitted (Finaldi-Baratieri, 2000, p. 35). Finaldi-Baratieri also highlights how, from 1993 onwards, a new logo was

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[9] As already seen, this observation was also made by Swan (1996) who highlighted how the national origin of the textbooks used made it necessary for the teacher to work to develop a more "European" and transnational point of view.

introduced and the style of the proposed celebratory publications and brochures change; she attributes all this to a greater involvement of the European Union in the field of education (Finaldi-Baratieri, 2000, p. 38). Finally, the study shows how, in the students' perception, these schools are not political at all and have a little relevant role in creating the future European citizen (Finaldi-Baratieri, 2000, p. 41). Finaldi-Baratieri concludes by saying how

However, what these Schools are is an expression of an elite in the making. The Schools play a vitally important part in giving this elite the self-confidence to carry out its objective of accruing to itself more and more extensive powers. Probably the most crucial insight that this study highlighted is the ability, that these Schools have, of asserting in different ways that their ethos and pupils are more European, true European, European sui generis. This is the kernel by which a group of privileged people can feel to be a cohesive unit, a deserving elite. In this sense, the Schools do not simply act on the identity of the pupils, but on all actors involved in these institutions (Ib., 2000, p. 46).

The structure and order of arguments used by Finaldi-Baratieri are partly taken up in the research carried out by Leaton Gray and other scholars in more recent times and requested by the European Schools themselves. The study conducted by Leaton Gray et al. was in fact commissioned by the General Secretariat of the European Schools starting from the assumption that the curriculum of these Schools has not changed much since the sixty years of their birth and from the need to understand how it should be structured an ideal twenty-first-century curriculum (Kivinen in Leaton Gray et al. 2015, p. V). Leaton Gray et al. they point out how

The special character of the schools does not reside exclusively in their European identity, but principally in the fact that they are offering an education based on schooling elements that do not exist at the national levels, such as: early multilingual schooling, a unified curriculum across Europe, a pedagogy based on a pluralistic national perspective, and a multinational student environment. The System's intention is to foster such particularities at the same time as encouraging a sense of European awareness, promoting knowledge about the institutions, their history, and a developing sense of citizenship at the European level. (Leaton Gray et al. 2015, p. 9).

The study consists of the following sessions: the history of the European Schools; the changes that should be made to the curriculum of the European Schools so that it can be considered suitable for the twenty-first century; the role of languages in the European Schools; a sociological analysis of the Schools where the discourse of elitism already found in previous literature emerges; evaluation reform; the relationship between the European Schools and higher education; the possibility that such Schools could be a model for a New European Age. Firstly, the study indicates that one of its starting assumptions was to consider the European Schools System "as a set of institutions and relations between its parts, and even perhaps as a coordinating body for a number of sub-systems, which have a particular relation to the central authority and a particular position within it" (Leaton Gray et al., 2015, p. 3). I indicate this

consideration because it well underlines the complex and intertwined nature of this system which I also wanted to consider when formulating my research questions approaches. Going back to Leaton Gray et al., the history of European Histories is then exposed and, compared to previous literature. In regard to this part, I would like to draw attention to the following points. Firstly, the fact that while the European Schools System mostly remained unchaged for almost sixty years, in 2009 it underwent an important reform concerning the extension of the system itself and of the European Baccalaureate to other students, governance arrangements in the system, and the division of costs among member countries. About the first point - the extension of the system - reference is made to the "development of an accreditation procedure for the creation of further European Schools at the national level" (Leaton Gray et al., 2015, p. 6). In a certain sense this attempted to show how the type of education promoted in the European Schools can be exported and replicated while taking into account its particularities (Leaton Gray et al. 2015: 29). It also led to a further differentiation of the Schools and their students into the following groups: Category I; Category II; Category III. Considering this expansion and its consequences, Leaton Gray et al. describe, in the second chapter, the current curriculum of the European Schools, the learning principles on which it is based, the shift from a content-based approach to a competence-based one following the EU policy on Key Competences (2006; 2018), the actors involved, and three possible proposals for modification and improvement. After the focus on the curriculum, the third chapter focuses instead on the role of languages in European Schools and highlights "the lack of a European Schools' overarching language policy document (Leaton Gray et al., 2015, p. 52) which sets clear goals and standards of language and content learning in all classrooms. According to Leaton Gray et al., this lack is also a lack of supporting educators in understanding the peculiarities of their work in a bilingual educational context (Leaton Gray et al., 2015, p. 52,). Furthermore, the definition of terms such as culture, multilingual and multicultural – often used in the Ess context – is also missing (Leaton Gray et al., 2015, p. 55), as it is missing an explicit definition of the desired intercultural competencies (Leaton Gray et al., 2015, p. 58). As for the language curricula, greater attention is highlighted to the process of language learning, rather than to content (Leaton Gray et al., 2015, p. 61) and it is highlighted how effective it can be, according to the literature to use critical pedagogy in language classrooms to make language content and learning fundamental to the real understanding of what happens outside the school walls (Leaton Gray et al., 2015, p. 63). Movin on to Chapter four, it addresses the issues of "social selection, sorting and segregation considered in relation to educational practices within the European Schools as well as their relationships with local, national and international neighbours" (Leaton Gray et al.

2015, p. 75). In particular, attention is paid to the fact that the European School System aims to be inclusive, but this can be challenging especially for those with special educational needs, for those who have limited or weak knowledge of the second languages used or even for those who would like to undertake professional schools, thus favouring "inadvertent segregation" (Leaton Gray et al., 2015, p. 84). It is underlined that these schools also differ from traditional international schools because of their peculiar European perspective also in terms of admissions of students, so partially justifying the thesis according to which these Ess can be considered as "company schools" (Leaton Gray et al., 2015, p. 88): indeed, the admission criteria favour certain social, as well as geographical, origins of the students. Due to the aforementioned criteria, the number of non-European students is, in fact, limited; the curriculum itself favours a Eurocentric perspective "at the expense of an international perspective in the truly global sense, and potentially risks promoting what Starkey describes as a form of 'Eurocentric cultural superiority'" (Starkey 2012 in Leaton Gray et al., 2015, p. 88). Another symptom of segregation is the fact that the European Schools seem disconnected from the wider and local community they are part of; the students have no contact with the local reality that surrounds them: they may live in a particular country but have very little or no contact with the people who live there, with those who have a different social background or with other local schools. The thoughts of Stacul et al. are reported (2006), according to whom "the pedagogical laboratory of the European Schools has resulted in exclusive institutions that try to dissolve the boundaries of national cultures at the same times as reinforcing class boundaries. This is because they are not designed to include a mass public" (Stacul et al. in Leaton Gray et al., 2015, p. 90). Leaton Gray et al. also address the topic of citizenship and the forms of citizenship promoted, not based on ideas of belonging and nationalism, but rather on "various forms of social fragmentation within what is mainly the same social group" (Haas 2004 in Leaton Gray et al., 2015, p. 93). Referring to the work of Swan (1996), Leaton Gray et al. also highlight how citizenship is linked to social class and how it can promote the development of an elite (Leaton Gray et al. 2015, p. 93-94). What emerges above all is how complex the concept of identity is for the students of these schools. The topic of identity in the Ess has been addressed also by Nicola Savvides who investigated the theme of European identity and education on a European dimension; in the early 2000s, she pointed out how educating about European identity had become increasingly felt as important and urgent among politicians and policymakers due to the lack of legitimacy and support from European citizens for the European integration process (Savvides 2006a, p. 175). Savvides also states that it is not very clear what is meant with the idea of a European dimension in education – which values are included to in this dimension - even though it seems

to mainly refer to the learning of languages, the understanding of the cultures, the knowledge of other countries' history and geography, the awareness and knowledge of the European values and rights and duties which derive from being EU citizens (Savvides 2006a, p. 175). Furthermore, through the analysis of how the development of a European identity is promoted among students of the European Schools, Savvides also investigates teachers' attitudes towards this European identity dimension and their contribution to its implementation; her analysis reveals different opinions and ways of approaching the matter: some teachers believe that the organization, the environment and the curriculum itself of the European Schools favors the "Europeanisation" of students and the creation of a climate of tolerance, awareness and respect for differences, understanding of the latter (Savvides 2006b, p. 395); however, some other teachers affirm the need to give further attention to an international perspective that sees students as global citizens since they consider the European dimension alone to be a bit narrow (Savvides 2006b, p. 396). Other teachers show some confusion regarding the founding European ideals of the European Schools and underline how the schools are now "ordinary schools" (Savvides 2006b, p. 393). As a matter of fact, Savvides writes:

Teachers do generally believe that the European School experience does encourage pupils to develop a sense of European identity, but they feel that this is attributable more to the fact that they are socialising in school with children of mixed nationalities and languages, rather than to any conscious effort on their part to teach about European topics or run extra-curricular activities of a European nature (Savvides 2006b, p. 402).

Then, analysing the subjects' curricula, Savvides also argues that the following disciplines contribute in a particular way to the development of a European sense of identity: history, geography, languages, economics, art, physical education/sport (Savvides, 2006c, p.120). Savvides also underlines how difficult it is to make a consideration that is valid for the curriculum of the European Schools since, although it is unique for all the Schools, it changes and is structured differently depending on the level of the students and their linguistic section to which they belong (Savvides, 2006c, p.120). Savvides also states that according to the teachers, rather than through the curriculum, it is the very experience of the atmosphere of the European Schools - with the diversity of languages, cultures and group activities that characterizes them - that gives shape to a European dimension, but non-Eurocentric, which is experienced by the pupils (Savvides, 2006c, p.126). Through semi-structured interviews with students from three European Schools aged between sixteen and eighteen, Savvides also investigated how the school environment and community contribute to the creation of a European dimension; how the formal curriculum of the European Schools and teachers'

approaches influence the European dimension; how extra-curricular activities foster this dimension (Savvides, 2008, p. 304-305). From the interviews with the students, it emerges that the fact of being able to interact with classmates of different origins is a fundamental element that allows the development of knowledge and competence and the possibility of learning to live together by developing tolerance, adaptability and open-mindedness (Savvides, 2008, p.324). Some curricular subjects and teachers also seem to contribute to the European dimension, especially teaching carried out through *langues véhiculaires* and language teaching in general. However, it is highlighted that sometimes, according to students, not enough attention is given to their specific country (Savvides, 2008, p.325). Less importance is given to extra-curricular activities which, however, allow students to be together and mix, thus learning about each other. Furthermore, a comparative study between the European School of Culham - now no longer a European School due to Brexit - and a regular English school shows how the environment and curriculum of the European Schools favour the development of a European dimension which does not replace the national one and which is expressed in the students' ability to deal with topics relating to European issues, to question stereotypes, to be tolerant and open towards cultural and linguistic diversity, as well as to communicate in different languages. Among the risks to consider there is that of developing a Eurocentric perspective, while an inclusive European dimension should instead be favoured (Faas, in Savvides 2016, p. 387).

What can be said from the review carried out? The analysis presented attempted to show how the type of identity that these European Schools contribute to creating is actually controversial due to the same educational practices and social assumptions that characterize these Schools. What emerges from previous research is also that the study of the curriculum of ESs and how it has been promoting the dimension of citizenship is not actually new: this topic has been an object of interest since Swan's studies in 1980. However, what I believe has been partially missing and that I am trying to do with this work is to reconstruct the history of the curriculum and of the Citizenship Education arising from it from a prescriptive and socio-constructivist perspective (Goodson, 2005) by looking at the different levels involved; furthermore, I am interested in reconstructing the events and actors that contributed to the formation of the ESs curriculum and citizenship education, not so much to give a judgement on their value, their effectiveness and on their possible replicability as done, for example, among others by Finaldi-Baratieri, but rather to try to insert them within the networks and transits that contributed to their own creation and development. I will try to clarify and better elaborate my intentions: from the literature review conducted it can be affirmed that mother tongue education was of

prime concern together with foreign language teaching and the communal classes of European Hours; moreover, they all seemed to be considered as such since the beginning of the European Schools. However, from where this important role came from in terms of pedagogical influences and circulations seems, in my view, to have been not explicitly addressed and thoroughly explored. Furthermore, the whole system has been criticized, and some of its strong and weak points have been underlined. Considering all of the above, the present work addresses the possibility of looking at the European Schools through a gaze that attempts to grasp the entangled connections and results coming from different influences to detect how they relate and were influenced by different pedagogical traditions and through the interaction with various national school systems, international organizations, and single and collective actors – such as teachers or inspectors – involved with the schools. To do so, I will focus in the next paragrahps on the theoretical ideas that constitute my starting premises in the analysis of my research object, namely citizenship education and the curriculum of the European Schools.

1.2 Citizenship Education: some definitions and practices

The following section will try to outline how Citizenship Education has been defined, the main patterns and evolutions in its developments throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, and how educational research and History of Education research, in particular, has paid attention to them. The aim of this literature review is to clarify where the present work positions itself in relation to Citizenship Education and what it is the horizon of meanings I am referring to when speaking of the latter. I start acknowledging that the concept of Citizenship Education (CE) is multilayered and partially changes according to the perspective it is looked at (Joppke, 2007, Schugurensky 2010). Schugurensky, for example, identifies four main dimensions that intersect to form the concept of citizenship: status that concerns being a formal and recognized member of a community; identity within which feelings of belonging and loyalty fall in; civic virtues include values and behaviors that citizens should recognize as their own and put into practice; agency is ultimately about the ability to act and engage actively as a citizen (Schugurensky, 2010). This conceptualization of citizenship well shows, in my view, the complexity that distinguishes the latter and highlights how the discourse on citizenship cannot be reduced to simplistic categories but rather includes points of view that intertwine and mix. Nevertheless, leaving for a moment these four interwoven dimensions aside and focusing mainly on the values and concepts of identity that could be vehiculated, the discourse on CE could be approached

considering different ideas of citizenship that give shape to CE. As the *Eurydice Report on Citizenship Education at School in Europe* stresses, "the fluidity of Citizenship Education is also associated with the existence of more than one definition and model of citizenship" (Eurydice, 2017, p. 19). A similar opinion is expressed by Tarozzi et al. (2013): drawing on the work by Walzer (1987), the authors underline three different possibilities: the republican model, the liberal one and the moral one[10]. In the republican model, citizenship is conceived as an entanglement of "membership, obligation and virtue" (Tarozzi et al., 2013, p. 209) and transmitting the knowledge of the "shared historical and juridical heritage" (Tarozzi et al., 2013, p. 209) would be the main aim of citizenship education and civic education - with the latter based on the knowledge of constitutional principles and laws of the state (Ib.). The focus on the knowledge and values transmitted is present also in the moral model where citizenship education is related not only to civic values but also to moral and religious beliefs and values (Ibid., p. 212). On the contrary, in the liberal model, citizenship does not only concern being part of a precise group and the sharing of common values and imagery, but it especially underlines the individual dimension of having political, civil and social rights and it is "a principle, a normative function, not a historically given status" (Ibid., p. 211) and so CE should provide pupils with the skills needed "to carry out one's role in the society, by fully exercising one's rights and by empowering capabilities for political participation" (Ibid., p. 211). The distinction between the republican and liberal model of citizenship and CE has been discussed also in the field of the History of Education. In particular, Tröhler, Popkiewitz and Labaree in their work on *Schooling and the Making of Citizens in the Long Nineteenth Century* (2011) get back to Montesquieu's opus *The Spirit of Laws* (1748) on the relationship between the peculiarities and practices of education and different political systems. Drawing on Montesquieu, the authors speak of classic republicanism and modern republicanism as "two different republican languages, competing with each other up to the present day" (Tröhler et al., 2011, p. 8) with the latter that arose in the late 18th century and, primarily known as liberalism, defines "freedom as freedom from interference by the government or other people" (Ibid., 2011, p. 9). In that context citizenship education is based on providing young people with rationally legitimated knowledge – rather than virtues - thanks to which they can follow

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[10] I am aware of the fact that the historical, philosophical and sociological debate on citizenship is much wider and that I am focusing on a not exhaustive angle which does not give enough space to articulated discourses such as the ones on the concept of multicultural citizenship (Kymlicka 1995), or on citizenship as a form of subjectivity (Hodgson, 2016; Simons and Hodgson, 2012) and as a competence (Joris et al. 2021). I am rather focusing on the classic national models of citizenship (Delanty, 1998; Heater, 1999) and post-national one (Soysal, 1994; Keating, 2014) and without questioning the link between citizenship and education (Joris et al. 2021).

their interests. Nonetheless, what emerges is that the creation of a republican government and the construction of the child as a future citizen have been considered the principal processes that since the 18th century made possible and essential the rise of the modern school as the institution we know today, organized on elements and technologies such as teaching, curriculum and learning that were not simply "born from one model or ideal of the citizen but arose from different historical practices" (Tröhler et al. 2011, p. XI). Two considerations can therefore be drawn from here; although quite obvious, I think it is important to reiterate them: the first is the fact that the creation of the modern school as we know it is partly intrinsically linked to the need to educate the citizen and that the different configurations and organizational structures adopted from the 19th century onwards reflect one (or more) ideas of citizenship while teaching and the curriculum can also be read as functional tools for all of this - or to better put it quoting Depaepe "the molding of the minds for docile citizenship by 'school' curricula" was part "of a goal in which the formation of a characther played the dominant role" (Depaepe, 2002, p. 363) so underlining the moral and pedagogical character of education (Ib., p. 361). In my opinion, this consideration recalls what was expressed by Naomi Hodgson who, taking up Marc Depaepe (1998), states that "citizenship education is treated in this discussion as a contemporary example of the educationalization of social problems, following Marc Depaepe's use of the term" (Hodgson, 2008, p. 419) underlining "the turn to educational measures in response to social problems" (Ib.).

The second consideration, which descends from the first, is the fact that - beyond the founding ideals and values - the concrete achievements and different historical practices have contributed to enriching those same ideals and giving shape to the curricula and teaching methods and so to the vast realm of citizenship education. As a result, it seems to me that citizenship education is something that goes beyond the teaching of a single subject and that it is rather realized through different practices and attitudes adopted concerning many aspects relating to the "grammar of schooling" (Tyack, Cuban, 1995), permeating it. Thanks to the analysis of social and educational practices from different countries and experiences, some common threads can be detected, and this has been a peculiarity and one of the aims of many works in the field of the History of Education. Without the possibility and the desire to be completely exhaustive, I indicate below some of the recurring trends identified such as, for example, the transmission of virtues, religious and moral values (Evertsson, 2015) or the role of History since the 19th century. In particular, the creation of collective memory and the sense of civic and social belonging to a specific community through the teaching of history characterizes many national

contexts; due to this, the processes of promoting national identity and the sense of belonging have been reconstructed also through the analysis of the teaching of history, the history manuals used and the figures of the homeland described in them, together with the morals they vehiculated and represented (Ascenzi, 2009; Escolano Benito, 2015; Hirsch, McAndrew, 2014). The use of history teaching to create common and civic memory and a shared symbolic and moral imagery is also underlined, for instance, in the work by Matasci and Donato Di Paola (2018) focusing on the experiences of different countries in the 19th century; the two scholars also pay attention to its link with language teaching since "the learning of a common language and the transmission of a shared heritage are considered as fundamental factors of a sense of national belonging and the creation of the good citizen" (2018, p. 11). In addition to this, the work by Green and Cormack (2011) focusing on Australia at the beginning of the 20th-century underlines how, in Europe and beyond, mother-tongue education played a major role "as a significant cultural technology in the formation of subjectivity and the production of a distinctive national imaginary" (2011, pp. 1-2) and so of a civic identity. Interesting insights on the topic come then from research characterized by approaches belonging not only to the perspective of the historical evolution of school disciplines (Chervel 1988) but also of the material culture of school and school practices (Grosvenor, Lawn, Rousmaniere, 1999; Escolano Benito, 2007): together with the aforementioned studies on history textbooks, other studies focused on the image of citizenship and identity vehiculated through children's literature (Rosário Longo Mortatti, 2015; Tison 2015; Andreassi, 2015); through school manuals for reading or of subjects such as geography (Tornafoch, Opisso, 2015; Toro, 2015; Caramelea, 2015); through architecture (Salnikova, Khamitova, 2015); through visual tools such as drawings (Viola, 2015) or wallcharts (Uphoff, 2015) used to promote the construction of a national identity "based on children gaining a sense of intimacy with nature" (Uphoff, 2015, p. 132) and experiencing "attachment to one's native soil" (Ibid., p. 133; cf. Targhetta, 2015; Sani, 2017). Nature is also the visual background and environment that surrounds a study by Thyssen (2015) on the creation of common identities in some open-air schools in Belgium and Luxembourg from 1913 to 1963 investigated through the approach of "the histoire croisée" (Werner, Zimmermann 2003). The results on the role and the grammar of schooling of these schools in the shaping of a shared community coherent in terms of national identity and citizenship would suggest that the latter is extremely complex since it is charachterized by various trajectories of enculturation, social stratification and religious elements coming from both a local and an international dimension intertwining together (Thyssen, 2015, p. 320). This research also indicates different types of practices, some of which revolved around the

relationship of the children with their health, hygiene and meals. Addressing these issues constituted an opportunity "for teachers to instil order and discipline in children while putting them under close surveillance" (Thyssen, 2015, p. 311) and, at the same time, it conveyed "an ideal and cultural standard thought to be attainable and worthy of emulation also in the humblest of working-class families" (Ibid.) and that had, therefore, a role in shaping the idea of correct social behaviour to be followed[11]. This stresses how educating the future citizen was not just about recognizing the fact of being part of a community and sharing symbolic and moral imagery; it was also about embodying values and behaviours that were not only ethical and patriotic but also related to more practical issues, such as food and nutrition could be. Speaking of 'correct' behaviours, reference is made also to the practices of praising the 'correct' ones by giving prizes and holding prize-giving ceremonies, a practice common at least until the 1960s; postcards, books and coronets were rewards received "for religion, standard civilized Dutch, good behaviour, and overall performance" (Thyssen, 2015, p. 316). The reinforcement of national identity through prize-giving ceremonies is described also, for example, by D'Ascenzo with reference to the 19th and 20th century Italy. Combining top-down and bottom-up perspectives, the analysis of the speeches given during the ceremonies conveyed the values of the homeland and the necessity of making Italians; in these speeches, space is also given to episodes of the local realities "marking the persistence of the micro-homeland within the great Italian homeland" (D'Ascenzo, 2015, p. 463).

What can be said of all these studies and practices seen until now is that, even though they do not represent an extensive sample, they, however, give valuable information, namely the fact that these practices changed according to space and time, and yet their main narration seems to fall within a primarily national dimension and heritage, without denying the presence, sometimes, of micro and local histories. The consolidation of a national dimension through different tools is consequently very present. Taking this into account, it could be interesting to turn towards the field of policy studies (Keating 2009) according to which, it was only after the Second World War that, especially in Europe, discourses on the need to "achieve a greater unity" (Coe, 1954), to favour "international co-operation and the safeguarding and development of our common heritage" (Coe 1961, p. 4) after the divisions and destruction of the war became more prominent contributing to give birth to what has been then defined – in policy studies - post national model of citizenship (Soysal, 1994). The concept of post-national citizenship goes

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[11] I would like to point out that the connection between Nation-building processes and the teaching of hygiene and health practices at school are also present in other contexts and periods such as post-unified Italy of the late 19th century, just to mention one (Gianfrancesco, 2019).

beyond the idea of being "exclusively defined by the nation-state" (Delanty 2000 in Keating 2009); on the contrary, while national ideals and beliefs are still present, it relies also on the promotion of rights considered "universalistic, uniform, abstract and defined at global level" (Keating 2009, p. 137). Looking at the curriculum, this implies - according to Keating – the fact that the values taught are no longer only the ones constitutive of the national culture, but space is given to more universal values such as "accepting personal responsibility, recognizing the importance of civic commitment, respect for diversity, respect for cultural heritage and the environment, promoting solidarity and equity" (Keating 2009, p. 138)[12]. Even though this change in the discourse on civic education began to take shape concretely in terms of policies after World War II when citizenship education had to foster reconciliation between the member states (Cajani 2003 in Keating 2009; Keating 2014), international scholarship in the field of History of Education suggests that the seeds of such discourses go back to previous times and that it can be connected to the themes of active pedagogies and peace education. For instance, Andreasen and Ydesen (2015) investigate how, during the interwar and post-war periods, cooperation within different international networks and organizations – with the League of Nations in the first place[13] - contributed to the diffusion of the idea that education together with social welfare for children would have guaranteed peace. In their work, the authors demonstrate how knowledge and practices from international organizations were transferred thanks to transnational circulation and were received in some experimental Danish schools through conferences and initiatives promoting peace education such as courses for teachers or the revision of textbooks (Andreasen and Ydesen, 2015, p. 8). Moreover, the authors established a link between the education for peace and progressive education inspired by Herbart, Froebel, Montessori, Dewey and Decroly, to mention a few (Ibid. pp. 13-14). This is testified, for instance, by the report of a school teacher that recollected a Danish language lesson held in one of the experimental school set up in 1948 and where the greatest pedagogic values were considered the ones capable of encouraging cooperation "and thus a democratic attitude" (Poulsen 1963 in Andreasen and Ydesen, 2015, p. 16) that could concretely materialize since students were "taught to listen to other people's opinions, learn something about themselves in the social interaction, and get an opportunity to advance opinions and ideas, giving everybody

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[12] The aforementioned words by Keating (2009) are based on the works by Soysal (1994), Rauner (1998) and Heater (1999).
[13] The international organizations mentioned by Andreasen and Ydesen are the following, aside for the League of Nations: The International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC), the New Education Fellowship (NEF) and the UNESCO - United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization – after 1946 (Andreasen, Ydesen, 2015, p. 4).

the possibility to contribute to the common cause" (Ibid.). What emerges from this study based on the analysis of transnational transfers is the profound connection between education for peace, diversity and tolerance with the spread of active pedagogy[14] which places the child, his interests and interactions at the centre. Something similar can be deduced in the research carried out on the sociogenesis of educational internationalism and specifically on the work of the International Bureau of Education established in Geneva in 1925 to build peace through science and education (Hofstetter and Schneuwly, 2013; Hofstetter and Érhise, 2021; Batista Loureiro, Martins Assis, 2018). Analyzing its origins and the thought of its founders, Hofstetter observes how, already in the years 1921-1922, a series of initiatives were held contributing to the spreading of ideas based on the necessity of "teaching of history and the international spirit to overcome some nationalist contents that could contribute to create the warlike spirit that was instead wanted to be fought for the benefit of global citizenship" (Hofstetter et al., 2021, p. 57). Hofstetter, taking up previous works on Ferrière (Hameline, 2002 in Hofstetter et al. 2021), points out how in the latter the concepts of global citizenship and cosmopolitanism were well present and connected as instruments for overcoming nationalisms and in favour of global belonging which, however, did not exclude positions that could be considered national (Hofstetter et al., 2021, p. 69). Regarding the work of the IBE in promoting peace, it is then highlighted the importance given to the methods and principles of the New Education (Hofstetter, Schneuwly, 2013) with the necessity to start from the children to promote their development (Ibid.) and the use of language-related educational practices such as the teaching of foreign languages, interschool correspondences and promotion of children's literature to foster international understanding and cooperation (Schneuwly et al., 2021).

Taking all of this into account, what are the main points I have tried to raise here? Looking at the four analytical dimensions of citizenship identified by Schugurensky (2010) and thinking about the different practices recalled so far, rather than a linear and clear evolution of the concept of citizenship education, what emerges is an expansion of themes and methods pertaining to the four areas and contributing to defining CE. For instance, if we look at the areas of values and identity, since the 19th century, we find, as we have seen, the centrality of patriotic and moral feelings nourished by the example of relevant historical figures, by the love and knowledge of nature, by the ability to master the same national language; these feelings were vehiculated through textbooks, children's literature, images, prizes. As for the agency dimension, indications can be found regarding the respectful, disciplined and cultivated

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[14] In this specific case mentioned by Andreasen and Ydesen, reference is made to the influence of Abbotsholme by Cecil Reddie and Dewey's Laboratory School (Andreasen and Ydesen, 2015, p. 16).

behaviour to be maintained through obedience, award ceremonies and respect for rules, including hygiene. The most notable change began to appear at the beginning of the 20th century and became more present above all in the Interwar period and after the Second World War, albeit in a discontinuous and unclear manner; it is represented by the expansion of values comprising not only national ones but also ideas of peace, tolerance and mutual respect. In my view, this change in attitude can be linked to the transformation of the notion of democracy that Tröhler traces back to Dewey and American pragmatism, when democracy started to be no longer conceived only "as a state-procedural order but as a social idea of interaction and communication" (Tröhler 2011, p. 175). In my opinion, this began to have repercussions also on the dimension of citizenship as agency and the type of education that should favour it: an education centred on the features and psychology of children, on the surrounding environment, on the "reciprocity of social relations" (Addams in Tröhler, 2011, p.). Neverthless, these changes are not clear-cut and visible in all contexts due to their peculiarities and because identity and citizenship formation "fall short of grasping the complexity of the entwined paths along which they were conceived and functioned" (Thyssen, 2015, p. 320). Consequently, in the attempt to understand the image of Citizenship Education vehiculated in a specific context, it must not be forgotten to "remain alert to the historical interplay of competing tendencies" (Williams in Sigh et al., 2005): looking at the various traditions and actors involved, together with the intertwined stories unfolding from them, might contribute in gaining a deeper perspective. This is something that the present work tries not to forget and the next two paragraphs aim to illustrate the dimensions and subjects to which I have attempted to pay attention.

1.3 Curriculum Theory

In the research work that will follow, I have been focusing on the curriculum of the European Schools in the attempt to figure out how citizenship education practices and the curriculum were intertwined and organized, which influences can be traced among them and how they arose together since, as Depaepe well pointed out, school curricula played a vital role in the molding of future citizens' minds (Depapepe, 2002) and, as Tröhler et al. also stressed, the modern school, the school as we know it today, is organized on elements and technologies such as teaching, curriculum and learning that were not simply "born from one model or ideal of the citizen but arose from different historical practices" (Tröhler et al. 2011, p. XI). Consequently, I believe that interesting conclusions can be drawn on the intersection between the 'making' of citizenship education and the functioning of this specific school system which in its own way

contributed to creating a certain vision of citizenship. For this reason, I tried to explain how the 'organizational' and 'pedagogical' aspects of the European Schools can be reconstructed through looking at the curriculum. But before going straightly to the analysis, a preliminary step is necessary in my view. I am talking about the necessity to clarify the idea of curriculum and the theories on it which I considered as my theoretical framework and point of reference.

My starting point in the "construction" of a definition of curriculum to be used was Ines Dussel's study on how curriculum from different countries organize and classify school knowledge (Dussel, 2020, p. 671). Building on "a political epistemology of school knowledge derived from histories of curriculum […], and post-Foucauldian and materialist histories of science and knowledge" (Dussel, 2020, p. 667), Dussel took documents as her main corpus in the research, and she justified this decision by considering "curriculum texts as public documents that seek to regulate teaching and learning practices in schools" (Ib., p. 671). There is indeed, in the curriculum, an administrative dimension that Dussel recognizes, and which is directed at the public discourse through addressing the inner work and functioning of school (Westbury et al. in Dussel, 2020, p. 672). Consequently, I started from the idea of the curriculum as public documents that regulate teaching and learning practices in schools and focused firstly on their textual dimension to search out concepts that could be traced back to the field of citizenship education and its main dimensions (Schugurensky, 2010). I also let myself free to be surprised by whatever else would have come to the surface. In considering this textual dimension, I tried to keep in mind the concept of intertextuality expressed by Wodak about the Critical Discourse Analysis, according to which "texts are linked to other texts, both in the past and in the present" (Wodak 2015, p. 5) and discourse is not a closed unit, but "a dynamic semiotic entity that is open to reinterpretation and continuation" (Wodak, 2015, p. 5). This intertextual feature, in my opinion, goes beyond the textual nature of the curriculum as a public document and reveals itself to be functional in understanding the other dimensions that are parts of the curriculum. By talking of the multiple dimensions that connotate curriculum, I am again making references to Dussel's work, according to which the curriculum as a document should also be approached "as a material artefact that is produced by various agents and circulates across the educational system, and whose format, wording, and visual and material qualities produce effects on its readers and users" (Nespor, 2002 in Dussel 2020, p. 672). I would, therefore, say that there are different dimensions and discourses within the 'curriculum' as an extended object and that they can be traced back to a variety of actors, or at least one can attempt to do so. Indeed, drawing from previous research, Dussel suggests to see these texts also "as part of institutional networks

that connect organizations, agents (i.e. teachers' organizations and disciplinary bodies), and pedagogical traditions in ways that vary greatly" (Dussel, 2020, p. 672). Following the suggestions she made, I tried to deploy all these dimensions in my work by not considering curricular texts in isolation from the conditions in which they are inscribed (Dussel, 2020) and considering them as documents and texts; material artefacts part of a network; administrative tools that regulates the functioning of schooling. The role of curriculum in the fuctioning of schooling has been underlined also by Daniel Tröhler who defines curriculum "as an ordering principal of schooling" (Tröhler, 2019, p. 525). Together with this executive dimension, two other aspects of curriculum are considered by Tröhler. Firstly, - while recostructing Curriculum History and focusing specifically on the years 1920-1930s in the US - he noticed how "the curriculum was understood as a core public educational or instructional means to foster national integration and to reinforce U.S. citizenship in ages of change and uncertainty" (Tröhler, 2019, p. 525). But, at the end of the 1970, Tröhler pointed out a change in the concept of curriculum mainly due to what he calls, referring to Pinar, a "quest to understand [...] directed toward an analysis of curriculum as cultural construction that includes particular visions of the (ideal) child, the (ideal) social order, and the (ideal) citizens" (Tröhler, 2019, p. 525). The cultural dimension of the curriculum is considered in Tröhler's work binded, in his view, with the actual formal basis of curricula (or at least of curriculum making), namely, the school laws. In turn, school laws derive from the constitution. According to Tröhler constitutions "define the citizens" (Tröhler, 2019, p. 528) and then school laws and curricula implement this vision and, from a cultural point of view, constitutions, school laws and curricula convey this cultural construction of the citizen and of the idea of social order (Ib., 2019, p. 527). Tröhler particularly insists on this relationship between constitution(s), school laws and culture, also underlining how the constitutional dimension is the foundational one: by stressing this concept, he also points out that

"constitutions" not only differ in their material aspects (distribution of more or fewer rights, defining the modes of interaction) but also in their formal aspects (location in the overall legal system). They create different kinds of citizens, which makes it impossible to construct one global narrative of curriculum, even if the curricula seem to become similar when we look at the formal existence (or disappearance) of school subjects. A French citoyen is not identical to a U.S. citizen; a U.S. citizen is not identical to a British citizen; a British citizen is not identical to a German Bürger; and a German Bürger is not identical to a Swiss Bürger—despite the fact that France, the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, and Switzerland are all constitutional democracies and that any dictionary would translate citoyen as citizen or Bürger (Ib., p. 528).

According to the author, the aforementioned opinion on the intrinsic differences within constitutions leads to a far-reaching consequence, namely the fact that

International curriculum history that looks at transnational flows needs to define the notion of the citizen first as a floating signifier that is materialized in the different cultural systems of reasoning and therefore in the different curricula in very different ways, expressing unfailingly the respective dominant views of social order and citizenship, which are also reflected in the constitutions (Ibidem).

I believe it was important to mention this part because, at first glance, it seems to be at odds with how I intend to proceed in this work in my analysis of citizenship in the curriculum of the European schools. As a matter of fact, Tröhler suggests - to those who want to trace an international curricular history based on and reconstructed through different transnational flows - to first define the notion of citizen that emerges from different cultural systems and, therefore, in diverse curricula. In this work, I took this consideration into account, but, in the end, I ended up looking at the composite image of citizenship that emerges from the curriculum of European schools, a curriculum that is also transnational and is the result of the mediated combination of other national experiences, as we will see better in the next chapters: consequently, the image of citizenship and curricula I am looking at does not emerge from the analysis of the starting contexts, but through a gaze focused only at the arrival context, a particularly complex one.

However, despite having proceeded differently from what Tröhler indicated, I tried to keep in mind all of three dimensions he underlines: legal, cultural and executive. At the same time, I tried to not underestimate the fact that in the case of these schools there is not a really a constitution to consider as the expression of the normative base of citizenship[15], while this normally happens - according to Tröhler - in the case of national states (Tröhler, 2019, p. 529).

However, I tried to consider the legal, cultural and executive dimensions of the curriculum (Tröhler 2019), together with their regulating nature expressed by Dussel (2020); moreover, I wonder if Popkewitz's idea of curriculum and approach – mentioned by both Dussel and Tröhler - can be also adopted. Firstly, I asked myself if I have been simply doing what Popkewitz would define a traditional curriculum history

that tends to examine, for example, what the schools teach, its organisation of teachers and pupils, the role of students, and how changes in schools contribute to democracy through the structuring of social equality/inequalities (Popkewitz, 2011, p. 1).

In this approach, chronological sequences are used so to understand the links and the relationships between structures and events and better delineate "the emergence of successions that form the history of schools" (Popkewitz, 2011, p. 2). According to Popkewitz, an alternative approach can be adopted to curriculum history by considering the curriculum itself as a "history of the present" which has the role to "to suspend history itself" and examine "the

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[15] Article 4 of the Maastricht Treaty (1992) officially established European citizenship (Capperucci, 2013; Hodgson, 2016) even though there is not European Constitution to "sustain" it.

system of reason that orders and classifies what can is seen, talked about and acted on in schooling" (Popkewitz, 2011, p. 2). In the Online etymology dictionary the word reason is said to come from Latin *rationem* which means "reckoning, understanding, motive, cause" and the Late Latin verb *rationare* - to whom it is connected - means to "to discourse, to reckon, to think" (Etymonline[16]). So, I believe it can be said that Popkewitz considered the curriculum as the system through which certain concepts and values are conceived and thought and he wanted to pay attention to the processes - historical ones - through which these principles were "assembled, connected and disconnected" (Popkewitz, 2011, p. 2). In this way, "the history of the present is a strategy to excavate the multiple historical practices that come together to give intelligibility to what is 'seen' and acted on as the object of schooling" (Popkewitz, 2011, p. 2). He described a grid of practices through which the curriculum formed in America: for instance, the idea of curriculum as "converting ordinance" transmitting ideas of "national belonging and salvation themes of the education sciences related to pedagogy" (Popkewitz, 2011, p. 3) and also on the Social Question "which gave focus to the planning that was to respond to the economic, social and moral disorder of the city" (Popkewitz, 2011, p. 3). To understand the "converting ordinances" constituting the curriculum, he looked at moral and civic virtues vehiculated, which idea of the nation - a narrative that was constructed on the idea of its "uniqueness told through its scientific and technological advances" (Ib., 2011, p. 5). He used the notion of 'grid', as

a methodological strategy to explore different historical trajectories that travelled and came together in the nineteenth century to generate principles on what is seen, thought and acted on in schooling (Popkewitz, 2011, p. 17).

Considering this, I am not sure I have managed to create and use such a similar grid, yet I tried to pay attention to the different trajectories I had the impression to be able to retrace.

While 'thinking with' Dussel, Trohler and Popkewitz and considering how their ideas on curriculum can be used in the case of the ESs, I also would like to say few words on the work of Ivor Goodson on Curriculum study and history, and his social-constructivist perspective: his work can be considered an antecedent of the ones carried out by Dussel, Trohler and Popkiewitz aforementioned; I believe some considerations on it can be made, considerations that would be useful for my own research. As a starting point, Goodson underlines the fact that curriculum has a prescriptive nature, and at the same time is a "social construction", not something "timeless given" (Goodson, 2005, p. 69). He tried to reconceptualise the mode of curriculum

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study "to connect specific acts of social construction to wider social impulses"(Goodson, 2005, p. 70). In his attempt to reconceptualise how to approach the curriculum, Goodson also suggests to pay attention to the teachers due to the intimate interlinking of "the material interests of teachers – their pay, promotion and conditions - with the fate of their specialist subjects" (Goodson, 2005, p. 79). In addition to that, focusing on the teachers would help in understanding the negotiations on the curriculum at macro and micro level (Goodson, 2005, p. 82). Moving away from the single focus of curriculum as a prescription and embracing the notion of "curriculum as social construction firstly at the level of prescription itself, but also at the levels of process and practice" (Goodson, 2005, p. 104), Goodson underlines three interdependent and possible dimensions of analysis:

● The individual: the life history and career of the single actors involved.
● The group or collective: the professions, categories, subjects, and disciplines, for instance, and how they evolved rather as social movements over time. Likewise, schools and classrooms develop patterns of stability and change.
● The relational: the various permutations of relations between individuals, between groups and collectivities and between individuals, groups and collectivities; and the way these relations change over time (Goodson, 2005, p. 141).

Through the review of part of the scientific literature on the curriculum, I wanted to recall its different dimensions underlined because, in this work, although focusing mainly on the prescriptive level, I would still like to give space to all of them to try - even if only minimally - not to look only at "the content of education as it is defined in books, curriculum and syllabi" (Finkelstein, 1983, p. 194), and not commit the mistake of exploring "education out of context - detached from daily reality, from the networks of human interaction that are represented in schools, from the cultural or ethnic contexts within which ideas derive meaning and significance" (Ibidem). So, I recalled the theories on the curriculum because the analysis carried out wanted to be mostly textual, in search of connections and having as its focus the curriculum in a broad sense, not only as a legal document but as an object that is constructed and shaped on and by multiple dimensions: prescriptive, cultural, socio-constructivist. The desired result would involve the ability to look at the different trajectories and threads which could help, in my opinion, in delineating the diverse dimensions of citizenship education - understood in terms of values, identity, status and agency (Schugurensky 2010) - and of the curriculum, as well as the intertwined relationships and influences that intersect in them and that contribute to creating them.

1.4 The Transnational in the History of Education

Before moving on to the next section on the analysis of the sources and after having attempted to define the theoretical background of reference in relation to both the concepts of citizenship education and curriculum, I would like to briefly ponder carefully about the perspective from which I chose to look at the sources and that I tried to assume as my privileged point of observation: the transnational perspective. Drawing on previous literature I would like to give an outline of what the transnational perspective is and how it has been used in the field of the history of education (Caruso, 2008; Sobe, 2013; Matasci, 2015; Roldan Vera & Fuchs, 2019; Rogers in Roldan Vera & Fuchs, 2019, p. 13; Mayer, 2019, p. 52;); moreover, I would like to reflect on how it fitted my research[17]. With reference to the former consideration, in my opinion, it is important to remind the recent work by Roldan Vera and Fuchs (2019) which examined how the category of the transnational emerged and evolved, how it impacted the methods of doing and addressing research, and finally the advantages of using a category that could give the benefit "of research that goes beyond a specific locality or nation-state as a unit of analysis" (Roldan Vera, Fuchs, 2019, p. 1). Due to the difficulties encountered in delimiting the object of my research, an object characterized by a deeply international nature and yet expressed through and concentrated in many specific localities, and since the different national trajectories seemed, sometimes, to be intricate in the reality of the European Schools, I decided to fix my gaze on the transnational approach. I also decided to select this type of perspective because, in my view, the case of the European School – the object of study they represent – shares with what is known as the transnational history of education the fact of being risen from the convergence of discourses on internationalism and "international education and the transnational research project in the historical sciences" (Roldan Vera, Fuchs, 2019, p. 3). Drawing on previous research (Matasci, 2015; Roldan Vera, Fuchs, 2019), I will delineate briefly what this implies for the transnational history of education. In particular, with reference to the international dimension, Roldan Vera and Fuchs distinguish how, although the focus on "the international" is well present, transnational history is distinct from "international history":

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[17] This work of reflection that insinuates itself in the midst of the discussion of the theoretical framework may seem disorganised and the result of a lack of experience with the subject matter; yet, in my opinion, it seems to be a work that is greatly needed to bridge what has also been emphasised at the theoretical level, namely that reflexivity deficit of historical research mentioned by Werner and Zimmermann (2006) cited by Noah Sobe (2013); moreover, I believe it represents an indispensable action since, as Mayer recalls with regard to *histoire croisée*, "reflexivity thus becomes a major question of the analysis" (Mayer in Fuchs and Vera, p. 58) as at a certain level, the study itself is seen "as a form of intercrossing based on the assumption that factors within the person of the researcher (such as the observer position, traditions of the discipline and academic culture) guide their perspective on the objects studied" (Mayer, in Roldan Vera & Fuchs, 2019, p. 58).

the latter tends to be studied in the context of the history of diplomatic institutions with a focus on states or other institutional actors (Ib., 2019, p. 11); transnational history, on the other hand, focuses on networks, entanglements, on intersecting dimensions:

"Transnational history," while it also refers to a history that crosses boundaries and considers state and non-state actors (as opposed to "international history," which is based on state or institutionalized stakeholders), is spatially more restricted: It does not deconstruct the nation—it presupposes its existence, and it studies its development as a global phenomenon—but it contextualizes it in a set of translational relations, entanglements, and dependencies. (Ibidem, 2019, p. 11)

Furthermore, looking at the international dimension in education, the two authors emphasize how the latter appeared at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th with the idea that a "universal education in the spirit of peace and harmony among the peoples of the world" (Ibid., p. 6) could be realized, mainly through the action of international bodies such as the League of Nations aimed at fostering the growth of a cosmopolitan attitude dedicated to the promotion of peace; in this way, in addition to actions aimed at favoring this type of education, research was also born to study such actions, thus giving rise to the field of comparative and international education (Roldan Vera, Fuchs, 2019, p. 8).

I had the impression that the European Schools's mission seemed to perfectly agree with this view and fit in this scenario and ideas on education, peace, and cosmopolitanism that reflect themselves also on the idea of citizenship. Consequently, I started to become interested in understanding if and how the European Schools could be collocated with this "world view" and ideas on education and international education; moreover, I begun considering the possibility of using the transnational research approach to my object of study. But how has the transnational approach in History of Education been used and studied? The purpose of this paragraph is not to comprehensively reconstruct the horizon of studies that have contributed to the so-called global or transnational turn of historical research[18]. However, it seems necessary to me to provide some coordinates that may allow us to identify where the present research on the European Schools intends to place itself within the transnational approach.

Synthesising and echoing Thomas Bender (2006), Matasci recalls that the transnational approach led to a reconsideration of "the territorial space of the nation" (Bender in Matasci, 2015, p. 9) in an attempt "to include and emphasize the interactions, connections and circulations between countries and regions of the world" (Saunier 2007, in Matasci, 2015, p.

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[18] The global and the transnational turn are inescapably referred to together in the case of the reflections and literature reviews conducted on the topic by Caruso 2008 (World System, etc.) and Matasci 2015; whereas, in the case of Roldan Vera and Fuchs (2019), the authors distinguish - albeit very briefly - the global turn from the transnational turn and then focus exclusively on the latter.

9). According to Matasci, this historiographical change in historiographical scale fits well into a traditionally strong analytical framework in the field of educational studies due to, in particular, comparative education which, since its origins, has paid attention to the international dimension and contributed to the circulation of ideas and debates (Matasci, 2015, p. 11). As Roldan Vera and Fuchs (2019) will do, Matasci also examines "some of the methodological and theoretical propositions that are most suited to the analysis of education as a phenomenon at the centre of global dynamics" (Matasci, 2015, p. 10) with a specific reference to the notions of internationality and internationalization: drawing on Jurgen Schriewer's work, the former refers – according to Matasci – to the semantic process of creation of perspectives and worldviews of external references in response to needs within a determined national or cultural space (Matasci, 2015, p. 10). The latter is instead associated with "a dynamic process, the manifestations and effects of the intensification of global relations of interaction and exchange" (Matasci, 2015, p. 11). Speaking of internationalism, Matasci underlines that a prime focus has been given on the role of international organisations in the spread of the mass schooling model initially promoted by the consolidation of nation-states. However, many are the interdisciplinary theoretical frameworks and methodological proposals referred to in the debate on the global and transnational and within them he identifies the following three axes as the most promising as:

the terrain of pedagogical internationalism on the circulation of knowledge or the history of pedagogical doctrines[19] (Ib., p. 12); the study of the reception of foreign pedagogical thought and practice in a given national space[20] (p. 13); the third terrain - for Matasci the least explored - investigates "the spatial dimension of educational globalisation [...], how connections, links and the very consciousness of a global world are crystallised" (Matasci, 2015, p. 13) with multiple possible approaches such as the analysis of educational policies in a colonial and post-colonial context and the role of international organisations[21] also in so-called peripheral countries (Matasci, 2015, p.14).

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[19] It may concern the "analysis of international networks of contacts and exchanges between the various societies and associations active in the field of educational reform, sections of universal exhibitions", or the interest in pedagogical journals. In this area, it is noticeable how, especially from the First World War onwards, the role of international organisations as regulating entities in educational policy became increasingly present and decisive (Matasci, 2015, p. 13).
[20] In this field, the studies on educational loans and transfers by David Phillips, Kimberly Ochs and Gita Steiner-Khamsi in Matasci 2015, p. 13.
[21] In this context, he cites the works by Kott S. (ed.), Une autre approche de la globalisation: socio-histoire des organisations internationales (1900 – 1940), in "Critique internationale", 52, 2011; o Hofstetter R., Schneuwly B. (2013), The International Bureau of Education (1925-1968): a Platform for Designing a 'Chart of World Aspirations for Education', in European Educational Research Journal, vol. 12, 2, pp. 215-230; Giuntella M.C.

As already said at the beginning of this paragraph - like Matasci - Roldan Vera and Fuchs also highlight how the transnational turn in the history of education is the result of a historiographical change that occurred in other fields of social sciences, a change welcomed because it was able to intercept the interest that educational studies - and in particular comparative education - had about the international dimension, as well as the connection of the latter with an idea of education aimed at promoting peace. They point out that the transnational history derived from a context that was going beyond the nation-state due to processes of economic and political integration characterized by supranational entanglements: in this way, it was necessary to build the objects of study differently, going beyond national discourses. As they point out, transnational history "does not deconstruct the nation—it presupposes its existence, and it studies its development as a global phenomenon—but it contextualizes it in a set of translational relations, entanglements, and dependencies" (Roldan Vera and Fuchs, 2019, p. 11). Drawing on the work by Werner and Zimmermann (2003), they describe how in the past years it has become common not only to focus on "supranational multidirectional flows, but also reflects on and makes explicit the (entangled) conditions in which historians construct their transnational objects of research" (Ibidem, p. 12) giving space to what has been called entagled history or *histoire croisée.* Like Matasci before, Fuchs and Roldan Vera also identify some areas and research topics in which the transnational perspective has been and is being used such as the focus on the international interactions and networks of educators (Ib., p. 14); on the colonial and imperial histories of education (Ib., p. 15); the international formation of educational science (Ib., p. 16); the institutional history with an emphasis on the internationalization of school models and curricula (Ib., p. 17); the diffusion of pedagogical knowledge giving significance to the "processes of translation, appropriation and adaptation of pedagogical knowledge in a range of local contexts" (Ib., pp. 17-18); gender studies emphasizing transnational relationships (Ib., p. 18); textbook research "on the transnational character and circulation of textbook production and distribution" (Ib., p. 19).

Considering all the above reflections, while looking at the curriculum of the European Schools and on the image of Citizenship Education, I will focus also on an analysis that considers the international networks, contacts and exchanges. At first glance this could give the impression of further complicating the research object without addressing it with clear and limited questions; however, I am convinced that looking at the "transnational" in historical educational research not as a methodological technique but "rather a vantage point, a perspective, or a

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(2001), Cooperazione intellettuale ed educazione alla pace nell'Europa della Società delle Nazioni, Padova, Cedam.

'posture'" (Rogers, in Roldan Vera and Fuchs, 2019, p. 13), the concepts and analytical categories employed in that 'posture' can be "observed and de-naturalized," pointing out the ways in which they guide and enhance research and, in this way, displaying the many layers of meaning carried by different concepts and discourses (cfr. Ibidem) – in the case of the present study the discourses on citizenship education and the curriculum.

Chapter 2 - The European Schools: their entangled history and "circulation" in and outside Europe from their origins to the early '70s

After having illustrated the theoretical premises and the research questions from which I started, I will now focus on the analysis of the documents and sources that allow me to elaborate answers and observations. In this chapter, in particular, I will not immediately look at the documents that constitute the prescriptive, legislative and cultural dimensions of the curriculum of the European Schools and the image of citizenship education found in it, but I will rather try to look at the curriculum and to the European Schools as "material artefacts" (Dussel, 2020) which were created thanks to exchanges and interactions. I would say that a question might come naturally at this point: in which broader panorama can the European Schools be placed, and with which realities were there exchanges in the first years? In which places was the European Schools experiment narrated, and what might these stories tell us on ES' Citizenship Education and curriculum? In this way, I would like to retrace the history of the first years of the European Schools, a story which - as seen in the first chapter - has been told several times. What can be added to it, then? I intend to underline the possible connections with other contexts to better position the European Schools within those networks that were becoming increasingly constitutive of educational realities and, in particular, of the European space since, as Grek and Lawn remind us, "the governance of the European education policy space appears to be increasingly 'produced' through building relationships between actors in networks and communities, which are themselves no longer contained within the silos and discourses of the national" (Grek & Lawn, 2012, p. 9). In this specific chapter, I will then tell, once again, the story of the first years of the European Schools starting from that small community of ECSC officials who met in Luxembourg in 1953 to go further and see with which other realities there were contacts and what can be hypothesized from them. In the present chapter and following paragraphs, I will reconstruct the early history of the European Schools on the basis of the following three documents:

1. The European Schools. A paper presented to the International "Pax Christi" Congress 1960 by Albert van Houtte of the Board of Governors of the European Schools. Geneva, 28-29-30 October 1960. An almost identical version of this document was published in the *European Community Information Service, on March, 2nd 1961[22]*. Since their content is practically the same and due to the interest towards the Pax Christ Congress

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[22] Available here https://aei.pitt.edu/53874/ (last consultation 03/12/2023).

on the basis of considerations that could be drawn on it and that will be discussed in this chapter, I decided to focus on the 1960 version.

2. The paper "An Experiment in Inter-Cultural Education: The European Schools" presented by Albert Van Houtte during the Ninth National Conference U.S. National Commission for UNESCO, Chicago - 23/26th October 1963

3. The Note on Creation of a Primary and Secondary International School in Washington D.C. presented by Albert Van Houtte during the Ninth National Conference U.S. National Commission for UNESCO, Chicago - 23/26th October 1963.

As already said, the reconstruction of the history of the European Schools through the analysis of these documents is not a groundbreaking result: the 1961 paper is, for instance, mentioned by Shore and Finaldi-Baratieri (2005) and Harry Van Lingen (2012). In my view, the focus on the content remains necessary to allow the reader to understand what the European Schools were and how they came to be created. However, I also believe that it is necessary to pay attention to the places where these discourses were delivered and who were the actors involved: this is what I will try to do after the first analysis of the content in the hope to be able to look at the entangled history of European Schools in the broader contexts of relations that surrounded their origins and development.

2.1 Albert Van Houtte and the 1960/1961 papers

In the literature and documents about and produced by the European Schools, the name of Albert Van Houtte is a recurring one: for instance, it can be found in the Celebratory Brochure Schola Europea(1963; 1993); it is mentioned by Shore and Finaldi-Baratieri in their work (2005), in the research conducted by Swan (Scola 1996), in the historical reconstruction made by Van Lingen (2012). In a letter addressed to him by the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs in December 1962 and published in the celebratory brochure Schola Europea Luxemburgensis, 1953-1963, he is described as the "*Presidente dei Consigli d'Amministrazione delle Scuole europee*" (BC Schola Europea, 1963, pp. 15; 38). He was indicated also as a *greffier* (clerk) of the The European Court of Justice[23] and member of the Upper Council of the European School, the Board of Governors (9th National Conference US – Unesco, 1963, p. 190 pdf). Van Houtte

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[23] In this document by Van Houtte, he is presented as Registrar at the Court of Justice from 1953 to 1982 (available here https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/albert_van_houtte_memories_of_the_court_of_justice_1953_1982-en-4e6dc507-7f4a-4a8f-9511-28b62088df68.html
Last consultation on 03/12/2023).

was the first "Registrar of the European Court of Justice, the first President of the Parents'Association of the European School Luxembourg and the first Representative of the Board of Governors of the European School (1954-1964)" (Van Lingen, 2012, p. 19); as Van Lingen pointed out thanks to an interview conducted in 1995, Van Houtte was able to dedicate much of his time to the cause of the Parents' Association "due to the limited number of cases brought before the Court at its inception" (Ibidem).

I was not able to better reconstruct his life and why and how he delivered the speech I am about to analyse. From his words and the aforementioned work by Van Lingen (2012), it is known that he was part of the nucleus of founding parents who were the active protagonists in the foundation of the first European School in Luxembourg; I was also not capable of finding out why he was invited to deliver the papers objects of my analysis; however, I think that some hypotheses can be formulated with reference to the contexts where these papers were delivered and what these relationships might have meant for the idea of citizenship education and for the organization of the European schools. I will now move to the content of the speech and then to the attempt of recostructing the contexts of the Congresses and the possibility of drawing some considerations from them.

2.1.1 Van Houtte's Discourse 1960 at Pax Christi Congress: the Luxembourg European School's case and conclusion drawn on the experience

The document is presented in a double version, English and French, and consists of the following parts: Introduction; The Origin of the ESs; the Primary Course; the Secondary Course; the legal Status and Development of the ESs; Principles of Instruction; Organization of studies; Conclusions based on experience; Collaboration between governments; Collaboration between members of the teaching staff; Collaboration between pupils. In the Introduction Van Houtte mentions the number of students that in 1959 and 1960 had passed the first two years of European leaving certificate examination, the *Baccalauréate européen*. He highlights the success of the undertaking since it managed to provide the students with primary and then secondary education, and then, thanks to the harmonized curriculum to give them the chance to meet requirements requested in each country and even proceed with higher education. Underlining the extraordinary nature of this result, he does not fail to mention the extraordinary circumstances that made it possible: he thus goes on to tell the origins of the first European school. Van Houtte recalls that the birth of the European schools is closely linked to the foundation of the ECSC, the European Coal and Steel Community in Luxembourg, in August

1952 (Van Houtte, 1960, p. 2). The employees of the ECSC who arrived in Luxembourg from their countries of origin - Belgium, Italy, the Netherlands, Germany, France and Luxembourg - soon found themselves facing the problem of educating their children. In Luxembourg, the latter would, in fact, have been able to attend national schools and high schools which, however, presented different curricula and methods compared to those to which children were accustomed in their countries of origin. In particular, students from Italy and the Netherlands did not know the languages spoken in Luxembourg; all students would also have had to attend a school course that would have allowed them to return to their homeland, at the end of their parents' working period, and to re-enter the school system of their country of origin. At the request of the ECSC, the Luxembourg government gave its consent and collaboration to open, in October 1953, a "private" primary school designed and managed by the parents' association; in this way, "the unity of the family" could be preserved (Van Houtte, 1969, p. 2). This school welcomed, in its first year, 72 pupils and 6 teachers, each from a different country and organized into four different linguistic sections to prepare the children for the final primary school exam. From the first year, "joint lessons for students of different nationality and language" (Ib., p. 3) were provided to make them grow together - or rather to educate them to grow together - and to teach them the first basics of a second language. Over time these lessons - known as "European lessons" - have become one of the peculiarities of the school: "Each day, during the last two hours of the morning, the children all take singing, handicrafts, gymnastics and the first elements of the second language" (Ib., p. 3). As Van Houtte reminds us, this second language - the working language or vehicular language - had and still has a key role in secondary education since students must be familiar enough with it to be able to understand instructions given using it. The fourteen pupils who took the final primary school exam at the end of the first year after the school was set up, passed it successfully: consequently, their parents asked for the creation of the secondary education cycle leading to the creation of the European School. However, the creation of the secondary education cycle would have required greater responsibility that could not have been guaranteed by the parents' association alone. The ECSC - as Van Houtte reminds us - could have provided moral and financial support, but it had no expertise in the educational field. The Common Assembly could have given its political support, but Governments had to step in and establish a syllabus, and guidelines, also taking care of teachers' provisions and the supervision of studies and diplomas (Ib.). Thus, in June 1954, the ministers and the general directors responsible for secondary education and cultural activities in the six member countries were invited to a meeting in Luxembourg; they agreed to open the first two classes of secondary school in October of that same year. During this two-day meeting, an agreement was reached

on "a harmonized syllabus" (Ib.), on the qualifications and requirements necessary for teachers and the methods of inspecting their work. As members of the Board of Governors, the representatives and/or ministers of the individual national governments had "the task of guiding and observing the experiment until the end of the course" (Ib.) with the idea of extending it up to the diploma necessary to access university. In this part, Van Houtte expresses the gratitude felt towards these delegates whose task was to define a method that took into account extremely different syllabuses from country to country and to design a teaching system effective in achieving the minimum objectives necessary to obtain a secondary school diploma. In 1955, the syllables were designed, and it was a decidedly arduous task, as Van Houtte recalls (Van Houtte, 1960, p.4). Van Houtte also states how, by comparing the final work with the national syllabuses, it was possible to see how they coincided and how they differed while considering the adjustments made in various disciplines – such as classical languages, mathematics, philosophy, modern languages, natural sciences, history, and geography – to create a syllabus which, although balanced, was considered rather intense since it included 36 lessons per week (Ib., p. 4). In his paper Van Houtte then proceeds with the reconstruction of the development and legal status of the European schools mentioning the Statute – here called Charter – signed in 1957 (Ib., p. 5) and refers to the new European Schools created some years later in Bruxelles, Mol and Ispra-Varese. Regarding this, in my opinion, the considerations that Van Houtte makes when he writes that "*these schools are a manifestation of cultural relations between European countries since each of them contributes its national character and, by common experience, benefits from the cultural values of the others*" (Van Houtte, 1960, p. 5). Van Houtte then recalls that the fundamental principles regulating education in the European Schools were made explicit in Article 4 of the Statute signed in 1957 – which he refers to as the Charter of the European Schools (Van Houtte, 1960, p. 6). The fundamental principle was that basic education had to be conveyed in the student's native language to be chosen among the official languages of the European Community: German, French, Italian and Dutch. Basic education was – and still is – delivered in each of these languages throughout the course of study. Furthermore, Van Houtte explains that within 'basic education' were also included all those subjects difficult to teach in a second language, namely - in addition to the mother tongue - Latin, Greek, Mathematics and Philosophy. In any case, he also highlights how the deadlines and objectives of the syllabuses were uniform for each of the four sections and approved by the Board of Governors (Ib., p. 6). He also explains that certain subjects were taught "jointly in classes of the same level in order to promote the unity of the school and closer cultural contact between pupils of the various language sections" (Ib.). To teach these subjects a "working language"

(Ib.) was used, a second language to be chosen between German and French. In any case, the central role of language learning is underlined since Van Houtte says that effort is made "to provide a thorough knowledge of living languages" (Ib., p. 6) consequently leading to the addiction of English within the languages taught. Together with this linguistic dimension, Van Houtte then also reiterates the importance of respecting the beliefs of individuals while still leaving room for moral and religious education (Ib., p. 7). Van Houtte then moves on to describe the organization of the Primary and Secondary School[24] to finally arrive at some final conclusions based on experience. I think it is relevant to pay attention on what he says about these conclusions, namely the fact that it was "none the less possible to draw certain conclusions on the subject which will be dealt with at the 7th seminar of the International Pax Christi congress: education on international lines" (Ibidem, p. 8). He then puts the final conclusions into four main groups: the first one on the collaboration between family of different nationality; the second one on the collaboration between governments; the third one on the collaboration among the teaching staff; and the last one about collaboration between pupils. As for the collaboration between families of different nationalities, Van Houtte starts from the assumption that the first school established in 1953 had the aim of providing an education characterized by the same spirit of cooperation and understanding found in the daily work of the ECSC. Furthermore, he highlights how most of the ECSC staff members had no particular preparation for this type of collaboration: they had come to Luxembourg "to make their contribution to the integration of Europe, and this spirit went far beyond the mere work required for the implementation of a Treaty" (Ib., p. 9). According to Van Houtte, through their administrative and social contacts, these officials became aware of the differences in the concepts represented by their different nationalities. Van Houtte recognizes how these concepts change depending on the traditions of each country and how the differences are undoubtedly accentuated by the political nationalism that for too long had narrowed horizons, by the lack of knowledge of foreign languages that made this contact difficult and by many other historical causes (Ib.). The education that everyone receives in their own country, from primary school to university, is considered by Van Houtte as another main cause of originating differences. He indeed writes that "in all too many countries education has deliberately been given a nationalist slant which goes beyond the civic and patriotic training which education should indubitably give" (Ib.). This has happened in universities, too, in his view. The following consideration he makes is also interesting: in his view, all of the above was deeply perceived by the European officials

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[24] I will not focus on this organizational part right now because it will be one of the central focuses of the next chapter.

who quickly understood how the differences in behaviour and thoughts "are only a veil behind which one can find the complete identity of views on the basis of principles and ideas: identity in the philosophic concept of life, such as the Christian one; identity in social aspirations and identity in the aim pursued" (Ib., p. 10). Van Houtte then touches on the theme of the collaboration between governments, underlining how the Schuman Plan had had repercussions in very different and unforeseen areas compared to those for which it was initially conceived; as a matter of fact, at the foundation of the ECSC, it was not possible to foresee and imagine that it would also lead to the creation of these schools. The schools could have remained private schools while granting the recognition of the diploma in individual countries. Instead, they were included within the common cultural policy, and the creation of the European School Leaving Certificate represented "a great step towards the solution of the difficult problem of the equivalence of diplomas" (Ib., p. 11). Furthermore, the harmonization of the syllables with objectives equivalent to those of the individual national states was a "notable success" (Ib.) that could have become "the interlude to a general approximation of studies in the six countries and to a comparison of the teaching methods applied" (Ib.). A final consideration on textbooks is added: since, at the time, there were no textbooks suitable for the joint syllabus created, the idea to design them from an international angle started to flourish, and Van Houtte perceived it as the possible prelude to further collaborations and developments. Indeed, he sees the possibility for the European Schools to become a "pedagogical laboratory" (Van Houtte, 1960, p. 11) of which boys and girl around all Europe could have benefit. Van Houtte then underlines the great importance that the teaching staff had since the success and results of these schools depended on them. They were asked to rethink their teaching methods to relate, compare and dialogue with a different syllabus and with a European spirit. To do this, they were required to have "a very open mind, much tact, understanding and tolerance" (Van Houtte, 1960, p. 12), also because they were dealing - very often for the first time - with students and colleagues of different nationalities and origins, and must consider the linguistic difficulties of the students and themselves, as well as the lack of textbooks. In the end - writes Van Houtte - "the experience of numerous contacts and many teacher's conferences must, in the end, bring out a common concept, otherwise the European School will fail in its aim" (Ib.). He actually recognizes this concrete risk of failure: there was, therefore, awareness of the difficulty and the risk that these schools, with different sections, would become only "four juxtaposed schools – moreover with subsections – according to the linguistic divisions or nationality of the teachers" (Ib.); he hopes that this does not happen even if it is still too early to say. Van Houtte also hopes that the years of service at the European Schools can be, for teachers, a period of enrichment and professional

growth that will lead them to develop skills and abilities that can then be reused, even when they resume service in their country of origin, where they will ensure that "wider and wider circles of teachers and pupils will benefit from the concrete contribution made by the European School to education in the international spirit" (Van Houtte, 1960, p. 13). Van Houtte emphasizes that despite being designed for the children of the officials of the European Communities, the European Schools have made efforts to not become exclusive schools, "caste schools" (Ib.). According to Van Houtte's speech, the governments involved expressed their desire to open the schools to students who reside in the country where the school is located or even to students of other nationalities, provided that certain conditions were met, and places were available. For instance, at that moment in 1960, according to him, almost a third of the students in the European School of Luxembourg had no connection with the ECSC. Van Houtte emphasizes the significant contribution made by the Parents' Association in keeping a healthy environment. He also mentions the Old Pupils' Association (Ib., p. 14), which was established by the first batch of students who received their Leaving Certificates. Van Houtte notes that individuals from various nationalities typically attend its meetings, which shows that friendships were developed that went beyond nationality. Van Houtte also acknowledges that students notice and comment on differences in behaviour, dress, games, and physical and moral development based on their countries of origin (Ib.). In his view, while this may be enriching, it could also lead to challenges in readjusting to their home countries. However, students have to deal with the effects of their education in an international environment (Ib.), fulfilling the vision of the founders expressed in the founding stone of the European School in Luxembourg, the fact that:

Sharing in the same games, grouped in common classes, boys and girls of various languages and nationalities will learn to know and value each other and to live together.
Being brought up in contact with each other and freed at an early age from the prejudices which divide, initiated into the beauties and values of the various cultures, they will as they grow up become conscious of their solidarity. While retaining love for and pride in their country, they will become in spirit Europeans well prepared to complete and consolidate the work undertaken
by their fathers to establish a prosperous and united Europe (Van Houtte, 1960, p. 14).

2.1.2. The 1960 paper: considerations on circulations and "entanglements" with Pax Christi

The discourse analyzed was presented in Geneva during the Pax Christi Congress held in October 1960. I have not managed to gather many more details on the connection between the European Schools and this specific Congress and association; however, I draw inspiration on

what Carlo Ginzburg said on microhistory, namely the fact that "the obstacles interfering with research in the form of lacunae or misrepresentations in the sources must become part of the account" (Ginzburg et al., 1993, p. 28). So, after having analyzed the discourse delivered by Van Houtte during the Pax Christi Congress in Geneva, in 1960, and having paid attention to the story of the creation of the first European School, I asked why this discourse was delivered in this specific context and setting. Moreover, which were the connections and the reasons that brought Van Houtte and the European Schools there? Trying to accept the limitation of my sources on this point, I will try to transform them into a narrative element (Ibid) by pausing and describing what Pax Christi International was and is, what it represented in terms of peace education and what were the main themes discussed in Geneva. I believe that it can serve to narrate, imagine and perhaps comprehend the climate in which the European Schools arose, the actors with whom they maintained relationships, and the entanglements in which they were located.

As described in Pax Christi International's website (Pax Christi Website[25]) and in previous research works such as the one by De Jonghe (1983), Pax Christi was cofounded in France, in 1945 by the French Bishop Pierre Théas and French woman and teacher Mrs. Marie Dortel-Claudot: their main idea was to contribute to peace and reconciliation between France and Germany after the Second World War (De Jonghe, 1983). Pax Christi was precisely one of those grassroots movements born exactly to promote peace between France and Germany (Guisan, 2011, p. 551) and, in the same period, other initiatives tried to do the same, the ECSC itself in the first place (Guisan, 2011), but also other actions in the field of cultural diplomacy and peace education such as the revision of Franco-German history textbooks (Siegel & Harjes, 2012). Pax Christi was firstly established in France and soon after in Germany; it spread rapidly – already in the early 50's – in Italy, Spain, the Netherlands, Austria, Switzerland and Belgium. It was blessed by Pope Pius XII in 1950 and got fully approved "as an international Catholic peace movement in 1952" (De Jonghe, 1983, p. 323). Its first international president was the Cardinal Feltin of Paris who summed up "its main program in three points: prayer, study, and action. In line with this first "charter" Pax Christi always emphasized both education and research, study conferences and grass-roots activities, prayer and the gathering and diffusion of information" (De Jonghe, 1983, p. 323). De Jonge also underlines how it was always a movement focused on the promotion of peace where bishops and priests were particularly active collaborating together with grassroots Catholics and believers. Therefore, there was since the

beginning a strong and active commitment towards the realization of peace to which problem of justice and human rights where later incorporated into during the '60s: indeed, "peace was linked with problems of development and world-wide solidarity" (Ibidem). The connection between peace and developments appeared to be addressed already in the 1960 Congress in Geneva in the discourse by Cardinal Feltin (Le Monde, 1960; The Criterion, 1960, p. 10; Lalande, 1962, p. 162). De Jonghe also points out 3 main priorities addressed by Pax Christi International since its foundation: the commitment to disarmament and security (De Jonghe, 1983, p. 324), the work for the promotion and respect of human rights, the encouragement of "contacts with the churches in Eastern Europe and examining overall East-West problems" (Ibidem, p. 325). Moreover, most of the international meetings and conferences organized by Pax Christi dealt "explicitly with nonviolence, peace education and peace spirituality" and actually "peace education may be called the cornerstone of Pax Christi's everyday work. From the early postwar period until now many members have been teachers or educators" (Ibidem, p. 326)[26]. Taking into account what has been said so far about Pax Christi, it seems relevant to me to give space to a reflection that considers what I have noticed until now on Pax Christi and the attempt to connect it and its mission to the project of the European Schools. Regarding the latter, their birth has always been linked to a practical reason, the foundation of the ECSC and the need for the children of its workers to receive an education in their mother tongue, compatible with that of their country of origin. The schools were also linked to a climate that sought to foster peace, a peace associated with conceived as necessary after World War II. However, previous research (Ydesen and Andreasen 2015) has shown how this interest in peace education began to develop already at the end of the 19th century and was greatly influenced by active education and the work of supranational organizations such as the of Nations (League of Nations) and the IBE; furthermore, studies on citizenship education show us that there was a moral component aimed at promoting "a moral regeneration based on concepts like honesty, work ethos, solidarity, culture, and citizenship" (Del Mar Del Pozo Andres & Braster, 1999, p. 76); again Del Pozo Andres and Braster also underline how the International Conferences on

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[26] The commitment of Pax Christi in the field of peace education is briefly mentioned also in two other research: in the first one - by Amsing and Dekker (2020) about a Dutch peace education curriculum in the 1970s – Pax Christi is indicated with reference to a symposium on education and peace co-organized by Pax Christi in 1974; the second less recent work is a study on "*Le mouvements de paix en Flandre*" conducted by Stouthuysen in 1985. In the latter, attention is given to Pax Christi Vlaanderen – the Flemish "branch" of Pax Christi in Flanders - and it is pointed out how the main aims were "prières pour la paix, étude de la paix et action pour la paix" but "la paix n'était plus considérée comme une question purement individuelle et morale, la prise de conscience politique et l'œuvre de formation allaient devenir des éléments importants de l'action de Pax Christi" (Stouthuysen, 1985 - Les mouvements de paix en Flandre | Cairn.info last accessed on 10 december 2023).

Moral Education[27] – and in particular the Third one – "had approved the 'supranational' concept which sought to replace nationalism and patriotism with international values in the schools" (Ib., p . 90). The point I am trying to make is the following: it seems to me that the fact that the European Schools project was presented in its infancy in the context of an organization such as Pax Christi, aimed at promoting moral education for peace, can highlight in a certain sense the role played by moral education in directing a shift of attention, no longer aimed only at developing respect for the nation to which one belongs, but also at openness and commitment towards peace and respect for diversity.

To go back to Pax Christi, another important aspect of it pointed out by De Jonghe is the international framework that sustained Pax Christi's work over the years in particular through the organization of the yearly International Councils where the International President and the Executive Committee were chosen. The latter "insures the follow-up of Council decisions" (De Jonghe, 1983, p. 327) and monitors the work of the international commissions. The stress on the international work carried out by Pax Christi reveals also the fact that "growing attention has been paid to Pax Christi representation in the main network of international organizations whose interests are close to Pax Christi's priorities" (De Jonghe, 1983, p. 328): De Jonghe noticed how Pax Christi had contacts with the UN headquarters in New York, with the United Nations in Geneva, with the Council of Europe in Strasbourg and with the UNESCO in Paris.

I found all of this relevant to better understand the networks the European Schools interacted with: as a matter of fact, most of the time their project has been narrated with a focus on the European dimension and as part of the building of the European Union; without denying this part – despite sometimes questioning the rethoric grandeur that accompanies it – I am trying to show how these Schools were also influenced by a broader discourse on peace education and active citizenship through the interaction with institutions and organizations not necessarily related only to the European economic and political project. I believe Van Houtte's presence at the Pax Christi Congress could be interpreted as a sign of it; the same can be said for the speech he gave in Chicago and that I am going to analyze in the next paragraph. However, before moving on, I would like to pay attention to two final aspects.

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[27] About the International Conferences on Moral Education, they were held in London in 1908, in The Hague (1912), in Geneva (1922), in Rome (1926), in Paris (1930) and Krakow (1934) (see Cicchini, 2004). Speaking of them, it seems interesting to mention the aforementioned study by Cicchini (2004) which looks at the International Conferences on Moral Education and "the emergence of a discipline of education, during the first decade of the twentieth century" (Cicchini, 2004, p. 633) examining if and how "the International moral education congress had been a vector of pedagogy as a scientific discipline" as declared by Piaget in 1965 (Cicchini, 2004, p. 633); in the end, Cicchini "proposes to consider this Congress as a plausible but little productive culture medium of this emerging disciplinary field of education" (Ib.).

The first one is the following: as already said, Pax Christi was a Catholic movement active in peace education and promotion; the fact that the President of the Board of Governors of the ES participated in the Council in 1960 to narrate the experience of the ES may suggest – in my view – that the European Schools' project shared something with pax Christi's aims. I would say not only the focus on the promotion of peace education, but also the Catholic and moral features of this type of education. And I stress it also considering previous literature on the moral character of citizenship and peace education (Depaepe 2002; Del Mar del Pozo Andres& Braster, 1999; Cicchini, 2004).

The second and last observation I would like to offer relates to the discourse pronounced by Cardinal Feltin - archbishop of Paris and Pax Christi's first international president - during the Geneva Council in 1960, that same council where Van Houtte was present and spoke about the origins of the European Schools' experiments. I was not able to understand whether Van Houtte was present when that said speech was delivered; yet, again, focusing on the lacunae, I believe that Van Houtte's speech and Cardinal Feltin's speech at Geneva could be put in relation, if only for the fact of being pronounced in the same context; consequently, it comes naturally to ask what Cardinal Feltin's speech could tell us about that aforementioned context. As reported in an article published by the French newspaper *Le Monde* in October 1960, Cardinal Feltin highlights the link between underdevelopment and war (Le Monde, 1960): *"le sous-développement conduit fatalement à la guerre, [...] le développement est le nouveau nom de la paix"* (Feltin in Lalande, 1962, pp. 161-162), he wrote. That same speech is also partly reported in the November 11, 1960, edition of the *Criterion*, the official weekly newspaper of the Catholic Archdiocese of Indianapolis since October 7, 1960[28]. Quoting the words by Feltin, the article says that "underdevelopment is a permanent threat to peace, whereas development, covering all human needs, will become a new name for international peace" (The Criterion, 1960, p. 10), a development that must happen also in the cultural sphere and that should be promoted "based on moral principles and above all must take into account the dignity of the man" (Ibid.). To promote this type of development, a major Catholic effort should have been and must be made not with the aim of ignoring the great work already carried out by other international organizations; Pax Christi aimed at animating the activities of these organizations through its presence and prayers. I believe that this discussion on development as an instrument

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[28] This information on the Criterion comes from the online website Encyclopedia of Indianapolis (https://indyencyclopedia.org/the-criterion/ last accessed on December 10th, 2023) while the November edition if the Criterion could also be found online here https://www.archindy.org/criterion/files/1960/pdfs/19601111.pdf (last access 10/12/2023).

of peace can also be useful for contextualising the reality in which the European Schools arose and broadening our gaze on it: not only a reality characterized by the need to create the conditions for lasting peace between different European countries; not only a reality that was part of a broader project of (also) American origin but a reality that also included discussions on colonialism and the relationship with the colonized countries. Focusing specifically on the European Schools, it is not the purpose of this work to analyze how and from what positions these discussions took place; however, I believe it is necessary to mention them to move away - even when talking just about the European Schools - from a sometimes merely rhetorical discussion on peace and European integration isolated from everything else, and rather to move closer to the position recognized in the sociological field, namely the fact that "a European colonial project was also [...] integral to the project of European union itself" (Bhambra, 2022, p. 234). About this, I think that underlining the presence of the European Schools and their history in a congress of an association such as Pax Christi which promoted moral and peace education and which recognized the development of developing countries as a necessary condition for peace itself is in a certain sense a very slight detail that is worth not overlooking.

2.2 Albert Van Houtte and the 1963 papers

I will now move on to another document in which Albert Van Houtte's name appears: the proceedings of the Ninth National Conference U.S. National Commission for UNESCO held in Chicago from 23 to 26 October 1963 where Van Houtte is associated with two presented speeches. The main topic of the Conference is expressed by its title: *The New Europe and The United States: New Directions*. The Conference was arranged in cooperation with The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations and held at Conrad Hilton Hotel in Chicago, Illinois. As it can be read from the Conference report by Damon B. Smith[29] (Smith, 1963, p. 49 pdf), this Conference aimed at investigating the crucial shifts that were happening in Europe and their implications for the United States; the main focus was on educational, scientific and cultural matters; references to political and economic subjects were considered sometimes necessary to locate the matters addressed in their broader context (Proceedings, 1963, p. 6). The special attention dedicated to issues relating to educational, scientific and cultural knowledge is not surprising

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[29] The main aim of the aforementioned report was to answer the following questions: "What is the New Europe? What is it the relationship of the New Europe to the United States?" (Smith, 1963, p. 1). Stress was given to the differences between the Old and the New Europe (Smith, 1963, p. 2) and a recurring theme was the European unification – not only in political and economic terms, but also in education, science and culture within Europe and outside of it; so, the discussion was not only confined to Europe and with a focus also on the relationship between the developed and the developing countries (Ibidem).

given that they had already been identified as central to UNESCO's action (Guthe, Smith, 1947, p. 682) during the First National Conference organized in Philadelphia in 1947 by the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO. In 1946 this commission was "established to advise and consult with the government of the United States and the United States Delegates to the General Conferences of the United States" (Guthe &Smith, 1947, p. 681)[30]. In the same article from which the words just quoted are taken, Guthe and Smith recognized how UNESCO and its related initiatives could be considered as part of the broader attempt to establish international peace; UNESCO itself was seen as "a new tool which may be used in the effort to achieve international peace" (Ibidem, p. 682) through the promotion of precisely educational reconstruction, international understanding and fundamental education (Ib.). If these were considered among the main objectives of UNESCO's action and its collaboration with the U.S. Commission, the conferences organized from 1947 onwards also focused on what was happening in different parts of the world; the Eighth Conference organized in 1961 focused, for instance, on the relations between African countries and the United States (Ottenberg, Ottenberg, 1961). In any case, what seems relevant to me to underline is precisely how these actions were part of the general objective and effort to contribute to the construction of an "environment" of peace: the presence of the European Schools within these events indicates how they also can be considered part of such concrete actions for the development of a culture of peace.

To return to the Conference of interest to us - the one held in 1963 - the themes were discussed by European and American leaders[31] during plenary sessions and symposia with a principal speaker and commentator. Van Houtte participated as principal speaker to the following symposia, addressing the following subjects:

1) *An Experiment in Inter-Cultural Education: The European Schools* presented by Albert Van Houtte during the Fifth Plenary Section and introduced by Harvie Branscomb, Former Chancellor, Vanderbilt University, Member of U. S. National Commission for Unesco (Proceeding, 1963, p. 55).

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[30] Other references to the creation of this commission are provided, for example, by Simon Ottenberg and Phoebe Ottenberg in a 1961 article published in the African Studies Bulletin where the authors write that "the United States National Commission for UNESCO is an advisory body established by Congress in 1946 to further the aims of UNESCO by associating interested organizations and individuals in the United States with the Commission to further the knowledge and the work of UNESCO and to function as an agency through which views of Americans on the activities of UNESCO can be channeled" (Ottenberg & Ottenberg, 1961, p. 41).

[31] Within the mentioned speakers, people such as Hannah Arendt, Theodore Adorno, Altiero Spinelli and Eric Fromm can be found (Proceedings, 1963, p. 21)

2) *Note on Creation of a Primary and Secondary International School in Washington, D.C.*
   (Smith, 1963, p. 190 pdf)

The first speech cannot be found in the Conference proceedings; however, its summary is available in the Conference Report created by Damon Smith. Consequently, this report was used as a source to reconstruct the first speech. On the contrary, the *Note on the Creation of a Primary and Secondary International School in Washington D.C.* was partially summarized in the report by Smith and attached to the Conference Proceedings in the original typed version. In the following paragraph, I will illustrate the contents of the aforementioned documents.

2.2.1. A proposal for Inter-cultural education

As said, a summary of both interventions is provided in the initial pages of the report by Damon Smith where it is reflected on some of the insights received about the topic of "ties that bind " (Smith, 1963, p. 9 – 63 Pdf), of the possibility of bringing together and, to a certain extent, unifying the European and American contexts going beyond individual nation-states. The case of the European Schools brought by Van Houtte is considered as an example to weigh up in the field of educational studies while, in the field of science and culture, the floor was left respectively to Sir John Crockcroft[32] and the anthropologist Geoffrey Gorer.

To go back to Van Houtte's speech on *An Experiment in Inter-Cultural Education: The European Schools,* it was described in the writing by Damon Smith as a "comprehensive report on the successful innovation of official public schools in the European Communities" (Smith, 1963, p. 9), a report presented "with impassioned enthusiasm" (Ibidem). From what is possible to understand, Van Houtte recalled the story of the European Schools and their origins; then, indications on the number of the official European schools existing at that precise moment were given: there were 6 of them, "1 in Luxembourg, Italy, France and Germany, and 2 in Belgium" while a new one had been being arranged in Holland (Ibidem) at that time. It is also underlined how, even though they had been originally planned for the children of the ECSC servants, "foreigners and a number of nationals in the area have been encouraged to attend" (Smith, 1963, p. 10). What seems to be stressed by Van Houtte as new and important in the European Schools project appeared to be the shared effort made by the governments to overcome difficulties in different fields. The first field mentioned is the recognition of the European Schools' diplomas and certificates by universities and the attempt to avoid a strong emphasis on the more

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[32] As indicated in the proceedings, he was Master of Churchill College at Cambridge University and 1951 Nobel Prize Winner in Physics; he spoke on the Development of European Cooperation in Science exemplified for instance by the creation of the CERN laboratory in Geneva (Proceedings, 1963, p. 10).

nationalistic aspects of education. Another important aspect recalled is the work on the harmonization of the curriculum and the negotiations conducted within the six governments to be sure that the most fundamental requirements of education in each country were met. As written by Smith,

> Mr Van Houtte viewed the present curriculum as representing perhaps a synthesis of the educational systems of the six members. Detailed negotiations solved problems of curricula, particularly in the fields of philosophy, history, geography and language (Smith, 1963, p. 10).

Space was then given to the organisation of the European Schools and their founding organizational principles such as the mother tongue teaching and the teaching vehiculated through a second language; the respect of religious opinions together with the emphasis given to "the humanistic tradition in education" and the "aim to develop judgment, wisdom, a sense of responsibility, and a feeling for solidarity among all pupils" (Smith, 1963, p. 10). Due to the success of those schools, it is reported that Van Houtte suggested the realization of a similar project in the United States. And this leads us to the analysis of the second document.

2.2.2. A proposal for an international school in Washington

In the *Note on the Creation of a Primary and Secondary International School in Washington D.C.* Van Houtte firstly starts by saying that the creation of a great international school in Washington would answer a real necessity: he stresses how a good number of diplomats, journalists and activists were used to come to the city with their families and to stay there for limited periods. He recognizes how the standards of local American schools vary considerably and that private schools might have very high tuition fees. In addition to this, the most common problem is the necessity to integrate foreign children into the American cycle of studies; the same difficulty must be dealt with when returning to their home countries. In this last case, problems could also arise about the acceptance of the diploma when applying to universities in other countries. He also mentions that one French and one German school were recently opened in Washington; however, they seemed to not be able to deal with the aforementioned difficulties due to the vast amount of money required and the high degree of coordination requested. In addition to this, he connects the idea of creating this type of international school not only with practical and circumstantial needs such as the ones before discussed but to reasons of "overriding importance to the United States, whose worldwide responsibilities are gradually extending to every field of human activity" (Van Houtte, 1963, p. 2 in Proceedings, 1963). He further explains this by writing that

The problem of teaching and education is becoming increasingly a problem of prime importance for all countries in the world. The developed countries seek to adapt teaching to the new requirements of the modern world: development of technical, scientific and mathematical knowledge, the learning of languages and, above all, the maintenance of a vast pool of knowledge and of a vast general culture. The developing countries seek to create an educational system and network in which the example and experience of the West play a leading part. Everywhere the problem of educational reform is posed, in the U. S. as elsewhere. It would, then, be extremely desirable for the United States to seize the present opportunity of meeting a local need in Washington to initiate an educational experiment based on a combination of various systems and capable of serving as a "pilot school" or, one might say, "pedagogical laboratory" from which both national and foreign educators could draw inspiration (Van Houtte, 1963, p. 2).

In this sense, the proposal presented by Van Houtte is intended to be a first step towards a bigger educational experiment that might be exported and that could be realized through cooperation with other countries[33]; again, as in the case of the Pax Christi Congress in 1960 the topic of development seems to be at stake in the discussion. Van Houtte also recognizes the commitment of the U.S. in assuring a system of scholarship for foreign students, but he underlines how this happens mostly at the university level while the Washington School would address the Primary and Secondary School levels. He then moves on to define the possible basic principles of such an international school and, in a couple of subsequent pages, he explains how he based himself on the experience and primary elements of the European Schools.

In his view, the first basis to be guaranteed in the establishment of the International School should be the attempt to give ample space to modern language study "and enriching the curriculum with the culture of these countries where these languages are spoken" (Van Houtte, 1963, p. 3). That said curriculum should come out as a synthesis of the curricula of countries with internationally renowned educational systems, as a compromise between them to favour the recognition of diplomas. Moreover, individual conscience and faith must be respected.

The last principle to be mentioned is the following: "Educating students towards mutual understanding, opening their minds widely to world problems and preparing them to be good world citizens, while retaining their pride in their fatherlands" (Van Houtte, 1963, p. 3). I believe that this one last principle is worth noticing: the expression "world citizen" appears here and it seems to vehiculate an idea of citizenship connected both to a national dimension and a more global one since it also looks at the world, at global problems and reciprocal collaboration, comprehension and appreciation.

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[33] I would say that the Western Perspective is quite central since he speaks of countries "whose cultural contribution to the world has been and is essential and whose way of life derives from a common inspiration and origin" (Van Houtte, 1963, p. 3).

The discourse on language teaching and the use of languages are then considered more deeply in the next paragraph, where they are connected with the necessity to give the school a truly international character (Ibid. p. 4). As in the case of the European Schools, teaching in the mother tongue should be guaranteed and organized around different language sections. Moreover, the use of a second language as a vehicular language should be strongly encouraged and pursued in subjects and activities such as "history, geography, history of art, geology […] singing lessons, manual training, physical culture, drawing" (Ibidem p. 4). The teaching of a third language and other languages is suggested, too; in all cases, it is underlined how "the most active methods should be employed to this end" (Ibidem, p. 5). Despite the number of languages potentially taught, the necessity of having a balancing curriculum is also stated; a curriculum whose final goal would be the preparation for university studies and that should, therefore, be negotiated among the curricula of different countries. He explains that in the European Schools

The solution was found on the basis of mutual concessions made by each of the countries. They reached a unanimous agreement, preserving what each of them considered indispensable to permit the recognition of the school diploma for all civil purposes and for admission to the universities of the six countries (Van Houtte, 1963, p. 6).

Space is then given to the organization of studies; this part highly recalls the structure of the European Schools. Furthermore, to underline the international character of the school, emphasis is again given to the joint effort made by several countries, an effort and cooperation that would involve the pedagogic management and supervision of the school together with the duty to provide teaching staff (Ibidem, pp. 7-8). The long-term objectives would be the following:

- Direct cultural cooperation among countries;
- Joint solutions prepared by renowned international pedagogues with responsibilities in their home countries within the framework of the Pedagogical Council and the Council of Inspectors;
- Cooperation among teachers of various nationalities and backgrounds;
- Students from every corner of the world living together (Van Houtte, 1963, p. 8).

The idea at the basis of the described experiment would consequently be the fact of putting into being and into practice a real collaboration between different countries in the field of education. He also expresses his suggestions on the juridical statute of the school, its main organs, school buildings, teaching staff and the problems that might arise.

One last point he considers is the admission of students. According to Van Houtte, it is important for the International School not to be an "exclusive circle" (Van Houtte, 1963, p. 11). Indeed, he writes that

It is essential that, in addition to the foreigners applying for enrollment, there be a proportion of American students (e.g. 25 to 35 %). While it is to the interest of foreign students to have their own school for the reasons stated above, it is just as much to their interest to live an American life and to adapt themselves to it. Contacts with American comrades are very important in this respect, just as it is for the parents to know and associate with each other. Here, the Association of Pupils' Parents can play a very useful part. It is also to the interest of young Americans to associate with and know foreigners (Ibidem).

He concludes by saying that his discourse should be considered as a proposal capable of sparkling further discussion, an idea that should be examined through dialogue while considering that it could be a project that might allow the USA to better promote "the diffusion of its culture, understanding among men and peace in the world" (Ibidem, p. 11).

2.3 Van Houtte's discourses (1960/1963): considerations on circulations and "entanglements", and some provisional conclusions

Both the papers presented during the Ninth National Conference U.S. National Commission for UNESCO in Chicago make it possible to observe how the case of the European Schools was brought by Van Houtte as an example on which to reflect in the field of educational studies and from which to draw inspiration. Furthermore, both the presence at the Pax Christi Congress and the presence at the UNESCO Conference demonstrate, in my view, how these Schools had contacts with networks aimed at promoting education for peace and encouraging development[34]. In the case of the UNESCO discourse, the possibility of contributing to educating towards world citizenship also emerges, and the role of plurilingual linguistic education in this area is highlighted. Moreover, particular emphasis is placed on the need for cooperation and collaboration between governments to ensure a common recognized diploma, a harmonized curriculum, and access to such a school for students of different backgrounds. In both speeches, it is also highlighted how the creation of the European Schools - and also of the possible International School in Washington - is linked mainly and almost exclusively to an initial practical necessity related to the emergence of the social group of civil workers in the European Institutions; it is interesting to note, in my opinion, how in reality this type of reasoning and social group had two precedents which, however, are not cited by Van Houtte, despite sharing some peculiarities with the European Schools. In fact, I am referring to the International School of Geneva (Ecolint) founded in 1924 (Hayden & Thompson, 1995; Dugonjić, 2014a; 2014b) and the United Nations International School (UNIS) in New York

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[34] On the connections between International Organizations such as UNESCO and the promotion of development see also Matasci, 2021.

founded in 1947 (Dugonjić, 2014a, p. 60)[35]. Finally, in the speech held in Chicago, the possibility of this school becoming a pilot school, a model to be exported also to developing countries, was underlined.

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[35] In my opinion, it is also interesting to note how Dugonjic revisits this myth of origins; in fact, her thesis is that "that the founding of Ecolint following the League of Nations and that of the UNIS following the United Nations can be explained by an awareness and the desire to transmit the privileges linked to the stand of international civil servants" (Dugonjic, 2014a, p. 61) and that "far from corresponding to the need of an already constituted social group (a group of international civil servants or parents) as the myth of origins would have it, the creation of a "United Nations school" in New York in 1947 revealed itself, on the contrary, the motive around which a restricted group of senior civil servants mobilized themselves in search of recognition" (Ib.).

Chapter 3 - Curriculum Analysis: Prescriptive level

After having partially reconstructed some of the contexts that had contacts with the European Schools in the first years of their existence to place the latter in a broader panorama of exchanges, influences and relationships, I now proceed to analyze in more detail the organization of the European Schools and their curriculum understood in a broad sense, characterized by the different layers and dimensions underlined previously in Chapter 1, Part 1.3. In particular, the already mentioned idea by Goodson, namely the notion of "curriculum as a social construction firstly at the level of prescription, but also at the levels of process and practice" (Goodson, 2005, p. 104), is central to this part where close attention will be given to the prescriptive level; I will deal with practices and processes in more detail in the next chapter.

To return to the prescriptive level, I contemplated what Swan (1984) observed and that I have already mentioned in Chapter 1, Part 1.1. In fact, as Swan reminds us, in the system of the European Schools and in the documents that define it - at least for the period from their origins to at least the 1990s - we find:

a strange lacuna, particularly when compared to the corresponding documents, legal or constitutional, in the member - or any other -states. This is the absence of any commitment to aims envisaged for education as residing in the individual pupil rather than in the politic, or based on a rounded concept of the pupil as a person. While it is true that some fundamental objectives of the Observation period alone are provided, one finds no such statement either in the Statute or its Protocols with reference to either the primary schooling or the education of the pupil as a whole from the nursery to school leaving (Swan, 1984, p. 20)

Consequently, there seems to be a certain lack, at least as far as the early years are concerned, of documents with explicit general pedagogical guidelines. Due to this, I have tried to find traces in various types of documents, even those considered by Swan (1984) to be ineffective in this respect. The analysed documents I will discuss in the following paragraphs are, therefore, the following:

- The *Statute of the European School* (1957)
- The *Annex to the Statute of The European School containing regulations for the European School Leaving Certificate (Baccalauréat Européen)* (1957)
- The *Convention Defining the Statute of the European Schools* (1994)
- The *Harmonized Timetables and Programmes (1957)*
- The *Harmonized Timetables and Programmes (1963)*
- The *Harmonized Timetables and Programmes (1972)*
- The *Harmonized Timetables and Programmes (1977)*

-   The *Étude preparatoire à une revision des programmes de l'ècole maternelle et de l'école primaire* of the European Schools (1971)
-   The *Nursery and Primary School Programmes' Review: report of the meeting held at the European School of Bruxelles on Thursday, October 5th, 1972* (1972)
-   The *Guidelines for Nursery and Primary Education - Nursery and Primary School Reform* (1990).

3.1 Founding documents: the 1957 Statute and the 1994 Convention

The first document to be analysed is The Statute of the European School signed at Luxembourg on 12 April 1957; I managed to consult the version published in 1963 in the volume n. 443 of the United Nations Treaty Series (UNTS) and registered there by Luxembourg in 1962; in this type of publication it is possible to find the Treaties and international agreements registered or filed and recorded with the Secretariat of the United Nations[1].

The documents enclosed in the aforementioned publication are the following:

1) Statute of the European School (with Protocol of Signature), signed in Luxembourg on 12 April 1957;

2) Annex to the Statute of the European School containing regulations for the European School containing regulations for the European School leaving certificate (Baccalauréat européen), signed in Luxembourg on 15 July 1957;

3) Protocol concerning the provisional application of the Statute of the European School signed in Luxembourg on 12 April 1957, and signed in Luxembourg on 12 July 1957.

4) Protocol amending the German text of the Statute of the European School and the Regulations for the European School leaving certificate (Baccalauréat européen), signed in Luxembourg on 17 March 1961.

The first document - the 1957 Statute - was an agreement between the following governments: the Kingdom of Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany, the French Republic, the Italian Republic, the Kingdom of the Netherlands. They were represented by:

-   Mr. Raoul Dooreman, Acting Chargé d'Affaires of Belgium in Luxembourg;
-   Mr. Julien Kuypers, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary;
-   Count Karl von Spreti, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Federal Republic of Germany to Luxembourg;
-   Mr. Pierre-Alfred Saffroy, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of France to Luxembourg;

- Mr. Antonio Venturini, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Italy to Luxembourg;
- Mr. Joseph Bech, President of the Government, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg;
- Mr. Adriaan-Hendrik Philipse, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Netherlands to Luxembourg (cfr. Statute, 1962, p. 224).

This is the legal act establishing the official foundation of the European School at the headquarters of the *European Coal and Steel Community* (ECSC). As already noticed, this European School was not born completely unexpectedly but represented the synthesis and formalization of an experiment undertaken in the previous four years, since 1953. As explained in the preambles, in fact, account is taken of the fact that in the ECSC headquarter, there were children of the employees from the different member states to whom it was necessary to provide an education in their mother tongue (Statute 1957, p. 224). A nursery school had already been created on the initiative of the *Association for the Educational and Family Welfare of the employees of the European Coal and Steel Community*, and, over the years, this experiment had expanded - also in terms of infrastructure provided - up to and including secondary school.

Furthermore, account is taken of the

complete success of this experiment in providing a common education to children of different nationalities, on the basis of a curriculum reflecting as broadly as possible the common features of the national educational traditions and the different cultures which jointly make up European civilization (Statute 1957, p. 225).

It is also underlined that "it is in the cultural interest of the participating States to continue and consolidate an undertaking which is in keeping with the spirit of co-operation by which they are guided" and that "it is therefore highly desirable to endow the aforesaid School with a permanent Statute, and to sanction its educational activities by ensuring recognition of the diplomas and certificates issued by it (Statute 1957, p. 225). Starting from the preambles, the idea of a "common education for children of different nationalities" and the organization of a curriculum similar as much as possible to the national ones of origin are immediately mentioned. From the sources collected, I have understood that these curriculum instructions were then concretized in the Harmonized Timetables and Programs published in 1957 and, in subsequent versions, in 1963, in 1972, in 1977. Here, in the Statute, no explicit reference is made to citizenship education; it is only said that the students who took part in this school - initially founded on the initiative of the parents - were of different nationalities, though all of them coming from one of the member states of the ECSC; another aspect worth underlining is

the reference to the various cultures that together constitute a European civilization (Statute 1957:225). The concept of European citizenship is therefore missing, but the idea of different national belonging is clearly present and the idea of how different cultural traditions together constitute European civilization is partially already present and suggested. No further definitions are given regarding the latter. Article 2 states that students of other nationalities can also be admitted to the European School subject to authorization from the Executive Board (Statute 1957: 225). Article 3 deals with the organization of the School and its division into primary school, lasting five years, and secondary school, lasting seven years. Article 4 instead defines the principles to which teaching in the School must adhere; they are the following:

The teaching provided at the School shall conform to the following principles:
(1) The fundamental education, as determined by the Executive Board, shall be provided in the official languages of the Contracting Parties;
(2) Teaching in all the language sections shall be based on uniform curricula and time-tables;
(3) In order to promote the unity of the School, as well as understanding and cultural interchange between pupils in the various language sections, classes at the same level shall be taught together in certain subjects;
(4) To this end, a special effort shall be made to give the pupils a thorough knowledge of modern languages;
(5) In the process of teaching and education, personal beliefs and convictions shall be respected (Statute 1957: 226)

It stated that fundamental education, as established by the Executive Board, was to be provided in the official languages of the contracting parties; that teaching in all language sections had to be organized around a uniform curriculum and uniform timetables which would then in fact be implemented in the form of harmonized timetables and programmes. Furthermore, in order to promote the unity of the School as well as understanding and cultural exchange between students in the various linguistic sections, classes at the same level should have shared some subjects; for this purpose, a special effort had to be made to give students as complete a knowledge of modern languages as possible. Finally, it stated the necessity to respect personal beliefs. Moving on, Article Five focuses then on the recognition of grades, diplomas and certificates obtained in the European School in the countries of the Contracting Parties - the same recognition process mentioned by Van Houtte in his speech in Chicago in 1963 (see Chapter 2, part 2.2) and made possible thanks to the agreement of the competent national authorities. It is explained that the final diploma is received at the end of the secondary cycle and after having taken the final exams necessary for the *Baccalauréat européen* - the European school leaving certificate (Statute, 1962, p. 226). It allows former ES students to

(a) Enjoy in their own countries all the advantages conferred by possession of the diploma or certificate issued in that country upon completion of secondary studies; and
(b) Be entitled to apply for admission to any university in the countries of the Contracting Parties, on the same footing as nationals holding equivalent certificates (Statute, 1962, p. 226).

Organizational issues relating to the European School Leaving Certificate (*Baccalauréat Européen*) are then explored in depth in the *Annex to the Statute of The European School containing regulations for the European School Leaving Certificate (Baccalauréat Européen)*. The Annex consists of 23 articles which deal with clarifying the functioning and the conduct of the examination session, the registration for and the purpose of the examinations, their composition, the composition and deliberations of the examining board, the criteria of equivalence of the European Leaving Certificate to national certificates of secondary education.

To go back to the Statute, Article 6 clarifies the status of the European School as a public institution (Statute, 1962, p. 227). The subsequent titles and articles outline the roles of the various bodies, namely the Executive Board - which had the task of drawing up a curriculum and uniform timetables - the Boards of Inspection, the Administrative Board and the Director. The topic of the budget is also addressed; then, the aforementioned Annex relating to the regulations on the European Baccalaureate can be found; as already noticed, the desire to ensure that this qualification is recognized in the individual states of origin permeates the whole document, thus underlying the importance of allowing the European School students to access higher education in each of the Member States.

I now take a leap forward in time and turn my attention to the other 'prescriptive' document, the 1994 *Convention Defining the Statute of the European Schools*, which replaced the 1957 *Statute*: as in the case of the latter, the first three articles of the Convention also concern the purpose of these Schools, "to educate together children of the staff of the European Communities "even though "other children may attend within the limits set by the Board of Governors" (Convention, 1994, p.1). Article 3, in particular, refers to the school levels offered within the European Schools: "a nursery school; five years of primary school; seven years of secondary school" (Ibidem, p. 2). As in the analysis of the Statute, even in the case of the Convention, I will now focus, in particular, on Article 4 since it outlines the fundamental principles on which the educational project of the European Schools is based. I report it in full below:

The education given in the Schools shall be organized on the following principles:
1. the courses of study shall be undertaken in the languages specified in Annex II;
2. that Annex may be amended by the Board of Governors to take account of decisions taken under Articles 2 and 32;

3. in order to encourage the unity of the School, to bring pupils of the different language sections together and to foster mutual understanding, certain subjects shall be taught to joint classes of the same level. Any Community language may be used for these joint classes, insofar as the Board of Governors decides that circumstances justify its use;

4. a particular effort shall be made to give pupils a thorough knowledge of modern languages;

5. the European dimension shall be developed in the curricula;

6. in education and instruction, the conscience and convictions of individuals shall be respected;

7. measures shall be taken to facilitate the reception of children with special educational needs" (Convention 1994: 2).

Firstly, it can be noted that Article 4 of the 1994 Convention consists of seven paragraphs, two more compared to the five ones in Article 4 of the 1957 Statute; some words and expressions had been changed, though the substance appears to have remained mostly the same. After a better look, some tiny modifications emerge, and some new concepts appear to have been introduced or explained more clearly; I will now look at them in more detail. In the preamble to the article, I detect the word "teaching" in the case of the Statute and the word "education" in the Convention; however, the concept of "fundamental education" appears in the first paragraph of the Statute where it is stated that fundamental education must be guaranteed in the official languages (vs the languages specified in Annex II in the Convention). Moreover, while paragraph 2 of Article 4 of the 1994 Convention concerns the possibility to amend the Annex by the Board of Governors to take account of decisions taken under Articles 2 and 32, in the 1957 Statute the paragraph 2, Article 4 underlines the necessity to guarantee uniform curricula and time-tables in all language sections: as already said, partially, in the 1994 Convention there is no mention of the harmonization of curricula and timetables; I hypothesize that it might be due to the fact there is no longer need for it since it is something already accomplished; we might even say that this tell us something of the organization of the European Schools and of their needs: if, at their origins, the need for creating a well-organized system was strongly felt, in 1994 this is no longer mentioned probably because it is something now characterizing the European Schools, and, consequently, it is no longer needed.

Going back to the Convention, Paragraph 3 focuses on the need to teach specific subjects together in joint classes of the same level to promote the unity of the School and mutual understanding and cultural exchange; in both texts, this paragraph expresses the same concepts even though with some light lexical variations. The following paragraph, number 4, is directly connected to the previous one and is lexically very similar in both documents, highlighting the considerable effort that will be made to ensure that students acquire "a thorough knowledge of modern languages" (Statute, 1962, p.226; Convention, 1994). Then, a remarkable turn of events

appears since, in the 1994 Convention, a new paragraph was added here, referring to the necessity to develop a European dimension in the curricula. In the previous documents, reference was made just to the harmonization of the curricula – as already noted before – while here their European dimension is explicitly referred. In my opinion, it is interesting to note, in this case, the moment in which this happened, that is, in 1994, after the Maastricht Treaty, in 1992; the latter had precisely made it explicit that the EC action was aimed at developing the European dimension of education[36] (Maastricht Treaty, 1992, Art. 126).

Then, paragraph 6 of the Convention is almost identical to paragraph 5 of the Statute about respect for personal beliefs and convictions. In the 1994 Convention, a seventh Paragraph was added about the necessity to take measures to facilitate the reception of children with special educational needs: no mention of them is made in the 1957 Statute but looking at the documents on the reform of the European Schools Curricula and in the Pedagogical Bulletins we will see how this discourse will start to emerge.

3.2. Harmonized Timetables and Programmes

As noted in the previous paragraphs, the need to provide uniform curricula and timetables was expressed in the 1957 Statute. In this regard, I will now look at the Harmonized Timetables and Programs – from now on HTPs - (1957; 1963; 1972; 1977): they represent the first antecedents of the current Syllabi/Structure for Syllabus. I now proceed to analyze them in detail.

3.2.1 The 1957 Harmonized Timetables and Programmes

The first version of the Harmonized Timetables and Programs dates back to 1957. As explained on page 5:

The Harmonized Timetables and Programs of the European School were agreed, upon proposal of the Board of Inspectors, by the Superior Council of the School in their meetings of 6,7 and 8 September 1954; 3 and 4 May 1955; 17 and 18 May 1956; 25 and 26 and 27 January 1957. The syllabus for physical education, drawing, music, art history, manual work, and religion courses will be agreed further on the basis of practical experience (HTP ES 1957, p. 5, trans. mine).

Before going into details about the individual subjects, information on the general organization is given; as regards the structure of the studies, it is stated how

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[36] For more information on this, see Capperucci (2013). Furthermore, I emphasise that, although the explicit reference to the work and efforts of the European Community to promote a European dimension of education appears explicitly in 1992, it should be remembered that this discourse has older origins and that first assumptions in this regard can be traced back to 1973 with the Janne Report (cf. Grek & Lawn, 2012).

After an in-depth study of the education systems of the six ECSC countries, the Board established that the duration could be from 12 to 13 years and that, in schools abroad, a one-year reduction was usually granted on a maximum of 13 years. Consequently, in the European School in Luxembourg, it was decided to proceed as follows: 5 years for primary school; 7 years for secondary school (HTP ES 1957, p. 7, trans. mine).

Taking into account the different national educational systems, it was, therefore, created an organizational structure and programs that tried to be as much coherent as possible. Students in each year of study were divided into the following four linguistic sections based on their mother tongue (L1):

- German linguistic section;

- French linguistic section;

- Italian linguistic section;

- Dutch/Flemish linguistic section.

As for the subjects, basic teachings such as reading, spelling and grammar, calculation, and arithmetic were part of the primary school cycle; at the secondary level, grammar and literature, ancient languages, philosophy and mathematics were taught in L1. All other teachings in the secondary cycle were taught using either two possible languages - French and German - in courses attended by students of different language sections. Students were indeed divided into classes taught in the two target languages on the basis that - starting from the second year of secondary school - all students followed a minimum number of hours of teaching in a language other than their L1.

As for the structure of secondary education, the document explains how the first three years of secondary education consisted of a common trunk. The first year was essentially conceived as a preparatory year to consolidate systematically the knowledge acquired at the primary level, while the practice of the target language was developed through intensive teaching.

In the fourth year, students could choose between three options and attend one of the following sections:

- Latin- Greek - languages section;

- Latin section - mathematics - science - languages;

- Modern languages section - mathematics - science.

Three variations in the final exam test corresponded to these sections.

It immediately emerged that, in all classes and in all sections, an important place was given to *les langues vivantes* (ES HTP, 1957, p. 8). In primary schools, all students studied one of the foreign languages between French and German for one hour a week: this language would then

be used as a target language in secondary classes. The students of Dutch/Flemish origins added German to their study of French from the first year of secondary school. Belgian French-speaking students were expected to study four hours of Flemish per week from the beginning to the end of secondary school. All students were then required to study English from the third year of secondary school. Finally, students who chose the modern section learned a third ECSC language compulsorily starting from the fourth year of secondary school.

Before going into detail about the individual subjects, the timetables are provided (HTP SE, 1957, p. 10). Then, the content of the secondary cycle subjects are immediately presented: Mothertongue, Ancient Languages (Latin and Greek), Philosophy, *Langues vivantes* (Second Languages) such as German, French and Dutch. As for the *Langues Vivantes*, before showing the topics of every language and the hours dedicated to them, the goals and limits of this type of teaching are illustrated, namely the fact that the teaching of the second language would have been in all classes "*educatif, practique et culturel*" (educational, practical and cultural – HTP, 1957, p. 21, mine trans.). In particular, the focus on the practical aspects of the language and the linguistic elements would have been provided during the first three years, the common trunk, while in the following years, much attention would have been given to the cultural teaching with notions on the way of living of the foreign country and people.

This specific interest in individual countries is also present in the subsequent teaching, namely History; here, too, the list of contents that will be covered can be immediately found, followed however by a final note in which it is specified that

we will thus study the great moments and major aspects of our civilization, as well as the successive contributions of peoples and nations. The brief reminder alluded to above will necessarily include the essential features of the national history of each of the countries of the Community, at the various periods considered (HTP, 1957, p. 29).

It then goes on with Geography, Maths, Biology Harmonized, Physics to conclude with Chemistry and start with the primary cycle's subjects. The first one is Mothertongue Teaching, followed by Arithmetic, Geography, History, and Teaching of the Second Language. Here, unlike the other previous subjects mostly made up of a list of contents, there are also methodological considerations and reflections. Speaking of 'methods', it is said that the natural and direct one should be favoured (HTP, 1957, p.62); as for the methodological guidelines, it is advised that

at the first level, teaching must be oral, intuitive and active. The teacher must, therefore, take care of her language, speak clearly and use very simple constructions. The program must follow the child's experience and focus directly on accessible resources in the environment (THP, 1957, p. 63, mine translation).

Similar considerations are also found in the Italian version which points out that

L'allievo sarà iniziato a un linguaggio semplice e vivo, funzionalmente attivo. Quello di cui ci si servirà, di diretta utilità, dovrà rispondere ai bisogni reali, e si ispirerà alle necessità dell'ambiente. Nei limiti del possibile, l'insegnante terrà conto delle ricerche moderne per determinare quale vocabolario base debba far acquisire ai suoi allievi (THP, 1957, p. 191).

Both the French and Italian versions of the 1957 document indicate the following teaching techniques as effective in promoting language learning and teaching in Primary school:

Quelques techniques pouvant etre utilisées:
a) Conférences faites par un enfant; (un élève d'une classe à ses condisciples – un élève d'une classe francaise auc élèves d'une classe allemande, etc.);
b) théatre de marionnettes (dialogues composés par les enfants);
c) theatre d'enfants;
d) disque, radio-scolaire, sonofil;
e) clubs d'enfants (on y parle alternativement l'une, puis l'autre langue);
f) bibliothèques de classe -clubs de lecture;
g) imprimerie scolaire: le journal de l'école (articles en différentes langues);
h) échanges et correspondance interscolaire (entre différentes classes de l'école et une école étrangère) (THP, 1957, p. 64)

a) Conferenze fatte dai ragazzi (un allievo della classe ai suoi condiscepoli – un allievo di una classe francese agli allievi di una classe tedesca, ecc.);
b) teatro di marionette (dialoghi composti dagli allievi);
c) teatro recitato dai ragazzi;
d) dischi, radio scolastica, registrazioni su filo;
e) circoli dei ragazzi (dove si parli alternativamente l'una e l'altra lingua).
f) Biblioteche di classe – circoli di lettura.
g) Tipografia scolastica: il giornale della scuola (articoli in lingue diverse).
h) Scambi di corrispondenza interscolastica (tra le diverse classi della scuola – tra la scuola ed una scuola straniera) (THP, 1957, p. 193).

A series of "active methods" appear to be predominant, putting students' intuition and interests at the centre. I believe it is relevant to look at the aforementioned active techniques to be used in second language teaching and other subjects at the European Schools: even though I was not able to retrace where these suggestions came from, we could hypothesize that they fit and agree well with some of the ideas and actions underlying New Education/Progressive Education and what has been defined "educational internationalism" (Hofstetter, Schneuwly, 2020, p. 27)[37].

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[37] On the links between Progressive Education and Educational Internationalism, see Boss et al. 2020. As for the expression "educational internationalism", as explained by Hofstetter and Schneuwly, it has been coined by themselves drawing on the literature on internationalism in the 20th century: according to them internationalism "designates the steps taken by a diversity of actors (intellectuals, experts, activists, diplomats, senior officials, etc.)

In this regard, following Carlo Ginzburg's suggestion to "make connections" (in Depaepe, 2000, p. 39) we could for instance try to associate the approach to language teaching and the techniques advised for in the ESs with the efforts to educate for international understanding and peace through linguistic educational practices, efforts made by the *Bureau international d'éducation* (IBE) and other institutions, and that – according to Schneuwly et al. – constitute an intricate issue (Schneuwly et al., 2021, p. 337). In particular, I am referring to interschool correspondence and children's literature. As shown by Schneuwly et al., these practices were "the subject of the very first IBE investigations and seem intrinsically linked to international understanding and collaboration" (Ib., p. 338); I think it is worth noting how these two specific educational practices can both be found within the European Schools where they are in turn also linked to mutual understanding and cooperation.

3.2.2. The 1963 Harmonized Timetables and Programmes

In this case, I only came into possession of the French version. The initial introductory part relating to the structure of the European Schools appears to be the same as that of 1957. It begins with the secondary classes, and the weekly timetable is immediately inserted; at a glance, a new teaching, previously absent, can be noticed: *Civisme*. It is present for all sections - *Latin, Grec and Langues; Latin, Math, Sciences and Langues; Moderne, Math, Sciences and Langues* - for one hour in the sixth year. Then, the list of subjects and contents that will be covered begins. The first one is again Mothertongue Teaching (French in this case); Ancient Languages follow together with Philosophy and the new teaching Civisme. It is divided into four main parts: in the first, on "*The individual and society*", it is highlighted how every man needs other men. The following chapters focus on the family, the school, the profession, and the different forms of work (manual, intellectual, social role of work). Finally, the last chapter of the first part focuses on society, its structure, the interdependence of nations, and human solidarity. Moving on to the second part, it refers to "*The citizen and the State*" with topics such as the cradle of civilization, the evolution of public services, the province or departments, the state and the nation (executive, legislative, judicial powers and comparison of different constitutional systems); modern evolution of society and the responsibility of the State (ES HTP, 1963, p. 22); different economic systems (Ibidem, p. 23); the citizen before the State; the ideas of Patriotism

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to stabilize transnational exchanges via institutions, networks, and offices mobilized for common causes" (Hofstetter, Schnewuly, 2020, p. 27); the authors also point out how the spread of internationalism in people's mind was promoted also through cultural actions and, in particular, what they refer to as cultural internationalism (Ibidem) composed of "intellectual cooperation, artistic and literary reations, global collective memory […] Education is one component of this" (Ibidem, p. 28).

and Nationalism. The third part of Civisme concerns Europe, and the relations between European nations; one of the chapters of this part covers the fact that "the evolution of the world makes cooperation between European people necessary" (Ibidem, p. 23); therefore, attempts at European unification are then explored together with the first achievements in the political and economic sphere. There is also a focus on the OECD, the Council of Europe, the European community, the European integration and the need for European cooperation. The fourth part finally focuses on the world with the following themes: the world organization up to the Second World War with the League of Nations and the International Court of Justice and international cooperation. It then moves on to what happened after 1945 and, in particular, to the unequal pace of evolution in different parts of the world and the problems of the contemporary world at the time such as demographic problems, world hunger, under-developed countries, refugees, and minorities. The last chapter then deals with the United Nations (Ibidem).

The document then continues with the Second Language Teaching (*Langues Vivantes*). It is specified that its objectives must be educational, practical and cultural, just like in 1957. Shortly afterwards, however, a difference can be detected in comparison to the previous version: in the part relating to the teaching of German as a second language, in fact, the purposes of this teaching are specified, and a line of reasoning is adopted recalling what I mentioned in the previous paragraph about educational internationalism and the teaching of foreign languages as a tool to promote peaceful coexistence (and therefore also an idea of citizenship open to the understanding of the different). On p. 24, it is indicated that emerging Europe includes many states different in their way of living, traditions, and cultural, social and political perspectives. It is then highlighted how, in the past, these countries fought each other too often due to propaganda dictated by ignorance, mutual lack of knowledge, or due to unfounded prejudices. However, it is argued that "ignorance and misunderstandings almost always derive from not understanding each other, from not speaking the other's language" (ES HTP, 1963, p. 24). For this reason, one of the main tasks of the European Schools

is therefore to make their students master German, one of the main European languages. Through knowledge of this language, the student will be put in contact with their classmates from another nation, to respect them and to see them as companions and, why not, as friends. In this way, they will acquire practical knowledge of the social and political problems of neighbouring peoples and their development; students will also be able to vigorously defend the idea of a united Europe against all prejudices, half-truths and political slander. By learning German, students will be led to know and appreciate everything that German people achieved in the fields of poetry, art, music, science and literature. In setting these three objectives, we go beyond the scope of school teaching; a whole lifetime is hardly enough to reach them; but the school has the duty to put its students on the right path and guide them in the first stages of their journey (Ibidem, pp. 24-25, mine translation).

By underlining how the teaching of languages - and in particular German - may serve to overcome attitudes of ignorance and prejudice towards different cultures, peoples and ways of thinking, it reiterates, in my opinion, how learning foreign languages could have contributed to education to peace and to open peaceful and democratic citizenship. This part can be found in the subsequent versions of the Harmonized Timetables and Programs of 1972 and 1977, but a similar discussion is not present for the other second languages (Dutch, French, Italian). History and Geography then follow. As for Geography, in comparison to the previous version, some indications are given since it is said that

Cet enseignement doit être concret et descriptif. Aussi fera-t-il une large place à l'emploi des méthodes actives (observation de photographies, de croquis, de diagrammes, etc.) et à l'étude du milieu local. On en éliminera toute explication et théorie compliquées. Un effort particulier sera fait pour initier les élèves à l'usage de la carte[38] (ES HTP, 1963, p. 38).

Again, here, too, it can be noted the reference to the active methods.

Then, the list of contents for Mathematics[39], Biology, Physics, Chemistry and Musical Education are indicated.

The harmonized timetables and programs of the primary cycle follow; they seem to have remained almost unchanged compared to the previous version of 1957. Some minor modifications appeared to be added to the geography programme: the necessity to start from the direct observation of the surrounding environment is indeed underlined.

3.2.3 The 1972 Harmonized Timetables and Programmes

I had access to the French version of the 1972 Harmonized Timetables and Programs. From the cover, it is possible to notice a first change: the number of the European Schools has increased, and the following are indicated on the cover: Luxembourg (1953), Brussels (1958), Mol (1960), Varese (1960), Karlsruhe (1962), Bergen (1963). Although many of these new Schools were already in existence when the previous 1963 programs were published, they were not mentioned on the initial 1963 cover. Moreover, in the 1972 Timetables and Programs, a first variation in terms of structure can be found; or to better phrase it, the organizational structure of the study courses remains more or less the same, but some changes occur; I better explain them in the following lines. For instance, it is stated how the Class Council (*Conseil de Classe*) and the

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[38] This teaching must be concrete and descriptive. It will therefore place a large emphasis on the use of active methods (observation of photographs, sketches, diagrams, etc.) and the study of the local environment. All complicated explanations and theories will be eliminated. A special effort will be made to introduce students to the use of maps (mine translation).
[39] Optional extra indications are given for those students interested in continuing their path at the École Polytechnique belge (ES HTP, 1963, p. 53).

Guidance Council (*Conseil d'orientation*) could have given indications to students on their future paths. Indeed, at the beginning of the second semester of the second year of secondary school, indications were given on which section to choose within those available. There is also a reference to students "not suited to abstract studies leading to the baccalaureate degree and who will be normally directed to the short final cycle at the 4th year level[40]" (ES HTP, 1972, p. 5, my translation). This is the first time students with difficulties are mentioned. Such students – defined as "less suitable for abstract studies" (ES HTP, 1972, p. 5, my translation) – were then offered the possibility to attend a vocational path at the end of the common trunk, namely after the 3rd year of secondary school. This path was called the short terminal cycle (*cycle terminal court*) and consisted of two years, the 4th and 5th, and offered the following three routes:

- technical (*technique*);
- commercial (*commercial*);
- childcare and domestic arts (*puériculture et arts ménagers*).

Moreover, in this version of the Timetable and Harmonized Programme, there was an increase in the number of addresses to which students could enrol and specialize in after the third year of secondary school; in fact, the following sections were indicated:

- the Latin-Greek section;
- the Latin-Modern Languages section;
- the Latin-Mathematics section;
- the Mathematics-Modern Languages section;
- the Economic and Social Sciences section.

Each section led to a different variant of the Baccalauréat with different typologies of tests involved. The document continues showing the contents for each subject, starting with the one of the secondary cycle. As for subjects such as Mother tongue Teaching, Ancient Languages and Philosophy, their content seems to have stayed the same as in the previous versions. A similar discourse is also true for the *Langues Vivantes* (Second Language Teaching): the part on learning German and its importance to the promotion of an attitude of mutual understanding is also present. However, what must be noticed is that English and the topics related to this discipline are included among the second languages; in previous versions, English was

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[40] "*Pour les élèves qui ne sont pas doués pour des études abstraites menant au baccalauréat et qui seront normalement dirigés vers le cycle terminal court au niveau de la 4 année*" (ES HTP, 1972, p. 5).

indicated as a possible 3rd language in the school timetable, but no indication of the contents seemed to be present.

The History program follows. Initially, there are brief indications of methods such as "accustoming students to using the manuals of other European countries and the documentation made available to them in the School Library" (ES HTP 1972, p. 24, trans. my). Then, the contents are indicated. While in the 1957 and 1963 versions, it was only included the recommendation to pay attention - from the 4th year onwards - to the evolution of people's lives, taking into account the "national history of each of the countries of the Community in the different eras seen" (Ib., 1962 p. 37, my trans.), from 1972 onwards, this is requested already in the 3rd year of secondary school; furthermore, it is specified that "in all linguistic sections, history teaching will be offered in the mother tongue during the first cycle and in the first two years of the second; from the 3rd year onwards of the secondary cycle it will be carried out in the vehicular language (*en langue véhiculaire*)" (ES HTP, 1972, p. 26, my trans.).

Then, the programs of subjects such as Geography, Economic Geography, Mathematics, Economics, Sociology, Law are indicated. These last three subjects belong to the Economic and Social Sciences Section; the contents presented are very reminiscent of those indicated in the previous version for the teaching called *Civisme*; the latter was proposed again among the courses in the 1972 programmes, probably as an elective subject for the Latin-Greek, Latin-Modern Languages, Mathematics-Modern languages Sections. In fact, the subject is not explicitly remarked in the secondary cycle timetables, but it exists - for the aforementioned courses - the possibility of attending courses in music, art history and social education (ES HTP, 1972, p. 9). The document continues paying attention to Biology, Chemistry, Physics, and Musical Education. Almost at the end of the secondary cycle, there are indications for Non-Denominational Morality/Ethics: in the previous programs, it was indicated in the timetables, but I have not found any further indications of its content. Given the role of moral education in the development of modern schooling and considering that, since the 19th century, the 'moral' character of education and its impact in terms of socialisation and moral formation have been brought to the fore in pedagogical discourses (Depapepe, 2002, 361), I will briefly look at it; the course is aimed at those students who do not follow specific religious principles and has the objective of "préparer les élèves à vivre dans le monde actuel en hommes équilibrés, généreux et libres, formés à la tolerance[41]" (ES HTP, 1972, p. 64), and trying to orient and help them in the analysis of what happens in their individual life and in social life, but leaving them free in

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[41] "It aims at preparing the students to live in the current world as balanced, healthy and free men, formed in tolerance" (Ibidem, p. 64, mine translation).

their beliefs. Furthermore, it is underlined that this teaching should be flexible, not rigid, in terms of contents proposed, taking inspiration from facts of life from which to start reflections. In this process, the dedicated and delicate role of the teacher is highlighted - the teacher who guides firmly, but without imposing. The topics proposed in the program are various, such as family relationships, habits of schoolchildren, health, responsibility, respect for others, behaviour towards animals, qualities and defects, the need for work and its dignity, moral values, courage, conscience, justice, respect, love for others. Topics connecting the individual life to the collective are also proposed, such as moral reflection and the need for social organization or the foundations of law (ES HTP, 1972, p. 65); there is also attention towards religions and religiosity, as well as to the contributions of psychology and psychoanalysis; finally, a focus on commitment and responsibility, tolerance, interest in human issues and contemporary problems is proposed (Ib.).

Then, the harmonized timetables and programs for the fourth and fifth year of the short terminal cycle follow; as already explained, it was the path introduced for those students who were defined - in the introductory pages - as "less suitable for abstract studies" (ES HTP, 1972, p. 5, my translation) and who wanted to attend a vocational path at the end of the common trunk, after the 3rd year of secondary school. The students of the short terminal cycle could have attended the following courses together with students of the other courses: Mother tongue, First second language, Second second language (English), Geography in vehicular language, Physical education, Music, Religion or morals. The following are the teachings offered exclusively for the short terminal cycle: History, Economic geography in vehicular language, Mathematics, Scientific education, and Optional subjects based on the major chosen from those proposed. I will focus briefly on the latter, in particular, History and Economic Geography.

The History program is presented with some recommendations: first of all, it is underlined that its main objective is not only to allow students to acquire knowledge but, above all, to promote " *une authentique formation, qui aidera les élèves à comprendre at à affronter les réalités et les problèmes du monde dans lequel ils s'inséreront par une vie professionelle active au sortir de ce cycle d'étude*" (Ib. p. 74). Among the proposed themes, there are the following: socialism and development: syndicalism and social legislation; different models of socialist realizations; actual trends of Marxist ideologies; international achievements in the contemporary era: imperialism, colonialism, nationalism, antagonism between nations and two world wars, the problem of development (Ib., p. 72). Furthermore, it is specified how the teaching should have been carried out in the mother tongue (and not in the vehicular language as normally expected within the European Schools) to allow students "*d'un niveau intellectuel plus faible d'acquérir*

la formation visée” (Ibidem). The proposed topics focus on the political, technical, economic and social evolution of the world in the last two centuries and on contemporary international relations in the attempt to offer “*une preparation plus directe à la vie active et à la compréhension des problèmes rencontrés dans la vie professionnelle*” (Ib.). Teachers were invited to focus in particular on the most contemporary issues and to make this teaching "concrete" through the use of iconographic and written documents such as photographs, films, TV programmes, historical texts and newspaper articles. Finally, there is the invitation to take into account the pedagogical intentions of the teachers and the interests expressed by the students, with great attention to all topics relating to the European unification.

Similar indications can be found in the Economic Geography programme, however, taught in the vehicular language in continuity with the teaching of Geography proposed in the long cycle, but also to encourage the better learning of a foreign language whose knowledge is presented as essential "*dans les emplois administratifs ou commercialeux*” (Ib., p. 75). There is also the invitation to use concrete methods to provide the elements to make students understand the present time and what lies ahead. Teachers are invited to focus on what is considered the most interesting for students, what is well-connected with current events and the pre-established pedagogical goals (Ib., p. 76).

The optional subjects then follow such as geometric drawing, technology and manual work for the first group; accounting, business arithmetic, typing, stenography, and business correspondence for the second group; childcare, home economics (homemaking or domestic science), and art education for group three.

The document later continues with the timetables and programs for the primary school.

It starts with the Mother Tongue Teaching program (in this case French since the document is in its French version); compared to the previously analyzed versions, there are some changes: there is a longer general introductory part which partially refers to the reform attempts that the primary school was going through within the European Schools[42]. Furthermore, some guidelines are given and I will try to summarize them below. For example, it is pointed out that the Mother Tongue Teaching Program must be harmonized with the spirit of a general reform of primary school centered on the children and their deep interests; in this way, it is given less attention to the transmission of contents and more to the growing need to create the material conditions that will lead the children themselves to develop by assimilating the different cultural contributions of the environment. Language is recognized as a wonderful tool that allows

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[42] More details on this matter will be given in this chapter, in paragraphs 3.3.

everyone to express what is most personal to them, to communicate with others and to have access to listening and reading the works (Ibidem, p. 92). The need to effectively practice oral and written communication is then highlighted, putting students in a position to be capable of listening, writing, and speaking. It is then believed that teachers should step aside more than they have done in the past, but without reducing their role. The teacher continues to be the one who provides models and exercises a very important widespread action by ensuring that students imitate and gradually assimilate the language. It is the teacher who chooses the beautiful texts that correspond to the children's interests and who presents the poems and stories at the precise moment in which they meet expectations.

Finally, there is the invitation to take into account the contributions of linguistics: it is argued that some exercises that have proven effective in the study of foreign languages can be transposed to the study of the mother tongue. This presupposes that teacher no longer has a purely normative attitude. They must train themselves to observe children's language, thus placing the emphasis on the students, but this does not imply total freedom and inattention for the teachers. The role that teachers, and language teachers in particular, should have in class are better expressed by the following lines:

Meeting children's real needs can be more difficult than following a set schedule. This means that teachers have a lot of initiative in organizing their classes. Since everything is done to enable the students to complete their education, teachers must try to maintain a balance between the different types of activities. It goes without saying that this free initiative can and must find its culminating moment in the comparison of ideas and experiences. This is an opportunity to share business examples and give everyone confidence in their abilities. Thanks to a friendly dialogue, it will be tried to ensure that changes are made in each structure while maintaining a spirit of moderation and harmony (ES HTP, 1972, p. 92-93).

There is also an invitation to take into account "current learning theories based on a ternary approach" (HTP, 1972, p. 93) as follows:

a) General intuitive understanding of linguistic structures;
b) Functional analysis: progressive awareness of syntax and vocabulary;
c) Synthesis: transfer of the structures acquired through impregnation; personalized management of the written language (ES HTP, 1972, p. 93, my translation)

Teachers are therefore invited to leave children complete freedom of thought or expression on the basis of

concrete themes that arouse their interest (family conversations, current events, school activities and facts, references to biological interests, etc.) or semi-concrete (commentary on a film, a story, a radio or television programme, a work of art; investigations; research; student presentations; criticism of a collective work; etc.) or imagination (concluding a story; invent dramatic games, puppets, dialogue scenes, pantomime) (Ibidem, my translation).

Furthermore, it is argued that this promotion of communication and the need to stimulate it considering students' motivation has consequences on classroom relationships modifying them deeply. It is indeed underlined that

the linear relationship in which the teacher asks questions and the student answers and records is replaced by triangular exchanges from teacher to student(s), and then from student(s) to teacher and from student(s) to student. This presupposes that teachers know how to listen to their students and that they become the privileged observer of the class group (Ibidem, p. 93, my translation).

Next, a reflection on the different parts to work on in learning the mother tongue follows: grammar, spelling, reading, and recitation. The contents of the program are then indicated.

The document continues with the Mathematics program. I will also briefly focus on the latter since some interesting methodological considerations and aims are introduced here, and they, in my opinion, can be framed within the attempts at reform and harmonization that were taking place in that period and from which it is possible to draw considerations in terms of traceable pedagogical influences. The document begins by recognizing that in recent years there has been the necessity to rethink and reform how Mathematics is taught on the basis of its significant penetration into a large number of new sciences and specific activities of society. As a result, debates sparked on the matter (ES HTP, 1972, p. 104). One of the questions posed wonders "whether it is appropriate to adequately initiate the culture of the mathematical mind in children as soon as they enter primary school or even kindergarten" (Ib.). To respond to it, there has been a turn to psychology, which has indicated, through various studies, how are capable of dealing with real mathematical problems from an early age. Furthermore, the document points out that

these studies highlight the importance of the principle of sensitive periods, dear to M. Montessori, namely that a certain number of fundamental concepts and notions must appear in specific moments of childhood, otherwise, they will never find full fulfilment again (Ibidem, p. 104).

Not only Montessori but also Jean Piaget is mentioned immediately after since he also supported the idea of an early introduction to the teaching of new mathematics; the document therefore reports Piaget's words on the teaching of mathematics, volume 12, part 4[43], in which he wrote that:

Il est tout à fait possible et souhaitable d'entreprendre une profonde réforme de l'enseignement dans la direction des mathématiques modernes car, par une convergence remarquable, celles-ci se trouvent etre plus proches des opérations naturelles ou spontanées du sujet (enfant ou adolescent) que ne l'était

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[43] This bibliographical indication and the quotation from Piaget reproduced here is given in the 1972 Harmonized Timetables and Programmes on p. 104.

l'enseignement traditionnel de ces branches trop asservi à l'histoire[44] (l'Enseignement mathématique – tome 12 – fasc.4) (ES HTP, 1972, p. 104)

 It is then highlighted that "the essential purpose of mathematics teaching will no longer be to provide students with techniques for solving more or less fixed problems, but to make them capable of understanding mathematical concepts, assimilating them and handling them" (Ibid., my translation). To achieve all of this the document points out that it becomes necessary to replace traditional mathematical teaching with authentic mathematical activities. Consequently, as seen before for the mother tongue and language teaching, a change and adaptation of the teacher-student relationship to the new situation are invoked. The origins of this type of pedagogical shift can also be retraced here as it is written that

A vrai dire, il suffira d'appliquer plus spécialement à la discipline de la mathématique le principe de base de l' 'École active' ou de l' 'École nouvelle', que la plupart des maitres ont adopté dans une large mesure pour l'ensemble de leur travail scolaire.
C'est le principe de l'activité mentale véritable de l'élève au cours de l'action pédagogique: "Le maitre explique et expose moins, les élèves recherchent et découvrent davantage[45] (HTP, 1972, p. 105).

The document goes on defining Mathematics as "an infinitely rich mine from which children will draw with joy" (Ib., my translation). To be sure that this will happen advice to teachers is given; it is indeed suggested that

the teacher will consider the child as an evolving person who has the potential for originality. Teachers will, therefore, not try to mould the children according to a pre-established model, which would be equivalent, in the field of mathematics, to instilling in them formulas and processes that they would have to apply only mechanically. On the contrary, the role of the teacher will essentially be a role of stimulator and guide who will initiate the steps of the student's mind through the interest of the problems posed and who will discreetly direct this step towards a useful end, while at the same time leaving the child the joy and satisfaction of having chosen the preferred path (Ibidem, p. 105, my translation).

 The influence of active pedagogy and psychological studies is clearly traceable in this part on the teaching of mathematics as in others seen previously as, for instance, mother tongue and foreign languages teaching. Indications on the latter follow the mathematics program but they are presented in a practically identical manner to that of the previous version of 1963. The same can be said for the teaching of The European Hours. However, some changes are found in the History program; among the purposes relating to the teaching of History, the following is added:

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[44] "It is entirely possible and desirable to undertake a profound reform of teaching in the direction of modern mathematics because, through a notable convergence, these are found to be closer to the natural or spontaneous operations of the subject (child or adolescent) than was the traditional teaching of these branches too subservient to history (Teaching mathematics - volume 12 - part 4)" (HTP, 1972, p. 104, my translation).

[45] It will be enough to apply more specifically to the discipline of mathematics the basic principle of the "Active School" or the "New School", which the majority of teachers have adopted to a large extent throughout their entire school career. This is the principle of the student's true mental activity during the educational action: "The teacher explains and explains less, and the students research and discover more" (THP; 1972, p. 105, my translation).

"*Préparer l'enfant à la compréhension internationale en soulignant l'interdépendance des peuples et en présentant les personnages et les faits avec une rigoreuse objectivité[46]*" (ES HTP, 1972, p. 132). Here, too, traces of the active approach can be found: in my view, part of them was already recognizable in the 1963 together with the invitation to focus on those historical figures who were considered not only decisive during the various events but that represented moral values and therefore constituted an educational example with their behaviours (ES HTP, 1963, p. 94; ES HTP, 1972, p. 133). To go back to the 1972 version, it is then added that what is important for the student to understand is "the march of the European peoples, through all the vicissitudes of past centuries, towards their current social, economic and cultural state" (Ib., 1972, p. 133, my translation). So, the "European people" as a 'whole' are mentioned and considered but then there is also a strong focus on the national dimension. Indeed, it is explained that the last lessons of the course will be dedicated to evoking the achievement of national unity in each country and the main events of contemporary history to provide students with an overview of their recent national history. It is then said that this teaching will be given form on the basis of authentic documents, reproductions, models, simple and lively texts, etc.

Then, the Geography programme follows, identical to that of 1963, with great attention to the local environment. The Morale program can be found immediately after; even though it was mentioned in the 1963 timetables, there were no further indications on contents and methods in that previous version. As well as the case of non-denominational moral education seen in secondary schools (1972), even here the main aim is to educate students "whose moral education finds its foundations in an independent philosophical attitude among religious doctrines" (THP, 1972, p. 140). The objective remains that of "preparing students to live in today's world as balanced, generous, free, tolerant and open to human fraternity. The teacher's task is to guide the children entrusted to him by examining with them the problems of individual and social life and helping them to solve them. Teachers must demonstrate the most scrupulous objectivity in examining these problems and contribute to the development of their personality by allowing them to freely construct their own beliefs. Students must learn to act in everything taking into account their good, but at the same time also the good of others. They will have started to question the extent of their actions and to follow the rules that a clear and upright conscience will dictate to them" (Ibidem).

In particular, there is the invitation to teach and learn morality through life,

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[46] Prepare the child for international understanding by emphasizing the interdependence of peoples and presenting characters and facts with rigorous objectivity (ES HTP. 1972, p. 132, my translation).

starting as much as possible from the lived experience of daily life, [...] well beyond the lesson hours dedicated to it. Every lesson, every hour of play or work has its moral aspects that the teacher must grasp "on the fly". The teacher will try to place the children in the classroom in a moral situation, charging them with small responsibilities as necessary and will appreciate how they were made and will point out the small sacrifices or will create emulation on a personal level; the teacher will provoke exchanges of ideas on the events experienced at school, on the street, at home. Finally, the teacher will be able to use readings, stories and works suitable for this age; these stories can be illustrated, represented by children, and dramatized by their older friends. Between the ages of 8 and 10, the exposé, although occupying a larger space, will never be more than a moment in the lesson, it will be followed by a discussion in which the pupils will participate and which will lead to the formulation of a moral judgement. A summary will be noted in the moral notebook. In this phase, the teacher will use current events, local environment, film, reading and storytelling: games (traffic game), and document search. Beyond the tenth year, all media (press, radio, cinema, magazines, UNICEF publications, etc.) will be widely used. The reading will have a larger space and will be followed by oral reports and discussions. Silent reading followed by a well-prepared questionnaire will exercise pupils' critical thinking and judgment (Ibidem).

The proposed topics concern the children's duties towards themselves, their surroundings, others and society. In particular, concerning this last area, the work of organizations such as the International Red Cross, the UN, UNESCO and Unicef, and the European Community are addressed regarding solidarity and collaboration between people on national and international levels (Ibidem, p. 143).

3.2.4 The 1977 Harmonized Timetables and Programmes

As for the 1977 programmes, a first change is noted in the structure of the Schools: among the linguistic sections indicated, there is also the Danish section at the schools of Luxembourg and Brussels, and the English section at the schools of Luxembourg, Brussels and the primary school of Varese due to the entry into the European Economic Community of Denmark, the United Kingdom and Ireland. English is also indicated as a second language shared by the various linguistic sections, whereas, previously, it was indicated only as a foreign language and not as a vehicular language (to which only French and German belonged); furthermore, I believe it is worth mentioning that the version of the document to which I had access to is in English. The structure of the secondary studies is then described, and it seems to have remained unchanged, even in the short terminal path. However, this version specifies how the short terminal cycle has been created on an experimental basis in the European Schools of Mol, Varese and Luxembourg (ES HTP, 1977, p. 4). The tables with secondary school timetables appear the same as the 1972 version. Then, the indications for teaching the mother tongue - English in this case - in high school follow. Together with the difference in the subject - French in 1972 and previous versions, and English in 1977 - in this version, it can be noted the presence of general considerations which take up what has been said about the mother tongue teaching in primary school (ES HTP, 1972) with a particular focus on the interactive nature of this

teaching, to be promoted with writing, conversation, literature and experience. In particular, the concepts that are underlined are the following:

the primacy of speech and the importance of talk as a step towards thinking; the study of the living language; training in expression at sas communication; helping children to use language creatively as well as to respond to literature; inventing learning situations which motivate children to acquire vocabulary, spelling, punctuation, grammar, absorbing the implications for the teaching of the new grammar and of linguistic knowledge; a concept of appropriate rather than correct English, and the linguistic validity for their own purposes of dialect, regional or social; […] the aim of the mother tongue as 'The personal development and social competence of the pupil' (ES HTP, 1977, p. 7).

Furthermore, it is underlined that the English-speaking section has to take account of those for whom English is not a mother tongue, especially the children of Danish families. The main aims are then described in the following domains: Oral English; Drama; Writing; Language Study; Punctuation; Spelling; Reading; about the latter, it is specified that "the study of literature has had a twofold function – the enrichment of pupils' language through reading and the enrichment of their experience and the consequent development of their personality through the human situations portrayed" (ES HTP, 1977, p. 9); there is also the encouragement to promote "extensive reading by making books available in class collections and school library, talking about them, reading from them, using the mas ways into writing or drama" (Ib., p. 13) After that, the needs of Danish pupils and of children for whom English is not a mother tongue are briefly considered again.

The document then continues with a list of topics for Classical Languages and Philosophy. The Modern Languages program follows, always with "educational, practical and cultural" purposes (ES HTP; 1977, p. 21). Compared to previous versions, there are no indications for other foreign languages such as German, French, Dutch or Italian; indications are given only in English. Therefore, that part of the reflection regarding the study of German as an opportunity to promote peace and mutual understanding is also missing (ES HTP 1963; ES HTP 1972) even if similar hints can also be found in this version. In fact, it is stated that the study of a foreign language

should contribute to the broadening of the student's perception of the world of reality through the medium of a different linguistic system, taking their individual and national needs into account. International understanding cannot but be promoted by giving them an insight into other attitudes and ways of life (ES HTP, 1977, p. 22).

It is also interesting to note the explanation given regarding the lack of the methodological note; in fact, it is written that "no section on methodology has been included in this syllabus. This reflects the existing situation in the European Schools, where no coordinated methodology for English as a foreign language teaching has been developed. This traditional absence is due to a

gradual divergence of methods over the years resulting from a lack of contact between the schools, the varied approaches of the textbooks used and the different training of teachers of various nationalities. However, this syllabus is subject to continuous revision, and it is hoped that in the near future consultations between teachers from the different schools, bringing together their long-standing and varied experience, will make possible the production of agreed methodological guidelines for English as a foreign language" (ES HTP, 1977, p. 22). In this way, through these last words, we are able to have a glimpse of the situation at the European Schools and of the harmonization difficulties encountered, as well as difficulties in combining different traditions and approaches. We then move on to indicate the topics for the individual years. I will pause and briefly report what is indicated for the study of literature in a foreign language:

Studying literature in English will, moreover, enable students to become acquainted with literary values and literary conventions outside the limits of their own literature. A knowledge of literature other than one's own contributes to a better understanding of la condition humaine (Ibidem, p. 33).

The document continues with the History program, practically identical to the version proposed in 1972, even in its general methodological indications, and then the other subjects follow without particular changes, even in the indications for the short terminal cycle. The teaching of *Civisme* seems to not be indicated under this name, but a program practically identical to the one proposed therein is found in the Social Studies teaching; a simple name change is, therefore, hypothesized. The document then proceeds with the programs for the short terminal court - identical to those of 1972 - and those for the primary school. This last section opens with a reflection and a general introduction, previously absent, on the objectives of primary school, also in light of the reforms undertaken and about which we will discuss in more detail later. The primary school is considered a place that contributes to the development of children and introduces them to social life. It should no longer rely on the transmission of encyclopedic knowledge: "What is the issue, then, is not so much informing the pupils as forming them. They should not so much learn but, before everything learn to learn. The material acquired is not the essential thing. What is the essential thing is the way in which the acquisition is carried out" (ES HTP, 1977, p. 101).

All this calls for the need for a profound pedagogical and didactic review starting from the child

with his interests, needs, potentialities, his affective and emotional life. Starting from his deep motivations, it should give to the child the maximum he is capable of acquiring just as it should provide special additional care to help him surmount those difficulties at which he could stumble (Ibidem).

And starting from the child's interests implies starting from what surrounds him, from the environment, "close at first and then progressively more distant" (Ibidem). Furthermore,

the utilization of the environment cannot, therefore, constitute an aim in itself. It remains an instrument in the service of knowledge of apprenticeships and of training. It allows the education of the child in an atmosphere of real life, joie de vivre and joy in discovery (Ib.).

This also involves reorganizing the disciplines to avoid that encyclopedism mentioned above. For this reason, it is proposed to group together the mother tongue, mathematical operations and the second language while the other activities are regrouped under the categories of prospective and artistic activities. Observation, expression, history, geography and science belong to the former category; arts, arts and crafts and music belong to the latter (Ib., p. 102). It is then recognized the attempt to develop a gradual synthesis of thought so as to give order to everything. Furthermore, the document stresses the importance of giving equal opportunity to all, "to allow each to progress to his own peace and ability, to prepare for social life" (Ibidem) and it is said that in order to reach such a goal permanent collective teaching should be excluded. On the contrary, as often as possible, teachers are invited to split up the class into work groups, "according to the level, aptitudes and interests of the pupils. Frequently, also, they will set them investigative work individually or in groups" (Ib.): This leads also to a change in the behaviour and approaches of the teacher since, in such cases, "he temporarily ceases being the play-leader to become the counsellor and guide" (Ib.). In this way, there is a change also in the organization of work and of the relationships existing between teachers and students giving more space to "understanding and cooperation" (Ib.). Cooperation that should also favour the creation of a European spirit: in the last paragraph of this general introduction, it is indeed said that

the European Schools have, among other objectives, that of forming their pupils in the European spirit. Consequently, favourable conditions should be created, and every occasion should be tailored to achieve this (Ibidem, p. 102).

The mother tongue program at primary school is also described in English and concerns the teaching of English as a mother tongue; it is specified that the main task of the teacher is to encourage experiences that allow the child to progress in the acquisition of the ability to read, write, speak and listen, and, above all, to love these activities (Ibidem, p. 104). It also specifies how "every lesson is a language lesson in the sense that the mother tongue is being taught continually" (Ibidem). It then moves on to indicate the main objectives of this teaching, objectives which are classified among the following sections: Oral English, Reading, Literature, Writing, Language Study, Drama, Punctuation, Spelling, Handwriting, and Resources. With regard to the first skill, the one relating to Oral English, Piaget is mentioned, and it is stated that

the prime mode of expression and communication is speech, and Piaget's work has demonstrated the close link between speech and play in very young children. Almost half of their speech is in the category of monologue or soliloquy (egocentric speech) with the child speaking to himself, even in the immediate presence of other children (Ibidem).

Teachers are, therefore, invited to create opportunities that allow the development of this type of language, game opportunities and tools that will stimulate this egocentric speech:

The purpose of affording opportunities for children to play, and talk while they lay, is to provide for a specific type of speech development, requiring encouragement, or perhaps intervention, by the teacher from time to time. Thus, enter incidental conversation, between child and teacher or between child and child: topics of interest to the child from home or his surroundings; topics from his occupations di lei in school or outside response to story, poem or song; the telling of stories whether reproduction or invention. With older children, the work grows increasingly sophisticated, and such resources as a tape recorder or slide projector are valuable (Ibidem, p. 105).

The document then proceeds with the reading skills, and teachers are invited to always have a group of books at hand so that students can get used to consulting and using them; there is also a reflection on ways to promote the development of literacy and teachers are invited to keep up to date on reading acquisition methods, but also to apply coherent and homogeneous strategies trying to structure a specific program that can act as a guide. The discourse moves on to the field of Literature where it is explained that its role

is to bring the child into an encounter with language in its most complex, varied and rewarding forms, so providing him with a personal resource in coming to terms with his experience and his fantasies, and giving him an imaginative insight into other people and their lives (Ibidem, p. 106).

It continues focusing on the other aforementioned abilities; again, as for resources, the importance of having access, for teachers, to fiction and non-fiction books both in the classroom and in the school library is stated, together with the use of tape records, simple recording facilities which are considered increasingly important, "with access to a record player, a slide projector, and radio and television programs where appropriate" (ES HTP, 1977, p. 108). The program and indications for the different years of primary school are then given, based on the areas identified.

The Mathematics program follows: here too, preliminary reflections are presented which partly recall what was seen in the programs of 1972, also with reference to the reform process begun in 1971 (ES HTP, 1977, p. 112); furthermore, it is stated that

the aim of primary school mathematics, apart from supplying the child with the necessary tools for tackling life, is to develop in the child an inquiring, imaginative mind with an ability to simplify and organize in a constructive manner (Ibid.).

The programme is then illustrated, and the document continues with foreign languages, focusing again on English and indicating the linguistic structures to be acquired. It continues with the programs of the following subjects: European Hours, History, Geography, Moral Education, Music, Arts and Crafts, and Physical Education; the contents and methodological

indications given - where present - are the same as those of the previous programmes, particularly the one of 1972.

3.3 Nursery and Primary School Reform: 1971

With regard to the primary school curriculum, I initially analyzed the harmonized timetables and programs that extend up to 1977. However, in 1971, a process of revision of these nursery and primary school programs started, and it would also have had an influence on the organization of the curriculum; I, therefore, turned my attention to the preparatory study drawn up in 1971 and aimed at better outlining this revision, the *Étude preparatoire à une revision des programmes de l'ècole maternelle et de l'école primaire of the European Schools* presented by the General Inspector F. Christiaens on September 1971. In the introduction to the document, Christiaens explains that the need for the review of the programmes was suggested during a meeting on February 18th, 1971, when a proposal for the review of the History, Geography and Science programmes was made. This fact led to the proposal for a complete review of the programmes based on the new pedagogical orientations in the six member states. As a result, a study of the current situation and prospects of the evolution of nursery and primary schools in the various ECSC countries was carried out by the different national inspectors; Mr. Christiaens then proceeds to summarize them and draft a possible future project for the European Schools outlined not only considering the situation of the various countries but also after having collected opinions and ideas from the teachers working at the European Schools. I believe that the Introduction is quite interesting because it can tell us more about the mechanisms that contributed to the creation and development of the European Schools; Christiaens 's words are also worth mentioning in this sense. He writes that it was not always easy to get a precise idea of national educational lives and movements since he did not participate directly in them. Due to his knowledge 'through literature', he makes amends for any possible gaps and inaccuracies. He also asks his fellow Inspectors to provide any necessary clarifications. Moreover, he points out that this study required many days of work and that it was fascinating for him, and he was happy to have been able to undertake it. He hopes it could contribute effectively to the development of future programs in the European Schools (Christiaens, 1971).

The document begins with an analysis of the situation in Germany and points out that, after the start of the 1969-1970 school year, an experience of transformation of the pedagogical content of the last year of nursery school was introduced in *Rheinland-Westphalia*. This observation is

based on the report about the two years of application published by the *Kultusministerium de Rheinland-Pfalz*. It is said that these innovations were also recommended in the report of the *Deutscher Bildungsrat* of 14 February 1970. The renovation is based on the idea, at that moment accepted by psychologists, that the smooth running of learning depends more on what has been previously acquired than on innate dispositions which would mature on their own. Consequently, it is said that the learning opportunities offered by the early years must be used and the fiction of spontaneous and natural learning should be abandoned. Hence, the idea of schooling for five-year-olds (*Einschulung des Funfjahrigen*) and preschool training (*Vorshulerziehung*) for those aged three and four. In addition to this, it is stated that the education received from 3 to 6 years old constitutes a fundamental moment for the formation of the individual; for this reason, it should be well planned, taken care of, and conceived as a crucial step necessary for the preparation to the primary school (Christiaens, 1971, pp. 4-5).

The document then focuses on the structure and organization of nursery schools and transition classes in Germany, pointing out their specific aims: they should help the children's development by enhancing their learning opportunities and by eliminating any difficulties that they might have. They offer the children tasks they can accomplish and skills they can develop based on their interests and needs. They promote individual and collective learning through the respect children must have for individuals and the organization of group activities. They try to consider and take care of all children's needs: intellectual, emotional, social and physical (Ib., p. 5). As for the organisation, the children are divided into groups according to developmental level criteria; children should be able to move from one group to another. Moreover, children should engage in the activities of their choice; the activities attempt to combine play and learning. Due to this, the classes are equipped with play and study materials, musical instruments, and equipment for physical development. The different activities should engage children to reflect, think and learn. It is pointed out that everything should be done in a climate of play since it is also through playing that learning takes place. However, a well-defined goal should be set; in the text, it is indeed used the following German expression: "*spielen, des doch gezieltes Lernen*", namely meaning "playing, but targeted learning" (Christiaens. 1971, p. 7, my translation). In the transition class, dedicated to five-year-old students, there should also be introductory activities to reading, writing, calculation and logical thinking.

The text then moves on to the description of Nursery schools in Belgium according to the 1951 *Plan des Activités*; indications for a renovation of fundamental teaching are also expressed in the ministerial circular published on July 21, 1971. There is here the explicit will to start from the children and develop their potential as much as possible (Christiaens, 1971, p. 8). It is indeed

written that "…*nous prenons comme point de départ de notre réflexion l'enfant tel 'quil est dans son originalité, dans sa totalité, dans son dynamisme*" (Ibidem). It is also expressed that kindergarten will try to compensate for socio-cultural handicaps and promote in each child the development of mental structures implemented from the start of primary school. The kindergarten will "systematically prepare for learning reading, writing and arithmetic techniques not teaching them, but introducing them to the children through specific exercises which will gradually lead them to the world of symbols and abstraction" (1971, p. 9, my translation).

Attention is then paid to France, where nursery schools were looking for a new balance, based on the principles of the "*éducation nouvelle*" (Christiaens,1971, p. 11): starting from a better knowledge of the children, nursery schools aimed at adapting themselves to the psychology, needs and development of the children's own potential (Ibidem). There is also the invitation to make an effort to individualize teaching and, at the same time, to not lose sight of the socialization process of children with a fair share of collective exercises and group activities. Within the activities promoted at the nursery school level, there is attention to the transition to primary school and to introductory activities to reading, writing and calculus; in some schools, experiments of teaching a second language (German in most cases, English sometimes) are described, realized through the use of "very simple words of children's language during games, dances, songs or walks" (1971, p. 13, my translation).

As for Luxembourg, the words of Inspector Sterges ard reported; according to him, the nursery schools in Luxembourg were undergoing a process of change to be more effective in the physical and intellectual development of children. This is also represented by a change in the education of teachers that was currently happening together with a review of the programmes for kindergartens (Christiaens, 1971, p. 14).

In the Netherlands, attempts were made to avoid the separation between nursery school and primary school with the aim of making one the "*prolongement*" (extension) of the other (Christiaens, 1971, p. 15). Due to this, the nursery schools were not organized according to age criteria but taking into consideration the levels of the students; moreover, it would not have ended at a certain age but when specific objectives regarding reading, writing and counting were reached. The main aim was to "guide the children's total growth in a climate of play and work and teach them to use elementary cultural techniques." (Ibidem, my translation).

The points of view of the teachers of the European Schools are missing, and Inspector Christiaens hopes that a meeting could be organized soon to discuss the topic. He then proceeds with a summary of the materials collected pointing out in a table the convergence points observed in France, Germany, Netherlands and Belgium. Luxembourg is not present since it was undergoing, at that moment, a process of reform; as for Italy, it is claimed that no documentation was received from there. The main convergence points can be observed in the following tables attached below (Christiaens, 1971, pp. 20, 21): attention is stressed on the children and their interests as a starting point to consider, together with the fact that nursery school should prepare for primary school and that introductory activities to reading and writing should be favoured with a specific consideration given to the transition from one school to another and the level of the students and their work as individual and part of a bigger group. Furthermore, a playful dimension should not be forgotten so to favour the learning through playing:

l'atmosphère de la classe sera donc faite de bonheur de vivre et de découvrir, d'efforts joyeusement consentis parce qu'ils répondent à un besoin et qu'ils s'exercent par le jeu. Mais attention: pas de jeu pour le jeu lui-même. La plupart de temps le jeu doit être un prétexte pour apprendre, comprendre, exprimer et créer (Christiaens, 1971, p. 24).

Principes	A	B	F	P.B.
A. STRUCTURES				
Jardin d'enfants de type familial – 3 et 4 ans				x
Formation préscolaire - 3 et 4 ans	x	x	x	
Jardin d'enfants de 3 ans avec classe supérieure "désenclavée"			x	
Classe supérieure englobée dans l'école primaire	x	x		x
Obligation scolaire à ± 5 ans	x	x		x
Entrée en primaire, non d'après l'âge civil, mais d'après le degré de maturation	x			x
B. OBJET, BUTS, PRINCIPES PEDAGOGIQUES				
Point de départ : l'enfant	x	x	x	x
Utiliser les possibilités d'apprentissage des jeunes années	x	x	x	x
Jardin d'enfants dans la perspective de l'école primaire	x	x	x	x
Préparation de la transition dans la classe supérieure	x	x	x	x
Partir des intérêts et des besoins des enfants	x	x	x	x
Favoriser l'épanouissement de l'enfant, relever ses possibilités d'apprentissage, éliminer ses déficits culturels	x	x	x	x
Apprentissage individuel et collectif	x	x	x	x
Atmosphère de jeu et d'apprentissage combinés	x	x	x	x
C. ORGANISATION				
Grouper les enfants, non d'après leur âge, mais d'après des critères de développement	x	x	x	x
L'enfant doit pouvoir s'adonner à des activités de son choix	x	x	x	x
Matériel abondant de jeu et d'étude, instruments de musique, etc.	x	x	x	x
Dossier psycho-pédagogique pour chaque enfant	x	x		x
Classe ouverte seulement durant la matinée	x			
Classe tenue par une éducatrice qualifiée	x	x	x	x

Table 1 on Convergences and Differences within the different Nursery School Systems in Christiaens, 1971, p. 20

Principes	A	B	P	P.B.
D. PROGRAMMES				
Activités d'orientation et de concentration	x	x	x	x
Observation, expression, créativité	x	x	x	x
Activités conceptuelles et verbales	x	x	x	x
Activités motrices	x	x	x	x
Activités rythmiques et musicales	x	x	x	x
Sécurité routière	x	x		x
Initiation à la lecture, à l'écriture et à la mathématique	x	x	x	x
Seconde langue	x		x	

non généralisé

Table 2 on Convergences and Differences within the different Nursery School Systems in Christiaens, 1971, p. 21.

The discussion then moves on to primary schools in the different ECSC countries.

It is highlighted that the objective of the primary school in Germany is to promote the development of the personality; and the fact that teaching should offer equal chances to everyone while stimulating the interests of the children; the need fo individualization and

differentiation is underlined. Moreover, it is stressed how the children should become capable of moving themselves within the modern world and, due to this, teaching

n'a donc pas pour objet de lui remplir l'esprit de connaissances qui ne seraient pas fonctionnelles. Au contraire il doit fournir des connaissances alliées au savoir-faire. Le but lointain est de former l'élève de telle maniére qu'il puisse, ultériurement, continuer à s'instruire par ses propres moyens. Dès lors l'enfant doit apprendre à apprendre[47] (Christiaens, 1971, p. 27).

There is also the invitation to overcome encyclopedism; the document then moves on to outline the structure of the German primary school divided into three levels: in the first, the main aim is to ensure that all students develop *"un potentiel plus élevé d'aptitude aux apprentissages et de désir d'apprendre fin de les préparer tous aux exigences"* (Ib.) of the second degree. In the second degree, a unique program will be presented to meet the needs of each student and to give specific help to students who present difficulties. The third level prepares for the needs of secondary school level:

Par la différenciation et l'ndividualisation, par l'organisation des travaux de groupe, par le compartimentage de certaines disciplines dans la dernière classe, par l'observation continue des élèves, par l'enseignement d'une seconde langue, il doit permettre finalement aux enfants de choisir, en fonction de leurs aptitudes, l'orientation qu'ils suivront dans le secondaire[48] (Christiaens, 1971, p. 28).

As for the pedagogic indications, it is underlined the importance of working in groups based on the different levels and starting from the discoveries of the students, working autonomously and, at the same time, collaborating with the other students and developing an attitude aimed at solving problems rather than acquiring content. The school should also help in making sense of the surrounding environment and thinking of it scientifically, with a curious and inquisitive mind (Christiaens, 1971, p. 30).

As for Belgium, the reference laws for primary school were the 1936 *Directives du Plan d'Etudes* and the 1957 *Plan*; they stressed the necessity to start from the children, their interests and needs, together with the importance of observing the local surrounding environment. Processes related to observation, expression and creativity should be given great space together with the attempt to balance different working modalities such as in groups or individually,

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[47] "It is therefore not intended to fill his mind with knowledge that would not be functional. On the contrary, it must provide knowledge combined with know-how. The long-term goal is to train the student in such a way that he can, subsequently, continue to educate himself by his own means. From then on the child must learn to learn" (my translation).

[48] "Through differentiation and individualization, through the organization of group work, through the compartmentalization of certain disciplines in the last class, through continuous observation of students, through the teaching of a second language, children must be ultimately allowed to choose, based on their abilities, the direction they will follow in secondary school" (my translation).

thanks to the cooperation between teachers and students. Moreover, it is stressed the need to overcome encyclopedism and to learn to learn, *apprendre à apprendre* (Ib., p. 31), "*a former plutôt qu'informer*" (Ibidem). Mention is made of a ministerial circular (21 june 1971) that should have contained the indications for a renovation of fundamental teaching: what it is expressed there seems to be applied in the French speaking part of Belgium but not in the Flemish one even though a change should occur soon. As in the case of German primary school, also here it is stated that school should contribute to the development of each student and also to make them capable to face the possible changes they will have to deal with during their lives. The socialisation function of school is also recognized and, due to this, it is said that "*l'école devra donc moins se soucier d'apprendre, que d'apprendre à apprendre et d'apprendre à s'adapter[49]*" (Christiaens, 1971, p. 32). There is also the invitation to practice active activities, like plays, observations, experiments and expression (Ibidem, p. 33).

With regard to France, reference is made to the primary school reforms of the 1960s which introduced "*la mise en pratique du tiers-temps pédagogique et le regroupement de certaines matiéres sous le vocable: activités d'éveils[50]* " (Christiaens, 1971, p. 35).

Regarding the *tiers-temps pédagogique*, Inspector Christiaens writes that from the analysis of the documents at his disposal, he has not been able to fully understand the content of this expression and that, for this reason, he is sure that Inspector Grossmann will be happy to provide more guidance during the Board of Inspectors meeting. With regard instead to "*les activités d'éveil*", he specifies that they group together

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[49] "The school will therefore have to worry less about learning than about learning to learn and learning to adapt" (my translation).

[50] It is not the purpose of this work to dwell on these decisive moments in the history of French education; the following reference literature is recommended to provide information on these topics: Prost (1983), Kahn (2000). However, I briefly report here two small parts respectively from Prost and Kahn to better understand what the tiers-temps pédagogique and the activités d'eveils were and their possible resemblance within them and the European Schools approach to subject such as History and Geography.
Prost indeed writes that the *tiers-temps pédagogique* debuted in 1964 as an experiment with aim to "*de diviser approximativement le temps d'école en trois parties: l'une pour lesmatières de base, français et calcul, l'autre pour des 'disciplines d'éveil', et la troisiéme pour l'éducation physique. L'enjeu n'était donc pas seulement d'accorder enfin une attention sérieuse au développement du corps, mais d'aborder d'une façon radicalement nouvelle des disciplines comme les sciences ou l'histoire-géographie. Au lieu d'inculquer aux élèves des connaissances qu'on leur demanderait ensuite de réciter, on voulait éveiller leur esprit, piquer leur curiosité, susciter leur activité. De cette démarche moins contrainte, on attendait un épanouissement personnel et une formation à l'observation et à la réflexion, au lieu d'une culture de la mémoire*" ("to approximately divide school time into three parts: one for the basic subjects, French and calculus, the other for 'disciplines of awakening', and the third for physical education. The challenge was therefore not only to finally pay serious attention to the development of the body, but to approach disciplines such as science or history-geography in a radically new way. Instead of instilling knowledge in students that they would then be asked to recite, we wanted to awaken their minds, pique their curiosity, arouse their activity. From this less constrained approach, we expected personal development and training in observation and reflection, instead of a culture of memory. The events of 1968 brought these innovative projects to fruition. Third-time work is extended to all classes") (Prost, 1983, p. 36, my translation).

les anciennes rubriques distinctes: histoire, géographie, sciences, morale, dessin, chant, travail manuel. Il s'agit moins d'éveiller l'élève à telle discipline que de remontrer telle out elle discipline à l'occasion de ce qu'on veut bien appeler l'éveil: éveil de la curiosité, de l'affectivité, de l'intelligence et tout particulièrement du sens du relatif, éveil du sens esthétique, etc... Les disciplines d'éveil prennent comme point d'appui l'étude du milieu environnant et l'étude de documents historiques, géographiques, scientifiques. A partir de l'enfant et de la découverte progressive di monde on entreprend la mise en ordre indispensable des idées et des faits. Cette méthode de travail ne peut donc pas conduire à la confusion mentale. Au contraire, elle mène progressivement l'enfant vers des synthéses et vers un ordonnancement logique, mais un ordonnancement qui ne lui aura pas été imposé à priori[51] (Christiaens, 1971, p. 35).

He also writes that "*les activités d'eveil seront aussi l'occasion d'exercer les divers langages, particulièrement la langue maternelle et les mathématiques*" (Ibidem, 36). Their primary aim is to awaken the child's curiosity and motivation through exploration of the surrounding environment to try to understand it. Furthermore, by awakening curiosity, they should encourage the development of an attitude that is always open to learning; In fact, Christiaens writes that "*les disciplines d'éveil doivent aboutir finalement à la possibilité d'apprendre à apprendre. Elles doivent aussi aboutir à un entrainement moral et dégager des notions de valeur*[52]" (Ibidem).

Regarding the reference pedagogy, Christiaens specifies that it is based on

méthode active de groupe et pédagogie de la découverte. Les sujets d'étude sont motivés par les intérets et les besoins des élèves. Ils sont suggérés par eux ou par le maitre. Ils sont développés sous les aspects intellectuels, manuels, artistiques. Ils donnent lieu, le cas échéant, à des développements d'ordre moral. L'étude du milieu constitue un des fondements des activités d'éveil. Elle passe par trois étapes: une prise de contact globale avec l'environment; une phase d'observation précise (analyse, examen des documents, formulation d'hypothéses); une phase de synthèse (comparaisons, relations, accès à la pensée catégorielle). Les activités d'éveil comprendront 3h. à dominante intellectuelle; 3h à dominante artistique[53] (Ibidem).

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[51] "the old separate sections: history, geography, science, morality, drawing, singing, manual work. It is less a question of awakening the student to a particular discipline than of demonstrating this or that discipline on the occasion of what we want to call awakening: awakening of curiosity, of affectivity, of intelligence and particularly the sense of the relative, awakening of the aesthetic sense, etc. The awakening disciplines take as a point of support the study of the surrounding environment and the study of historical, geographical and scientific documents. Starting with the child and the progressive discovery of the world, we begin the essential ordering of ideas and facts. This working method cannot therefore lead to mental confusion. On the contrary, it gradually leads the child towards syntheses and towards a logical ordering, but an ordering which will not have been imposed on him a priori" (my translation).

[52] "the disciplines d'éveil must ultimately lead to the possibility of learning how to learn. They must also lead to moral training and identify notions of value" (my translation).

[53] [53]On " active group method of group and pedagogy of discovery. The topics of study are motivated by the interests and needs of the students. They are suggested by them or by the teeacher. They are developed under the intellectual, manual, artistic aspects. They give rise, where appropriate, to developments of a moral nature. The study of the environment constitutes one of the foundations of awakening activities. It goes through three stages: making global contact with the environment; a precise observation phase (analysis, examination of documents, formulation of hypotheses); a synthesis phase (comparisons, relationships, access to categorical thinking). The awareness activities will last 3 hours with a predominantly intellectual focus; 3 hours with an artistic focus" (my translation).

As for Luxembourg, the report describes the 1964 programs that were still in force, programs that were not expected to be revised soon. I find it interesting to report the comment made in this regard by Inspector Sterges and transcribed in the report by Christiaens, namely the fact that "*comme les Luxembourgeois sont des gens assez prudents, les innovations dans le domaine pédagogique sont toujours plutot hésitantes*" (Christiaens, 1971, p. 39), they are prudent also in the context of reforms. It is also said that the 1964 Plan refers to the need for teachers to use new methods and the principles of modern pedagogy. In the first two years, teachers are then invited to favour intuitive study and, in the following years, observation, discovery, reflection and evaluation (Christiaens, 1971, p. 40, my translation). It should be noted, however, that while recommending the application of the methods of the école nouvelle, the 1964 Program still seemed to attribute great importance to the subjects and encyclopedic knowledge deriving from them leading to "an overload of programs that crushes children" (Ibidem, p. 41, my translation). Consequently, an attempt is made to look for a new balance between the materials (Ibidem).

As for the Netherlands, it is recognized an attitude that stresses the importance of teaching, training and educating more than the simple transmission of knowledge and a focus on the knowledge vehiculated (Chirstiaens, 1971, p. 42). In this educational process, a central place is given to the children, their possibilities and interests. Keeping all of the above into account a rising number of schools in the Netherlands are said to work according to the principles of the "Plan de Iéna (1924-1950)" (Ibidem) and based on a 1970 law project. The report then describes the structure of the Dutch primary school as sketched by the aforementioned law. The Dutch primary school was organized on three levels to foster the intellectual, manual, artistic, moral and social development of the children (Ibidem, p. 43); during primary school, children should acquire proficiency in their mother tongue, in reading and writing, in calculus, and should start to reflect on the world through subjects such as geography, history, natural sciences. In the programmes, space is also given to the basic knowledge of English and creative and manual activities. In terms of organization, there is the invitation to eliminate collective teaching and promote group work based on the different levels of the students. Space should also be given to creativity and subjects such as geography, history, and sciences; subjects that fall under the category of *Wereldoriëntatie (orientation dans le monde)* (Christiaens, 1971, p. 44).

The report then moves on to the point of view of the European Schools teachers; it is said that different working groups are busy with proposals for the review of various subjects but the lack of a complete pedagogical doctrine is still acknowledged. The Inspector considers a mistake to not have laid the foundation for a general pedagogical structure (Ibidem, p. 45). Even though a general and a whole intervention is still missing, according to the Inspector, it is already

possible to identify some stances in the European Schools that are similar to the one found in the national cases, such as the focus on how to teach math; a new approach to teaching the mother tongue – French in particular – interested in the reflection and formation of the individual rather than on mnemonical learning; a focus on creative activities is underlined and suggested during the European Hours.

At the end, a summary is presented on the situation of the primary schools: as in the case of the nursery school, a convergent trajectory is acknowledged even though there are specific peculiarities in every country. A summary table is shown; here, the different and shared characteristics of France, Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, and the European Schools are indicated. Also, in this case, the lack of documentation from Italy is highlighted. In general, as far as the structure of primary school is concerned, the five-year division seems to remain unchanged. There is yet the reflection on the need for the European Schools to modify their vision and their pedagogical methods, to abandon " une pédagogie qui n'est plus de notre temps", a pedagogy no longer of our times (Christiaens, 1971, p. 50). The *"avant-projet d'introduction general a un plan d'etudes des écoles primaires des écoles europeannes"* is then exposed and it is reiterated that the primary school must deal with the education of students not based on the transmission of encyclopedic knowledge:

il importe donc moins d'informer les élèves que de les former. Ils ne doivent pas tant apprendre mais avant tous apprendre à apprendre. La matière acquise n'est pas l'essentiel. Ce qui l'est, c'est la manière dont l'acquisition s'est faite (Ibidem, p. 51).

Once again, the importance is reiterated not so much of the contents but rather of the ability to learn to learn and continue to do so, to acquire knowledge regardless of what it is.

All these considerations lead to the fact that a revision and a reform of the primary school must be based, first and foremost, on the review of its pedagogy and didactics (Ibidem). A review based on modern scientific psychology and centred on the children, their interests, needs, potentials, their emotional lives (Ibidem, p. 52). According to Christiaens, it should be a pedagogy based on the interests, and primarily on the interest in the surrounding environment: "starting from these profound motivations, the school should give the child the maximum of what he is capable of acquiring, so it is necessary to pay additional special attention to help overcome the difficulties that the pupil may encounter (Christiaens, 1971, p. 53, my translation). It is also highlighted that starting from the child implies offering everyone equal opportunities and, at the same time, taking into account the need to develop differentiated teaching according to the characteristics, level, pace, aptitudes and interests of each individual. The teacher is seen

as a guide and advisor who collaborates with the students and organizes the activity in the classroom, sometimes preferring collective methods with group work based on the different levels, and other times leaving room for individual work (Christiaens, 1971, p. 53, my translation).

I would like to conclude this analysis with two further considerations; the first concerns the attention given in the text to the desire to overcome encyclopedism and a compartmentalized transmission of knowledge. This involves the attempt to conceive and group subjects in a different way compared to the past, as seen partially also for the French national case, keeping together - on the one hand - the teaching of the mother tongue and mathematics and, on the other, all those activities that are defined as "general culture" (Ibidem, p. 53). These activities include observation, expression in various forms, initiation into history, geography, natural sciences, aesthetic initiation, moral and social education, and physical education (Ibidem).

The second interesting point, in my opinion, is linked to the topic of learning to learn, which also often appears in the document: its mention made me think about how, in the same period, the commission responsible for drawing up the Faure Report was working; the document was published in 1972 (in Italy in 1973) and it stressed significantly the topic of lifelong learning within a society, like the one of the Seventies, which was experiencing great transformations "between demands for renewal, demands for a redistribution not only of wealth but also of culture and requests for greater democracy" (Ascenzi, Targhetta 2020, 241, my translation). Although the emphasis on social transformations is mostly absent in the 1971 document of the European Schools, preparatory to a revision of the curriculum of nursery and primary schools, I find significant the presence of this same emphasis on the concept of learning to learn, a concept that will also reappear in subsequent documents and which will become foundational to European educational policies and discourses, albeit with not always positive connotations (Masschelein, Simons, 2006; Hodgson, 2016).

3.4 Nursery and Primary School Reform: 1972

What is indicated in the 1971 document analyzed in the previous paragraph in relation to the plan for the revision of the nursery school and primary school programs of the European Schools, was also taken up in the meeting held on Thursday 5 October 1972 at the European School in Brussels; according to the reported report, it seems that during this meeting what emerged in the previous document was discussed and 14 pedagogical principles were outlined which should have been the basis, from then on, of the primary school and nursery school

programs of the European schools and which are also partially reflected in the 1977 programmes, already analysed. First of all, in the report of the meeting dated 6 November 1972, the participants are indicated: we find Inspector General Christiaens as President; then there are members from each school: Monsieur Mittler, Monsieur Hennin and Madame Pistoni for the European school of Brussels: Monsieur Jansen, Monsieur Valenne and Mademoiselle Meyer for the European school of Luxembourg; Monsieur Libotton, Mademoiselle Storm and Madame Doneux for Mol; Monsieur Arbicone, Monsieur Fijman and Madame Lo Judice for the Varese school; Monsieur Vices, Madame Aubry and Mademoiselle Gandolfo for Karlsruhe; Monsieur Wintringer, Monsieur Baumann and Mademoiselle Geurts for Bergen. Finally, Mademoiselle Diehm and Monsieur Ral and Monsieur Black are indicated as staff representatives.

The report of the meeting cites the document to which reference will be made, the Etude préparatoire à une révision des programmes, and there is the invitation to consult the Bulletin pédagogique n. 26, January 1972, pages 5 and following numbers. The former number of the Pedagogical Bulletins is not traceable at the moment, but I believe it is plausible to rely on the 1971 document as a source to refer to in order to better understand the outcomes of the meeting and the reform process. However, I find it interesting that reference is made to the Pedagogical Bulletins because this indicates their informative role within the European Schools. The agenda of the meeting is indicated and it is proposed to start with a general discussion, and then proceed to the discussion of the basic pedagogical and methodological principles; finally, there is the suggestion to focus on the 1971 previous document to consider the project hypothesis illustrated there. As regards the general discussion, there seems to be unanimity in approving the previous document albeit with some minimal modifications and additional observations; it is also considered important to share reports from schools and to ensure that the proposed reforms correspond to a lower workload on teachers (Report, 1972, p. 2).

The "*grands principes pedagogiques et methodologiques de base*" are then illustrated (Ibidem). The first one is based on the assumption that education is a continuous process in which every level prepares to the next one. In this document the idea of continuous education is circumscribed to the school environment with a focus on the transition from Nursery to Primary School, and from Primary to Secondary School, a transition that must be favoured[54]. The

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[54] I believe it is worth mentioning that and noticing that in the most recent documents about Secondary education especially it is underlined how this learning process should go on even after school; the concept of lifelong learning appears.

secondo principle states the necessity to give equal chances to all children; the question of what to do in case of children with disabilities remains open since apparently there was not the possibility to create special classes at that moment; consequently, there is the invitation to

recourir à l'individualisation de l'enseignement, chaque maitre appliquant ce principe au mieux des possibilités de sa classe. L'individualisation pour le probléme du nombre minimum d'élèves par classe. Ces minima devraient etre abaissés. L'individualisation pose de meme le problème du passage de classe des enfants de niveau faible. Ce passage ne peut dépendre de notations purement chiffrées; on suggère une organisation plus souple des classes; on suggère aussi l'ouverture de "classe de soutien" (à population mobile) (1972, p. 3).

The third principle states that it is necessary to consider the children and their potentials as points of departure; it is approved with unanimous agreement.

The fourth principle underlines the necessity to draw motivation for teaching from the children's interests and needs. The fifth principle states that it is necessary to practise a functional pedagogy even though it is not always simple to understand and define children's interests.

The sixth principle refers to the end of encyclopedisme and of the compartmentalization into distinct branches/subjects.

The seventh principle reiterates the need to focus on formation rather than information; it is agreed on unanimously and it is said that a minimum programm should be written down for every class.

The eighth principle focuses on the environment and the fact that its observation and use should be considered as a tool aimed at the formation of knowledge. There is also particular stress on the peculiar environment typical of the European Schools and it is adviced to promote the contacts between the students and the teachers making advantage of the various language sections. Consequently, it is also recommended that the programs should be flexible so as not to bind teachers too much. Timetables should be flexible, too, to allow teachers to attend activities in other classes. The ninth principle states that subjects should be considered globally but they should also be organized considering the level of the students "elementary groupings in nursery school, more rational in primary school, simple summaries in the upper class" (1972, p. 4, my translation).

The tenth principle talks about the importance of working in groups and the assembly agrees on giving free initiative to the teachers.

The eleventh principle focuses on the relationships between teachers and children which should be based on collaboration and mutual understanding; it is stated that it is important to make the

childen aware of the concept of collective responsibility and become capable of use their freedom without abusing it (Ibidem).

The twelfth principle affirms that it was decided to not change the structure of the schools in that specific moment.

The thirteenth principle concerns the transition from nursery school to primary school, a transition which should be facilitated adeguately. To do so, it is asked to

que soient facilités et multiés les contacts entre les enseignants des deux niveaux, notamment par les visites réciproques dans les classes; que soient introduites, dans la classe supérieure du jardin d'enfants, les initiations à la lecture, à l'ecriture et au calcul, à l'exclusion de l'apprentissage de ces techniques come telles; que le personnel soit préparé à la mise en application des ces exercices d'initiation; qu ela classe supérieure du jardin d'enfants devienne aussi une classe d'observation et quel es élèves entrent à l'école primaire sur la base de leur degré de matuirté et non plus sur celle de leur age civil; que l'obligation scolaire débute à cinq ans (dernière classe de lìécole maternelle); que priorité soit réservée à la formation de groupes de 5 ans s'il y a grande affluence d'élèves; qu'il y ait des classes maternelles pour chaque groupe linguistique, quels que soient les chiffres de la population inscrite; qu ele maximum d'enfants par classe d'école maternelle soit ramené à 25; que le climat de la première année primaire rappelle celui de l'école maternelle (Ibidem, 1972, p. 7).

The fourteenth principle refers to the transition from primary school to secondary school and it takes note of the difficulties that such transition entails. In order to overcome these difficulties, it is asked to promote a fruitful and active collaboration between the teacher of the 5th year of the primary school and the main teacher of the secondary school so that the latter could assist to classes and meet future students and talk with them. It is also suggested to prepare the students to the difficulties and different rhytms they will have to face in the secondary school such as a different way of working and of organizing work tasks. The document then continues by reporting some changes that are suggested in relation to the proposed review of nursery and primary schools. Among these there is the suggestion of mentioning the European spirit to be promoted within the European Schools. It is indeed suggested to add the following sentence: "*Rappelons enfin que les ècoles européennes ont, entre autres objectifs, celui de former leurs élèves à l'esprit européen. Dès lors doivent etre créées les conditions favorables et doivent etre saisies toutes les occasions pour y parvenir*" (Doc., 1972, p. 8).

3.5 Primary School Reform in 1990

After the reflections in 1971 and 1972 on the revision of the programs and organization of the Primary School and the Nursery School, the discussions on the possible reform of the latter continued in the following years. They were summarized in the following two documents: the 1974 *Outline Plan of Activities for the Nursery Section of the European Schools as approved*

by the Board of Inspectors and the 1983 *Report on Nursery Education*. These documents reiterate the need to start from the child and to consider nursery school education as an essential first step in the lifelong educational process of the students. These concepts are also taken up and extended in the document I will analyze here: the 1990 *Guidelines for Nursery and Primary Education - Nursery and Primary School Reform*. I decided to focus on the latter because - unlike those of 1974 and 1983 - this report concerns both nursery schools and primary schools; furthermore, it is in direct continuity with the 1971 report in the attempt to modify the structure and organization of the European Schools, at least for the primary cycle. I will now proceed to analyze it in more detail.

The document consists of a preface, an introduction, and some preliminary considerations. A part on the aims of the European Schools follows together with the practical implications for the curriculum and school organisation. Mention is made of the school buildings and equipment, and there is a reflection on the separate identities of each school; finally, some conclusions close the document.

The document dates back to 1990, but its gestation began a few years earlier: in the preface, it is indicated how, during the meeting of the Committee of Inspectors in March 1986 in Brussels, the 1971 document *A preliminary study for a reform of the curriculum of nursery and primary schools* was examined taking note of how this document was at that time dated and limited in the descriptions offered.

Three additional documents and reports are mentioned: *The Philosophy and Aims of Primary Education* produced by the United Kingdom Inspector Mr W.E. Husband upon his retirement in 1985; the report of Mr. Papapietro for the European Parliament (1983); the report by Professor D. Swan for the European Commission (1984) also considering the aims of Primary Education in the European Schools (Doc., 1990, p. 2). They all highlighted the need to define very precise objectives and goals, the need to create stimulating learning environments and improve support for students with special needs and particularly gifted students, together with the need for greater contact between teachers of different school levels within and outside the various language sections, as well as the need to review testing and evaluation procedures (Doc., 1990, p. 2). The need to consider the aims of primary education in the European Schools was also made clear so that the Committee of Inspectors decided that any future development of the curriculum must have been based on a specific philosophy without which it makes no sense to proceed with any reform; it was, therefore, necessary to develop it. Consequently, the

work commenced and, as a result, these Guidelines were conceived as an attempt to both examine the principles already highlighted in the various documents adopted in previous years and reflect on curriculum reform in the schools in the twelve Member States. Furthermore, the work on this document was carried out considering the aim of the European Schools to provide cohesive education to young people called to live in a united Europe (Doc., 1990, p. 2). For this reason, under the chairmanship of the Dutch Inspector Ch. A. Hollaender, a working group was established with members from the various European schools - among them, there were primary and nursery school teachers, two vice-principals and a parent representative for a total of three female and four male members all coming from the European Schools present in Belgium, Luxembourg and Germany (Karlsruhe, Brussels I and II, Luxembourg, Mol). Among them, I would like to point out Mr. A. J. Smith, Deputy Headteacher of the European School Brussel I, since his name will also reappear in the Pedagogical Bulletins. The group began its work in December 1986 based also on surveys carried out with parents, teachers, school heads and inspectors and published in the Pedagogical Bulletin No. 99 of December 1987. The educational philosophy of the different Member States was also taken into account. The Preface already shows us how the process that led to the drafting of this document was long - approximately four years - and considered the voices of different actors within the European Schools and the diverse national philosophies and curricula. Among the elements to not forget when outlining the educational philosophy for the curriculum reform, there should be attention to special needs students and gifted ones. The particularity of the educational context is also underlined together with the aim of the European Schools to provide a systematic education to young people called to live in a united Europe. The reference to the various national realities always remains present, as well as that of the European dimension. In the introduction, however, it is reiterated that this document has the purpose of describing the fundamental ideas at the foundation of the European Schools' principles and aims, and it is not meant to give specific details relating to individual subjects in the curriculum. This is, therefore, a document that wants to show links to previous documents and discussions from which outline future developments for a common reference framework by underlining the various challenges and difficulties to be faced, as well as the possible solutions to work in a more unitary and organic manner within the school system. Teachers are also invited to analyze the ideas put forward, reflect on them and work together to figure out and realize new practices. The main ideals of the European Schools and their educational aims are also illustrated, as well as the practical implications for teachers and teaching, for the infrastructures and the organization of school resources. Hence, there is an attention to the concept of school and education that looks at its totality and material dimension.

Preliminary considerations are provided regarding how the European Schools look like and how they could develop under the influence of the surrounding society, the contemporary vision of the child and the family, and the role of teachers and parents. It is repeated that due to the economic collaboration of some countries in the 1950s, the European Schools were created to provide a structured education to the children of the first European employees; new linguistic sections were created following the gradual enlargement of the then European Community, also taking inspiration from individual member states. In this way, the absolutely practical purpose with which these schools were born is reiterated. However, in point 3.1.3 on page 4, it is said that these schools are not a simple juxtaposition of different linguistic sections but that

they seek to develop a harmonised educational approach and to assimilate the best traditions and practices of the national systems of the Member States. The schools have an innovative role, especially in the areas of multicultural education and of language teaching (Doc., 1990, p. 4).

It is underlined that these Schools are unique due to their intergovernmental status and that their prime purpose, although not the only one, is to "provide a general answer to the problem of the education of the children who are temporarily expatriate" (Doc., 1990, p. 5) to which secure continuity of their educational path - and for this reason different school levels are foreseen, from childhood to secondary school - as well as psychological and logistical support for families, guaranteeing education in the mother tongue. Regarding mother tongue education, it is stated that

The European Schools recognize the inestimable value of a clear cultural identity, expressed through a dominant language. They consider teaching in the mother tongue to be the keystone of the curriculum, organized in separate language sections (Doc. 1990, p. 5).

Other interesting affirmations, in my view, are expressed in the following points:

3.1.6. The European Schools are anchored in a democratic Europe, showing a profound respect for each child, without distinction of race, sex, nationality, language, belief or social class.
3.1.7. Despite the apparent homogeneity of their families, both socially and intellectually, the children of the European Schools represent a very wide range of intellectual capacity, of school skills, of levels of physical, social and emotional development. The European Schools accept them on a non-selective basis. The schools try to respond to the needs of each child, whatever his age, by adapting themselves to him and by adopting appropriate approaches (1990, p. 5).

Consideration is then given to the ability of expatriated children to adapt and integrate into the new surroundings which become the point of reference in building their notions of the world and society (Doc., 1990, p. 6). In fact, it is the host country where the children are located that becomes a point of reference for the children. Further reflections on the latter are then exposed: for example, it is noted that students of the European Schools enjoy a high standard of living and have many chances of taking part in many inspiring cultural and social activities but

sometimes at the expense of free time (Doc. 1990, p. 6) and at the cost of being overloaded (Ibidem). The impact of mass media and the growing electronic games is also underlined to be responsible to "provide the child with only 'second-hand' experiences" (Ibidem) contributing in creating an artificial image of the surrounding environment or making the children separated from nature and natural cycles. Considering all of the above, it is said that:

3.2.7. Subjected to stimulations of many kind, the child is often confused and his powers of concentration develop all too little. He moves from one activity to another and is reluctant to committ himself to anything seriously. He readily assumes the passive consumer attitudes which are sometimes resorted to by parents and teachers in order to save time.

3.2.8. In spite of that, most children have a fund of vitality and of spontaneity befitting their age. Today's children are the objects of much adult consideration. It is recognized that children are first of all children in their own right, having specific needs and with every opportunity to blossom and to be happy (1990, p. 6).

Then the attention goes back again to the experience of living in a foreign county and the various possible difficulties linked to the migratory experience are indicated, such as linguistic difficulties, the absence of familiar reference points, the sense of unfamiliarity in a foreign context, the distance from the natal country, one or both parents absent for work, sometimes the presence of a very complex cultural make-up of the family. It is worth mentioning, in my view, that those difficulties are not extended to all types of migratory experiences, especially those having underprivileged contexts and dynamics as the main background. So, the idea of migratory experience it is reflected upon appeared to be only the one related to the specific environment typical of the European Schools. Despite this narrowness of the field, the central role of the school is then acknowledged, conceiving it as "an important reference point for many families, especially in the early years of their expatriation. It is, therefore, called upon to be a place of welcome, of advice and support for both parents and children, a focal point for the expatriate European Community" (Doc., 1990, p. 7).

Some other reflections on parents and on their role are shared, to move on after to the educational team made up of teachers and other figures such as assistants, psychologists and speech therapists. The document also briefly explains how the teaching staff selection mechanisms work: most of them are seconded by their national governments for a limited period according to national procedures, while a shorter amount of teachers are recruited locally by each school.

It is then underlined that teachers of the English, French and German sections are expected to teach their mother tongue as a second language: due to this, special initial training is given to

them (Doc., 1990, p. 9). However, in-service training is generally organized for any teacher to harmonize teaching approaches and keep up to date with developments in the field of education. Furthermore, teachers are invited to use their linguistic, creative or sporting skills to organize activities during the European hours (Doc., 1990, p. 9).

The next paragraph in the 1990 document provides some information referring to management and administration; I will briefly focus on them because one of the highlighted figures appears relevant to curriculum reform and its harmonisation. I am referring to the Deputy Head Teacher, to whom the discussion will also return later about the Pedagogical Bulletins. Going back to the 1990 document it is explained that the Headteacher is responsible for the educational project and the management of the three levels of education provided. It is added that, with specific regard to nursery and primary school and considering the vast amount of work they involve, the Headmaster is helped by a Deputy Head who is responsible "for carrying out the reforms of the curriculum approved by the Board of Governors" (Doc., 1990, p. 10). Moreover, it is said that

3.6.5. The Deputy Head is the leader of a European teaching team. He provides the link between the different language sections and oversees the harmonisation, the quality, the coherence and the continuity of the work of the school at nursery and primary level.
3.6.6. For this purpose he must show a great receptivity to the different cultures of the member states. Especially in the area of education, thus widening the limits of his previous national experience.
3.6.7. Since most of the teachers are expatriates and are called to live and to work in unfamiliar and sometimes demanding conditions, the Deputy Headteacher must concern himself with the general ambience of the school and with the well-being of each one (Doc., 1990, p. 10).

Although remaining at the prescriptive level, I believe that this passage on management and the people involved is relevant because it briefly introduces us and allows us to catch a glimpse of further figures who found themselves concretely involved in the practical implementation of the curriculum and its organization and modification; at the moment this allows us to identify only one role - the Deputy Headteacher - and other administrative subjects, but going deep into the analysis of the sources it might also be possible to give faces, names and identify stories connected to this.

In the following section, considerations on society are reported, addressing the most disparate topics from the privileged and recognized role of children in society (Ibidem, p, 11) to the various family compositions, the different lifestyles, the use of technological tools, the risks that life presents for children such as "traffic, noise, atmospheric pollution, over-abundant demands on their attention, tobacco, alcohol, drug abuse" (Ibidem). Reference is also made to migrant workers, mixed marriages and professional mobility which have promoted the

development of a multicultural society "whose potential is often overshadowed by daily problems" (Ibidem, p. 12). I believe that it is also interesting to consider the reflections on technology, which affects private and personal life, and on work, which "demands a greater degree of flexibility, of personal initiative, of inventiveness and commitment. It requires new skills and a receptive mind" (Ibidem, p. 12). The last considerations are on the changing social values leading space "for greater equality, shared responsibility and independence" (Ibidem) and the growing possibility for everyone to make their voice heard and have a positive impact on policy (Ibidem).

After these initial premises the document focuses on a thorough description of the curriculum, "a curriculum centred around the Child" (Ibidem, p. 13). In particular, it is said that

in the light of the general considerations described in the previous chapter, and in the perspective of a more closely united and enlarged Europe, the European Schools adopt as their aim the all-round education of their pupils in a European and international context (Doc. 1990, p. 13).

Due to this, various are the objectives of the ES educational policy: to make the children aware of themselves, their identities, potentials and limits; to know their bodies and to consciously balance body and mind; to become aware of others and be tolerant and respectful of them; and also, "to develop a feeling for what is right and a constructive critical approach to life; to learn to form part of a group, to show commitment, solidarity and team spirit and to discover the relues governing partnerships" (Ibidem, p. 13). The double mission of the European Schools is underlined, namely the effort "to recognise, protect and develop the cultural identity of its pupils, far from their home countries; to encourage a European spirit" (Ibidem, p. 14) while recognizing and respecting children's potential and differences.

It is also reiterated how important the role of teachers is; they should have mature, well-mannered and balanced personalities, open to others and different cultures. Furthermore, teachers should be eager to be part of an international group and be "committed Europeans" who speak at least one of the working languages of the Schools (1990, p. 15). As already said before, teachers are chosen by national authorities; in my view, this is an element that shows the network of relationships defining the European Schools since national authorities are asked to collaborate with the school concerned. The document then underlines the fact that new staff should be given adequate information, preparation and support. At the same time, they are required to be up to date on the most recent scientific discoveries and to maintain contact with the national system of their country of origin, as well as to have an interest in the educational system of the country in which they work and of the other Member States (Doc. 1990, p. 16).

In-service training sessions are promoted to encourage the exchange of good practices and the possibility of assimilating the ideas proposed and implementing them in daily reality. Furthermore, there is the idea that for these students far from home the European Schools should have been conceived as "a warm and secure place of welcome, a home from home" (Doc., 1990, p. 17). It is recognized to teachers a vital function in ensuring and making all of the above possible since they work to favour the development of the pupils and especially of the knowledge of their mother tongue. In addition, teachers embody the people who will maintain the traditions and cultures of the country of origin, but who, at the same time, will help the parents and the child to avoid an overly national vision of education and society (Doc., 1990, p. 17). A balanced movement within the national and the international/European dimensions can be noticed. Those who teach a second language or European hours are considered and defined as "a cultural ambassador" (Doc., 1990, p.18) who must help students appreciate cultural differences. It also states how it is necessary to respond to the global educational needs of students and for this reason, schools must be a stimulating environment. In this regard, it is underlined that the opportunity must be given to carry out activities outside of school to allow children to come into contact with and learn about the environment and the surrounding world, or to "invite people or groups of people to school to enrich its cultural and social life" (Doc., 1990, p. 18). The next page also states how the European Schools want to respond to the needs of the expatriate community by organizing cultural and social activities; it is also stated that they wanted to open the doors to the local community to promote mutual understanding and the sharing of places and equipment (Doc., 1990, p.19). From all of these preliminary considerations derive various consequences, some of which are characteristic of the European Schools such as the supranational and multicultural nature of these Schools, their particular structure and organisation; the additional subjects foreseen such as foreign languages or European hours; the different and variable sizes of schools in diverse European countries, as well as their growing number. All of thesehas a direct influence on the organization of the curriculum and teaching approaches in the European Schools. In particular, these curriculum guidelines state that

the curriculum must reflect a unity of purpose, and it must be presented in a clear and precise way, appealing to all language sections equally;
Taking account of child development and of the progressive stages of learning, the curriculum must avoid discontinuity and must ensure a coherent educational philosophy from the nursery school, through primary and through secondary;
The curriculum must likewise take into account the specific needs of children with learning or behavioural difficulties, disabled children and those who are particularly gifted;
It must be alive to the physical capacity and biological rhythms of the children and teachers;

The curriculum must present concrete examples as an inspiration for the teachers, within the limits of what is possible;
The curriculum and related documents must be available in all languages (1990, p. 20-21).

Furthermore, it is highlighted that the introduction of a new curriculum must always be followed by training for the staff which should be

organized taking into account the educational developments in the Member States. Teachers are in charge of the practical realization of syllabuses, and each school should facilitate such application with detailed discussions for all subjects (Doc. 1990, p. 21).

The document then turns to the weekly and daily timetable, underlining how important it is to consider the needs of everyone, students and teachers. Moreover, it is highlighted how, at the dawn of the European Schools, "the timetable […] was basically a national timetable to which had been added the teaching of a foreign language and the European Hours. The resulting number of periods is a heavy workload for children and for teachers" (Doc. 1990, p. 21). Recognizing how too long teaching periods constitute an obstacle to learning, quality teaching and the meeting of children's needs, it is suggested to proceed with a revision of the existing timetables considering the weekly timetable and children's ages together with a different number of periods attributed to each subject and "the introduction of more flexible approaches, such as inter-disciplinary work, for example" (Doc. 1990, p. 21-22).

There is also the invitation to use different teaching approaches to encourage creativity, physical and sensory development, communication and sociability. Whatever the modalities chosen - teacher lecture, group work or open discussion - the role of the teacher remains vital. To encourage the development of children's full potential teachers are invited to choose flexible and personalized approaches where possible; to give importance to children's interests and give them the proper space and time and the possibility to make choices (Ibidem, p. 22).

As in the 1971 and 1972 documents and in the 1977 Harmonized Timetables and Programme it is mentioned the necessity of departing from the children at the centre and of taking account of their curiosity and spontaneity involving all their senses and various skills. Moreover, "imagination and a careful choice of material will eliminate monotony from the children's learning. Healthy competition also has its place for children to enjoy and are stimulated by comparing results" (Ibidem, p. 23). As we can see, the idea of 'healthy' competition appears followed also by the necessity to monitor student progress to assess "how far general aims are being achieved" and as "an ongoing exercise in self-evaluation" (Ibidem).

Recommendations are then provided for teaching the second language: it is recommended to encourage recreational activities and to ensure that there is contact with other cultures through

songs, popular stories, literature, festivals and national customs (Doc., 1990, p. 23). Moreover, the encouragement of team work and of mutual help between the pupils is stressed; finally, it is underlined how the teaching of the second language should be favoured by using real life situations connected to creative activities or to other subjects such as the Environmental Studies or European Hours (Ibidem, p. 24). Considerations on the latter then follow. It is recognized how this subject offers third, fourth and fifth-year students the opportunity to meet children and teachers from other language sections and, in this way, it promotes the practical realization of the wish expressed in the Statute of the European Schools where it is stated that: "by playing the same games, learning the same lessons, boys and girls of different languages and citizenships will end up getting to know each other, respecting each other and living in harmony with each other" (Doc., 1990: 24, my trans.). The document also underlines how important it is to ensure that this teaching - European hours - does not remain isolated but rather integrated with other activities and subjects and in particular the second language conceived as a support in real situations (Doc., 1990, p. 24). According to the document, the teaching of European Hours provide a chance for "verbal and non-verbal communication between pupils of different language sections" (ibidem, p. 25) but it is necessary to remove them "from their relative isolation by associating them with other disciplines or with project work"; teachers are then invited to plan European Hours together and share the results of their work through shows, exhibitions or a school newspaper; moreover, it is reiterated their connection with second languages and it is underlined how children should be left free as much as possible so to choose between the activities available on the basis of their interests (Ibidem, p. 25).

Point 5.6, on page 24, touches on the issue of students with special needs. In the 1971 and 1972 documents the topic had already been partially addressed and the difficulty of taking care of students with special needs had been strongly underlined. A few years later, in 1990, a change can be detected. As a matter of fact, the 1990 Guidelines inform the reader that Remedial Teaching had been recently introduced for students with learning or behavioural difficulties who receive individual help from a teacher trained in that field (Doc., 1990, p. 25). The conditions that make remedial teaching particularly effective are indicated such as observing students and providing help already in nursery school and guaranteeing continuity up to secondary school. However, it is also underlined that "the integration of disabled children into the schools is one of the great challenges facing the schools in our time" (Doc., 1990, p. 26). Due to this, the invitation to consider each specific case follows, and it is mention that it is necessary to also take into account what the European Schools can offer both in terms of infrastructure and specialized personnel. It is indeed explained "that sometimes, in big cities,

better and easier solutions for support and remedial teaching might be found in local schools but the choice falls in any case on the European Schools due to the language spoken there" (Ibidem).

Considerations on the size of classes are then expressed underlining how all the educational principles pointed out can be realized "if the size of classes is in keeping with the teaching approaches adopted" (Doc., 1990, p. 26). It is also noticed that "different activities and ages demand differing class sizes" (Ibidem) and working in small groups could be particularly suitable in the case of nursery school, the first year of primary, second language teaching, experimental work in Environmental Studies, the multi-cultural groups in European Hourse (Ibidem).

The document then proceeds about school environments based on the idea of the school being conceived not only as a place of study but also as an environment and a community that offers real-life experiences for its students: this should be reflected in the organization of spaces. So, I would like to point out the spatial dimension of the curriculum that is addressed here. As for space, the need to have specific rooms for different activities and courses such as European hours is expressed. Pointing out the need for apposite areas for physical education and sport, halls for "drama, music and movement, exhibitions, various projects and activities" together with "specialist rooms adaptable to a variety of activities in Environmental Studies and European Hours […], study and meeting rooms" (Doc., 1990, p. 27). If the aforementioned spaces are necessary for the essential activities in the schools, it is also pointed out that there are other components of the school's infrastructure to which give attention such as canteens, sanitary installations and infirmary. Moreover, attention must be given also to the external surroundings of the schools; it is indeed said that

The yard, for example, should give the children enough possibilities for movement and play (sand pit, play and climbing equipment, adventure corners, benches) and should also be suitable for use during P.E. lessons (sports fields).

In bad weather, the children should also have the possibility of playing and running about in the fresh air, and parts of the school playground should be covered. School gardens and nature study pools enrich the school environment. Conveniently close to the classroom, children can observe and study nature at first-hand, in their environmental studies syllabus (Doc., 1990, p. 28).

Attention to the spatial dimension is demonstrated also in the indications about class equipment that should favour

class teaching, group work, individual work and free choice activities […], maps and wall charts […], audio-visual aids […], materials for Art and Craft […], a reading corner for individual reference work

or silent reading […], simple instruments for music making […], facilities for keeping animals in class and for growing plants (Doc., 1990, p. 30).

One of the main aims that should be promoted through spatial organization and classroom equipment is the ability to foster children's curiosity, desire for learning, creativity, interest and expression. As for the latter, it is also pointed out that in classes and halls, there should be space "for exhibiting and for storing children's work, including pin boards, glass showcases and shelving" (Doc., 1990, p. 29). Among the most crucial environments, the library is indicated: with an area for studying, it is suggested that it should contain specialized books on particular disciplines and themes; children's literature for each linguistic section; and books for support teachers (1990, p. 30).

The final sections of the documents deal with the desire to create a harmonized system, a desire that is at the basis of the European Schools system. However, it is reiterated that local conditions change from school to school due to the size of individual schools, the number of language sections, the number of pupils, the cultural climate, and the local environment. In this way, significant repercussions are felt on the application of the syllabus, the organization of timetables, the second languages proposed, the organization of European hours teaching, and the school's participation in local events (Doc., 1990, p. 32). Space is also given to the community feature that should characterize the school; therefore, cooperation between the administration bodies, teachers, other staff members and parents is highly desired. It is said that, to facilitate the transition of students from one school level to another, committees for a joint curriculum are created (Doc., 1990, p. 36). At the end of the document, there is an appendix with all the documents published up to then: there are also references to the syllables of the individual subjects that had to consider the general guidelines as the ones analyzed.

Chapter 4 - Pedagogical Bulletin: a glimpse on the relational and individual dimension of the curriculum?

4.1 Chapter's Introduction

In this chapter, I am going to talk about the Pedagogical Bulletins that circulated within the European School System from 1962 till 2003. As it will be better seen from the source analysis in the following paragraphs, the Pedagogical Bulletins were created to be used internally and not to express pedagogical views or the official pedagogical principles of the European Schools outside of their circuit. They were considered an instrument to foster and reflect on the harmonization and to share teaching practices and observations. Even if the creators of the Pedagogical Bulletins themselves had not thought of them as pedagogical journals to spread the thoughts of the European Schools and to encourage dialogue outside them, I believe that these Pedagogical Bulletins share some essential characteristics with the pedagogical press, first of all the space given to the topic of teaching (Polenghi, 2015, p. 4) and the possibility of giving partial access to the "door of a classroom that introduces the internal plots of school life, providing data to reveal the less obvious mechanisms" (Chiosso, 2019, p. 6). For this reason, it seems necessary and important to me to consider them within the typology of sources of the pedagogical press and, while taking into account the specific peculiarities of the case, I will proceed to refer initially to the scientific literature in the teaching press to underline the relevance of this type of source in the field of the History of Education. Secondly, I will explain how I approached and considered the Pedagogical Bulletins and which questions I had in mind while observing them. I will then move on with their description, their structure, and the main themes treated to focus, in the end, on some of the possible reading paths constituting the multiple and entangled threads they contributed to creating.

4.2 Relevance of the source

In an article on pedagogical journals circulating in Mexico at the beginning of the 20th century, Lucía Martínez Moctezuma considered «pedagogical journals as a "mirror of the epoch"» (Moctezuma 2022, p. 419) and also «as witnesses of what was once the daily school routine» (Moctezuma, 2022, p. 420) not only by including published official documents, but also «unofficial texts, as well, ones that reveal the working conditions of teachers, their influence on the elaboration of textbooks, and the dissemination of articles that served the community» (Moctezuma, 2022, p. 420). The same point is underlined also by Giorgio Chiosso in an article

on the role of pedagogical journals in Italy at the end of the 19th century; their analysis provided information on many different points such as - to name just a few - the modes of teaching, the daily life of schools and the working and living conditions of teachers (Chiosso, 2019, p. 7). Looking at these sources, alongside other more traditional ones such as laws, school programs and organizational models, has made it possible to "move from the school 'described' as ideal to that 'realized' in everyday teaching" (Chiosso, 2019, p 6, my translation). I also find relevant to be mentioned what Marc Depaepe claims regarding this type of source material whose content analysis could show links with the history of educational reality in classroom (Depaepe, 2000, p.15-16). As a matter of fact, an aspect not to be overlooked, according to Depaepe, is that

educational periodicals lend themselves perfectly to 'thick description'. They enable us to take a look behind the scenes at classroom practice and to gauge the strategy, ulterior motives, reservations and hidden meanings behind pedagogical and didactic practice. Professional journals do not, after all, limit themselves to practical matters. They can also concern themselves with general pedagogical and general social issues (Ibidem, p. 40).

Moreover, as for the connection with the curriculum and the light they can bring on it, they can definitely offer remarkable insights about "the topos in which prescribed organization and concrete pedagogy constantly intermingle" (Ibidem, p. 47). For sure, as Depapepe points out, a careful selection of the sources is necessary to make them be considered representative.

Considering all the above, I also believe that this type of source can contribute to the understanding of «how the curriculum has been negotiated at macro and micro level over time» (Goodson, 2005, p. 82) by paying attention to the interdependent dimensions of contact and mutual shaping between the individuals and the collective they are part of (Goodson, 2005, p. 141) and that can be detected in these sources. So, given their potentialities in terms of information and in depicting the different layers composing any school system they refer to, I am looking at them with the following questions in mind (the same of the whole project): what images of this specific school system do emerge from here? How did the system function especially in terms of harmonization, organization and practical realization of the curriculum? Which images of the child, the future citizens, and the role of education were given shape to? What were the opinions of the teachers? How could alternative voices and dissent have space, if they had any space?

4.3 The Pedagogical Bulletins in the European Schools: features and functioning
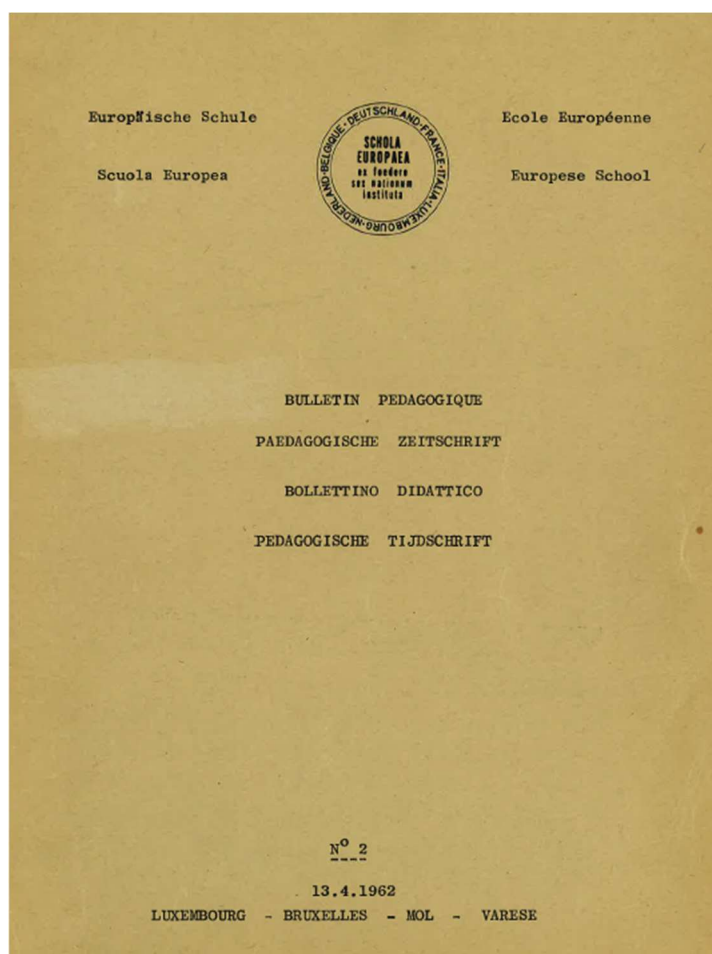
Cover PB n. 2, 1962

The picture above is the cover of the oldest Pedagogical Bulletin I came into contact with: it is number Two published on April 13, 1962, and circulated within the European Schools of Luxembourg, Bruxelles, Mol, and Varese. There is no information about the publisher who materially realised this publication and how it spread in practical terms within the different schools. Yet, looking at this specific number and the following ones, I would try to make some deductions.

On page VI, in the text *En Guise de coup d'envoi. Ce que le Bulletin Peut Vous Apporter. Ce qui'Il Attend De Vous*, it is explained both in French and in German what the Pedagogical Bulletins could bring and what was expected from the readers - the teachers of the European Schools and the members of the different committees: these booklets aimed at testifying "the vitality of our Schools and our will to renovate ourselves" (PB, 1962, p. 9; my translation). The events that favoured their creation are narrated; on Sunday, January 12 1962 - during a meeting

- twelve professors together with the delegate of the Superior Council and the four Directors of the Schools discussed the idea of having an organ of communication, but not to function as a pedagogical voice. Greater importance and urgency were recognized at that specific moment to the necessity of creating fruitful collaboration within the European Schools. Consequently, the Bulletins were originally thought to be used internally, just within the European School System. I am reporting the translation of the exact words according to which

the bulletin should be first and foremost a place of pedagogical meeting, this permanent means of mutual enrichment which we all feel all the needs. His field of research should consequently be limited to the problems of their European teachings that it is open to all of our pedagogic worries, that nourish our experience with the experience from others, but that it does not become in any case a review of general literature, an intimate journal or a politic tribune (PB, 1962, p. VI, my translation).

I believe that from those words can be detected the hope - for the Pedagogical Bulletins - to encourage dialogue between multiple voices; to be fruitful, it must have been located within the realities of the European Schools and the contributors should have tried to be as concrete and authentic as possible so to identify and formulate problems. Then, the intended general structure of the publication is described. It is composed of the following sections: Introduction; General articles on the European School and Pedagogy; focus on Nursery and Primary School; focus on Secondary School with specific zoom in on certain subjects such as Mothertongue, Philosophy; Civisme - History - Geography; Second Language; Old/Ancient Languages; Music - Physical Education - Artistic Education; Bibliography or book recommendations; Personalia: News from the People; administrative documents and news from the Schools.

The structure tends to remain the same throughout the years even though the part related to the administrative documents will be later moved to the centre of the publication and it will be made visible by printing it with a slightly different paper in terms of colour and consistency.

From 1977 on - maybe some years before but some of the copies are missing, so I am not able to tell it with certainty - five publications per year were produced, even though not always regularly (for instance, in 1986, only one Pedagogical Bulletin appeared, n. 96). Then, from 1996, the number of publications decreased to one or two copies per year, while in the years 2000 - 2003, only one copy was produced.

To go back to the first ones originally produced, in the Bulletin n. 2 of 1962 some information on their circulation and production is given; there is indeed the invitation to be responsible and get engaged with this type of publication; it is also said that in every school a committee had been established for promoting coordination, receiving suggestions and gathering the copy for next number; there was a responsible person and then five or six colleagues of different nationalities. Each committee stayed closely in contact with the Luxembourg équipe - the names

of MM. Hautum, Quencez and Vivès are present here - who were responsible, in the starting years, for the publication of the whole Bulletins. Taking this into consideration, I would argue that probably the practical publication was done in Luxembourg, at least at the beginning. No further details on their circulation are given. On page VIIII of the PB n. 2, 1962, it is then underlined how the Luxembourg team - coordinating the project - counted also on the support of the others because otherwise nothing could have been done: this bulletin should have been conceived as the Spanish inns of the past where you could only find what you brought there (PB 2, 1962, p. VIIII). The invitation to take the pens and write then follows as it is testified by the following lines:

Avez-vous des idées, meme non conformistes? Vous heurez-vous à des difficultés particulières? Ets-vous insatisfait de vos méthods, ou, au contraire, en etes-vous enchanté? Voulez-vous connaitre un titre d'ouvrage, une référence qui vous serait utile? Avez-vous lu un livre intéressant pour vos collègues? Prenez alors votre plume et mettez-vous à l'oeuvre. Vous pouves écrire dans toutes les langues de l'école, voire en anglais ou en latin. Quel que soit le moyen d'expression que vous choisirez, vous rendrez service. Rien que cela doit uffrire à vous décider. Nous avons tant à apprendre les uns des autres! (PB, 1962, p. VIII).

The numbers from the years 1963 to 1966 are missing and the preface - written in German, French, Italian and Dutch - of number 6, 1967, gives us some information on them. Here it is said that the number of people working for the Pedagogical Bulletin decreased considerably and after that the original founders had left, it had not been published for a while. I believe this is important information that gives light on the fact that teachers and people working for the European Schools moved within them and also went back to their home country at a certain point. To go back to the Preface in the n. 6 of 1967, it is also said that new European schools had been created in the meantime, the other ones - already existing - had widened, while the number of teachers had increased. This fact made more urgent and visible the necessity to "establish frequent contacts e promote collaboration between the different European Schools" (PB n. 6, 1967, p. 5, my translation).

The authors of the Preface, therefore, propose to publish this bulletin on a regular basis twice a quarter, however avoiding the publication of special issues dedicated to a single topic, unless the need arises. Teachers were asked to send: info on ongoing experiences in each of the European schools; the report of the meetings of the specialists of each subject;

responses to articles or suggestions on pedagogical and didactic matters;

personal info. The editorial committee undertook to timely publish the calendar and agenda of the various meetings as well as the decisions of the Superior and Inspection Councils. Finally, for practical reasons, they requested to attach a summary in German to each article written in French or Italian, and a summary in French to the others.

There are other two articles that in my view are interesting and provide information on the functioning of this publication.

The first one is number 52 published in 1977 where a Questionnaire proposed by the Editorial Committee can be found in three different linguistic versions: German, English and French. The aim of it is to collect opinions on the presentation of the Bulletin and, in particular, it is asked if, according to the readers, the Bulletin should have a new cover with photographs, another form of index, bigger headlines, more information about the authors of the articles, include a brief summary of the articles, include drawings, include a smaller or different selection of typefaces. There is also space for other criticism or aspects that the readers would have liked to point out. I have not been able to retrace the results of such a Questionnaire; in number 54 of June 1977, it is said that only three local correspondents (so, three Schools) had sent back replies from the Questionnaire and there is an invitation to take part in the survey. Moreover, it can be noticed that since 1978 an image is almost always present on the cover. Another information that can be deducted from the Questionnaire is the fact that in every school there was at least one local representative for the Pedagogical Bulletin (it is indeed said that after having filled in the questionnaire, it should have been passed to the local representative by 1 March 1977).

Another article, probably useful in shedding light on the mechanism of production of such a Bulletin, can be found in number 53 published in April 1977, in the section Forum, on page 3. I will further discuss this piece, since it deals with the theme of censorship, in the next paragraph; however, here I want to notice the mention of the fact that the Bulletin published on June 1976 arrived late and it was difficult to reply to an article in it since the following months - especially the ones of the first semester of the new scholastic year 1976/1977 -were very busy. Again, I believe we have here a glimpse of how the Bulletin moved within the system - sometimes with delays - and the possible communication it sparked.

Another interesting fact on the functioning of this type of publication is the presence of special numbers: for example, in 1978, a Special Issue was published to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the first European School in Luxembourg; again, in number a call for a special number on Maths teaching can be found.

If we look at the content, in general, the main themes treated revolve around the following points: the harmonization of the European School System and how to promote it; examples from national cases; problems encountered; discussion on specific subjects; reflections on the curriculum; reforms of the European Schools; experiences realised in the different schools. I will now focus on some specific articles that appear to have a different tone in comparison with

the majority; I believe they can help us in perceiving some of the tensions that characterized this school system; tensions and trajectories that, in a way, differ from the main tone used and the main image of children, future citizens and teachers normally depicted.

Before focusing, in particular, on some numbers, I will indicate how I proceeded with the analysis. As already mentioned, the first PB I came into contact with was n. 2 of 1962, the only number traced for that year. There are also some gaps before arriving at n. 6 of 1967. The PBs published after the latter and up to n. 51 of 1976 have not been traced; from no. 51 of 1976, however, there are no other gaps, and all the editions are present up to n. 88 of 1984, with an average of around 4 issues per year. Some numbers are missing from the years 1984-1986, but all the numbers up to n. 130 of 1999 are available. The last available numbers – 131, 132, 133, 134, and 135 – were published in 2000, 2001, 2002 and 2003, but they underwent a change in their name: in fact, it is no longer talked about Pedagogical Bulletins but of *Panorama*. The variety of topics covered is very wide; the table below indicates how many times some of the identified macro-themes recurred in the titles of the articles that appeared during the following three time periods: 1962-1970; 1971-1980; 1981-1990. I decided to focus on these time spans since they correspond with the years in which the changes in the curriculum described in the previous chapter occurred.

Table 3: Most quoted macro-themes in the title of articles of the PBs 1962-1990

Topics quoted in the title of articles	Years 1962-1970	Years 1971-1980	Years 1981-1990	Total – All the Time Spans
Curriculum Harmonisation	1	4	3	8
School Reform		5	3	8
Citizenship/Civic Education			1	1
European Hours/Identity/Common Heritage		1	9	10
Language Teaching			5	5
Remedial Teaching		4	6	10
Reflections on Curriculum and Didactic and Pedagogic Practices			2	2

I now proceed, in the following paragraph, to briefly describe and analyze some of the articles which, in my opinion, offer an unprecedented insight and a "look from below" on life in the European Schools and which can constitute a valuable contribution to the reflection on the image of the student, the future citizen promoted through the official curriculum, even with all its contradictions.

4.4 The Pedagogical Bulletins in the European Schools. Focus on specific articles: a space for different voices?

4.4.1. Article on censorship

The first article I am focusing on is in the PB n. 53 printed in April 1977 and it can be located under the Section called Forum, just at the very beginning of the publication (PB, 1977, n. 53, p. 3-4); it was written by Mr Didelot who was based in Varese and signed himself as the General Secretary of the SIPEE. While reading it, we get acquainted with the fact that the SIPEE is a teacher trade union, but no further explanations are given[55]; in the article, Mr Didelot explains that, in a previous number of the PB, published in June 1976, an article against SIPEE had been published since the association had apparently spoken of censorship in relation to the content published in the Pedagogical Bulletins. He then points out that if the Pedagogical Bulletin is a place created to promote exchange and collaboration, also problems should be discussed and there should not be space for censorship. In addition to this, he also notices how the committee responsible for the selection of the articles to be published is composed mainly of members of the administration while, in his view, it should be more open to teachers. He also underlines how often the writers of articles censored themselves so as to have their pieces published with the result that usually highly specialised texts are present, texts that do not constitute a really useful contribution to promote fruitful collaboration; as an example of this, he quotes a piece on Maths teaching published in a previous number.

It has been not possible to collect further information about this censorship episode and the SIPEE; however, I thought it important to mention this article because it reports an example which, in my opinion, offers a broader look at the daily reality of the European Schools and at the possible episodes of dissent that might have occurred and which also testify about a certain "disconnection" between the prescriptive and formal dimension described in the official documents and the practical and daily implementation realized by the all the subjects involved, with their own beliefs, attitudes and behaviours.

4.4.2. Aidan Smith: A school for all talents

The second article I am focusing on was published in the same number, the PB n. 53, 1977; it was written by Aidan Smith, a British teacher arrived at the École Européenne de Bruxelles I

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[55] This trade union is mentioned also in the Special edition of the Pedagogical Bulletin published in 1978 for the celebration of the 25th anniversary of the European School in Luxembourg (PB, 1978, Special edition).

in 1974 and who worked there as Primary School Deputy Head till 1996[56]. His name was also present among those constituting the committee that dealt with the Primary School Reform proposal in 1990 and who worked on it since 1986 (in this regard, see the previous chapter). Furthermore, his name also reappears in other PB articles relating to the teaching of the European Hours (Smith, BP 1978-57, p. 37) and the inauguration of the new school library (Anselmi in ToC BP 1978-57, p. 81). Going back to the article in question, it stresses the necessity for the European Schools to promote a model of education that takes care of all children and of all talents and differences, a school not worried about the survival of the fittest, but concerned with «the happiness of all children» (Smith, PB 53, 1977, p. 41). Speaking of primary education, Smith indeed recounts the episode of a boy who had shown him "a plate of jam tarts" (Smith, 1977, p. 40) and says that he does not remember the boy's name but that he has not forgotten "his pride in his efforts, the justified self-esteem which comes from a job well done" (Ib.). In fact, Smith underlines how to create that specific plate of cakes, the boy had to use different skills and learn various things, concepts and processes such as, for example, preparing the ingredients, patiently waiting for the final result, cleaning and arranging the equipment used, and also having to deal with results that were not always optimal as expected. He underlines precisely how this cooking activity had implied "a wealth of integrated work, providing an activity at which many children could shine" (Ib.). He also acknowledges the fact that this particular boy would almost certainly not become a chef, but what matters was that "he had been engaged in at least one activity which he could well, and which was meaningful for him. Above all, in his results, he could recognize his own achievement" (Ib.). According to Smith, the most important thing is that this achievement contributes to creating and strengthening "the child's self-esteem, helping him to develop into a well-balanced person, happy with himself and with other people" (Ib.). The adjective "happy" is probably the key word in this case: quoting the Scottish pedagogist Alexander Sutherland Neill (1883-1973), Smith states that the purpose of education is "above all else to make people happy" (Ib.). I find it significant that Neill is mentioned firstly because it can be assumed that his name was part of the background references and influences valuable to Smith and, moreover, because Neill was a pedagogue and teacher who founded the Summerhill School characterized by a community-based decision-making process (Darling, 1992; Limond 1999), and so his name is related to a school experience that tried to contribute to democratic education. Going back to Smith's text, he underlines how the attention of Primary teachers should be directed above all to all those

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[56] This information was collected during an interview with his wife Judy Smith, which took place online last 15/06/2023.

activities that promote children's talents and development. In support of this, he also cites the Plowden Report on Primary Education, a significant document of reform in post-war England (see Kogan, 1987; Cunningham, 2007; Clausen, 2013). He writes:

The Plowden Report on Primary Education 1966 says: ' the best preparation for being a happy and useful man or woman is to live fully as a child'. We could take that short sentence as our Credo. If we really believe it, and more important still, if we can act upon it, our schools will become schools for all talents, for all abilities, where no child can develop as children and in which they can register achievements which are significant to them. We are laying some of the foundations which go to make up happy adults. As parents and as teachers we cannot have a nobler purpose (Smith, PB 53, 1977, p. 41).

He believes that the Reformed Primary Programme for the European Schools, the result of the revision work of 1971 and 1972, was going in this direction and offered opportunities to create an environment that educates happy children and, therefore, future happy adults; he also underlines how teachers and educators had "the creative role" (Ib., p. 41) to translate this objective and this environment into practice, building a school that welcomes and leaves space and offers possibilities to all, "a school where we are not concerned with the survival of the fittest, but with the survival and happiness of all" (Ib., p. 41).

4.4.3. Pedagogical Bulletin Schola Europea 1953-1978: The Child or the Curriculum?

I will briefly look at two articles published in 1978, in the Special edition for the 25th anniversary of the European Schools. The publication consists of an initial part of official thanks, then followed by a historical reconstruction of the first 25 years of the European Schools; among the proposed documents, the name of Albert Van Houtte is visible since he sketches the background of "The Legal Constitutions" of the Schools (*Schola Europea*, 1978, p. 43). The next part of the bulletin is dedicated to the current situation with a focus on the different schools; the attention then shifts to the main pedagogical themes in a section that collects teacher contributions on the reform and harmonization processes of the curriculum, with a gaze continuously oscillating between a national and a European perspective. The publication also contains "excerpts" from real life told by employees, educators and students; the volume is finally closed with observations and proposals for the future.

In the following lines, I will briefly focus on two articles: the first, *The Curriculum or the Child?*, proposed both in English and Irish Gaelic by Margaret Brennan, an Irish primary school teacher who collaborated with Aidan Smith at the European School Brussels I[57]. The second

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[57] Information collected during the interview with Judy Smith on 15/06/2023.

article is written by the Italian Section of the Luxembourg Primary School and focuses on *Le concezioni dell'insegnamento nazionale paragonate a un sistema di insegnamento europeo armonizzato*[58] - *The conceptions of national teaching compared to a harmonized European teaching system.*

Brennan starts from this question: "The Curriculum or the Child?" (Scola Europea, 1978, p. 174) because, in her view, it well expresses "the basic difference between the harmonized European system and the national system in Ireland" (Ib.). In fact, she remembers having come from a school where "the teaching was 'child-centred' rather than 'curriculum-centred'" (Ib.): according to her, this was due to some different reasons. The first one was the fact that there was basically no break and difference of approach between Nursery school and Primary school; this led to the second reason, namely the fact that great attention was given, since 1951 at least, to individual differences promoting a mixture of individual, group and class activities. The third reason she acknowledges was the fact that the principle of individual attention characterising Nursery school had been also applied in other school cycles starting from Primary school where "a much more active role in their education" was played by children (Ib.) and where "at the different stages of his development the child is allowed full scope to express his own personality, to experience the joy of discovery and to consult a variety of reading material" (Ib.). This progressive attitude was implemented also thanks to some changes that occurred, such as a different organization of the school's physical environment with new furniture and more floor space in the classrooms (Ib., p. 175); reductions in the pupil/teacher ratio together with an increased knowledge of group-teaching methods are other factors she underlines (Ib.), and also the fact that almost every national school started created own library with more books beyond the textbooks normally used. On the contrary, she has the impression that the harmonized curriculum of the ES is much more similar to what she calls "the old curriculum, […] that the curriculum is subject and progress-oriented" (Ib., p. 175). She believes this could easily change if the aims of Primary education are clearly stated, which, in her view, are the following: "To enable the child to live a full life as a child. To equip him to avail himself of further education so that he may go on to live a full life as an adult in society" (Ib.). She affirms that a curriculum based on the two aforementioned goals and principles should be able to put the children's development at the centre while taking great care of "the needs of children who differ in natural ability and in the cultural background" (Ib.). This differs widely from a curriculum-centred education which is "logical rather than psychological in its approach and

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[58] The article is initially presented in the Italian version followed by the German and English ones.

places emphasis on what the child ought to be taught rather than how he learns at the different stages of his development" (Ib.). She also refers to recent research which highly values the child as "the most active agent in his own education" (Ib.) both as an individual and as a group member. Like Aidan Smith before her, she also recognizes the role of the teachers who have to guide and inspire the children, "adapting and moulding the curriculum to the needs of each individual child" (Ib.).

Considerations similar to those of Brennan are also found in the contribution proposed by the Italian linguistic section of the Luxembourg Primary School: it is here recognized the value of harmonized programs and timetables as a tool at the basis of the organization of the complex and bold initiative carried out by the European Schools, but, nevertheless, the article highlights some weaknesses, in particular those encountered by Italian teachers who have the 1955 Italian programs as a reference point. While on the one hand, there is no doubt that the ES harmonized timetables and programs "are designed to cover the numerous aspects of national teaching systems and aim to educate responsible citizens, aware of their place in society, sensitive to changes in the world around them and ready to take part in the development of a United Europe" (Ib., p. 181), on the other it is stressed how difficult it is to put them into practice since the programs of the European Schools are "influenced by technicalities unknown to traditional Italian teaching" which is instead more focused "above all on understanding the child, the center of all school activities" (Ib.). Consequently, there are also practical and organizational difficulties regarding, for example, timetables or difficulties caused by the second language teaching; furthermore, an element is missing in the ES harmonized programs which are instead defined as constitutive of the spirit of Italian syllabuses (Ib., p. 182), namely "suggestions, advice and warnings on the best way of understanding the child in order to 'adapt the teaching to the psychology of the child'" (Ib.). Where these indications were partially present, however, it is noted a severity of rules and contents which makes it difficult to realize what is mentioned in the introduction of the harmonized programmes, the fact "to start from the child" (Ib.) which remains more a rather generalized recommendation. Instead, in the context of the European Schools - despite some isolated cases - "the structures, the timetables and syllabuses impose on" the teachers (Ib., p. 183), thus making it difficult to reflect on the children's efforts, on their development and what happens in class. In fact, on this point the contribution is very clear: the Italian syllabuses of 1955, while expressing the need to start from the children and therefore to be aware of their different stages of development, are not "strictly scientific" because they do not want to provide "a model, a preconceived idea, or to try to standardize his class on the basis

of a plan which has nothing in common with reality and the interests of the children, but by assessing all signs given, recognizing the efforts made by each child in relation to his personal commitment" (Ib. p. 183). For this to happen in the European Schools in a more incisive way, the writers highlight the need for an organizational and structural rethinking of the ES to ensure that an increase in the number of duties and tasks assigned to the teachers is the only consequence, therefore to avoid causing to only overload the teachers. The article ends with the hope of having provided useful ideas to fuel "the continuous, enthusiastic and democratic debate to which the European Schools have given rise for twenty-five years" (Ib., p. 183).

4.4.4. Livre de l'association Quart Monde

The next article I am going to focus on is in the Pedagogical Bulletin n. 68, 1980, in the section Bibliographie: here it is said that La Maison européenne *ATD Quart Monde*[59] - active in Moleenbeek and other headquarters of Bruxelles - had delivered to the Pedagogical Bulletin Committee the presentation of a work on «unhappy childhood» - «*sur l'enfance malheureuse*» in the original text (PB, 1980-68, p. 57). The Editorial Committee thought that this book could be interesting to be talked about in the PB, to make it known. The title of the book is the following: *Livre Blanc des Enfants du Quart Monde* realised «by researchers from all walks of life who have reflected on the living conditions of the most disadvantaged children in our industrialized countries. It will undoubtedly draw the attention of all teachers to the problems that affect childhood» (PB, 1980-68, my translation). A brief presentation of the book follows; with the expression Fourth World reference is made both to the European Community and outside of it. The situation of children of the Fourth World is discussed in relation to their family, their relationship with the school, the place of the children in daily life, work, health, violence, environment, religion and the future. The writer also underlined what, in their view, it is put into question by *le Quart Monde* - a milieu that is subjected to injustice and exclusion in all the industrialised countries: there is no look outside of industrialised countries, but yet the view is wider that only Europe and the assumed "good things" happening there. I believe this text can be a sign of how, within the European Schools - and within a certain environment that was, in a certain sense, reserved only for a specific category of people - there was attention, at least partial, to the wider environment and context. And this view and this *Quarte monde* specifically aim to put into question «a model of economic development realised by oppressing

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[59] The Mouvement and the Association – originally born in France and founded by Père Joseph Wresinski - kept on growing and also spread in the Flandres and also had contact with the KU Leuven and the Université de Tours. More info here: https://atd-quartmonde.be/qui-sommes-nous/notre-histoire/atd-quart-monde-en-belgique/ (last access 23/06/2023).

a part of the population; and, also, a model that has been imported in the developing countries in the process of a development which excludes the poorest from progress; a democracy that deprives a portion of citizens of the right to speak» (PB 1980-68, p. 61). Especially, those children of the *Quarte Monde*, without their rights and a proper experience of childhood, ask a fundamental question, according to the writer: what were the meanings given to childhood and the child in that moment today? (PB 1980-68, p. 61). There is also a short part under the title of "*Pour une politique de l'enfant*" with some suggestions and proposals for the next 20 years.

4.4.5. Articles on Experiments on Support System and Remedial Teaching

In this paragraph, I will focus, without going into too much detail, on the following three articles published in the Pedagogical Bulletin n.69, in 1980, and concerning the topic of Remedial Teaching:

1) *What is Remedial Teaching?* by Christina Campbel - Brussels I (PB, 1980, n.69, p. 9, 10)
2) *Le remedial teaching a l'école européenee de Bruxelles I* by Andreé Mousse - Bruxelles I (PB, 1980, n.69, p.11, 12)
3) *Esperienze di Remedial Teaching a Bruxelles* by Maria Luisa Giachino (PB, 1980, n.69, p. 13,14,15)

These three articles address the topic from three slightly different angles, though they originate from the same circumstance, namely the fact that in the European School of Bruxelles I, in January 1980, a stage started for the training of six teachers - one from each linguistic section - on Remedial Teaching; the project had been approved by the Board in December 1979 and was supposed to last for one year and a half (Giachino, 1980, p. 13). Giachino explains that the teachers taking part in the project were supposed to participate in lessons about "development problems; personality and psychology; adaptation of learning rhythms and consequent evaluation; methodological innovations; interdisciplinarity; lessons taught by the class teacher and the remedial teacher; initiatives carried out in countries where Remedial teaching is already present, and the possibility of doing in England is also envisaged" (Ibidem, my translation). Furthermore, experiences already carried out are listed such as, for example, the visit to specialist centres and schools in Antwerp and Brussels (including the British School) where remedial classes are already active. Dutch schools in Zeist, Baarn, Lelystaad, Leeuwarden, and Utrecht had already been visited for a week to observe "the practice in the field" and to be able to discuss it immediately afterwards. It is also clarified that Remedial Teaching concerns "able-bodied students with an academic delay due to occasional circumstances or mild learning

difficulties" (Giachino, 1980, p. 14, my translation), but it is not used in the case of permanent handicaps or other situations. particularly complicated ones that require specialized teaching. The remedial teachers are invited to follow the collegial programming and, at the same time, adapt their activities and methods to the peculiarities of the individual child also on the basis of a profound observation carried out in class. Once the difficulties encountered have been overcome, "the student can be reinstated in her class" (Giachino, 1980, p. 15, my translation). The first contribution is instead more theoretical and reflects on the nature of Remedial Teaching and who it is aimed at. As the author writes, "the word 'remedial' implies putting something right that has gone wrong in the child's educational progress" (Campbel, 1980, p. 9, my translation); in order to make this teaching effective, it is fundamental to set clear goals focusing on the child's potential and to greatly cooperate with all the other teachers involved since remedial education is part of the normal curriculum and should not be considered as special. It seems relevant to mention that in the article the following work by W.K. Brennan is quoted, Shaping the Education of Slow Learners, stressing "the need for a movement away from a subject-oriented curriculum for the remedial pupil towards a concern for the slow learner in his own right, as a person involved in relationships with others" (Campbel, 1980, p. 9, my translation). Mousse's contribution clarifies again who Remedial Teaching is aimed at by quoting the words of Inspector Pollentier pronounced on 8 January 1980 at the opening of the Project (Mousse, 1980, p. 11): remedial teaching is designed for students with difficulties due to occasional circumstances such as illness or family problems, in any case, temporary difficulties. Mousse also indicates different methods of remedial teaching such as the co-presence lesson, with the teacher in charge while the Remedial teacher deals especially with the most fragile students (Ib., p. 9); or the division of the class into two groups that carry out the same lesson, with the weaker group together with the remedial teacher (Ib.); or again, the possibility of working in homogeneous groups by age and level or individually with students (Ib., p. 12). He also highlights the need for collaboration between the various teachers.

4.5. The Pedagogical Bulletins and their perspective on the curriculum and citizenship: some final considerations

The topics addressed in this chapter were intended to provide a first, brief and not in-depth analysis of the universe behind the Pedagogical Bulletins of the European Schools, starting from the assumption that they can give teachers a voice and, therefore, show us something also from their perspective (Goodson, 2005). The analysis conducted is not extensive and was

limited to only a few articles and a few years; consequently, it can be considered a preliminary analysis which, moreover, did not cover the entire period during which the Pedagogical Bulletins were published. In this case, I recognize a difficulty in the analysis due to the lack of sources concerning certain years, and to a particular complexity typical of the European Schools System itself: while recognizing that all school systems are extremely complex, I think that the European school system is even more so due to the different 'mixed origins and influences' that come from multiple points, in a disorderly manner, and which are also reflected in the Pedagogical Bulletins. Considering all of this, what conclusions can be drawn from this preliminary analysis? What images, what visions of citizenship, of the curriculum do they offer? After having carried out a major excavation to go beyond the massive amount of rhetorical and specialist material - which, however, tells very little about the lives of the people who were part of the ES contexts - small spaces seem to emerge where it was still possible to show dissent; I believe that this is also significant from the perspective of a reflection on the idea of citizenship since it shows that among the values embodied by some of the teachers - and therefore perhaps also taught by them - that of dissent was present. In the case, for example, of the article on censorship, I was not able to find further information on the specific episode recounted, but I hypothesize that the author of the article could have behaved similarly in his classes, inviting his students to demonstrate some dissent, if necessary. Moving on to Aidan Smith's article and also to that of Margaret Brennan, I believe it was first of all possible to trace a further influence on the context of the European Schools, to add to the original ones initially outlined in the 1971 Report. The Anglo-Saxon and Irish contexts, the *Plowden Report*, A. S. Neill and the Summerhill School entered the scene for a moment, albeit fleetingly. All these elements reiterate the need to pay attention to the children, to their image and self-esteem, to the adults they would have become. As Smith reminds us, the goal should have been to educate happy people, capable of experimenting and learning about their abilities; although it is an element that can be traced back only to Smith's single case, this article introduces the element of happiness as an element to be considered in the educational project. I also believe it is not much distant from the ideas expressed by Brennan and the Italian Section in Luxembourg in 1978. The Italian contribution also shows the difficulty in the practical implementation of the harmonized curriculum, and in doing so it proves, in my opinion, and together with Brennan's contribution, to be another expression of dissent, more calm than the article on censorship. However, the acknowledgement remains that the curriculum of the European Schools, although subject to a first reform in 1971 and 1972 which added elements attributable to active pedagogy, still remained very technical and very curriculum-centred rather than child-centred. Thus, the

invitation to rethink it follows, paying attention, as the Italian Section of Luxembourg reminds us, that any changes carried out for good purposes would not fall only on teachers, increasing their workload. The need and request for organizational restructuring therefore seems to emerge.

Finally, as for the values that can be traced back to the image and idea of citizenship education, Margaret Brennan's article suggests, in my opinion, the importance of giving real space to both cultural and physical differences. Among the values to be taught and put into practice, what seems to emerge is not only that of looking at the needs and talents of each student but also that of giving space to everyone, regardless of their diversity and peculiarities. This seems to materialize in part in the start of Remedial teaching experiments which, for example, in 1971-1972 was not foreseen and which was actually considered very difficult, if not impossible, to carry out. Other issues and articles of the Pedagogical Bulletins also talk about Remedial Teaching and my research on them is still ongoing. However, I felt it was important to mention the topic because I believe it can lead to a reflection on the connection between citizenship education and what is today defined as an inclusive perspective (Ydesen et al., 2020), a perspective that is realized through networking and the action of different influences. The reconstruction is fragmented and incomplete, but it testifies to the intertwining and convergence of different trajectories. An incomplete analysis is also that on the *Livre Blanc des Enfants du Quart Monde* which, however, in my opinion, illustrates a possible opening beyond the "bourgeois" and mostly socially homogeneous reality of the European Schools, inviting a revision of the idea of the child to which reference is made. In conclusion, I believe that reading closely these Pedagogical Bulletins, although rhetorical in some respects and although they do not accompany us in the classroom, do however offer a broader look at the reality of the European Schools.

5. Conclusions and further prospects

Far from being a teaching that can be summarized through a series of skills or a list of topics, in this work, I started from the assumption that citizenship education involves different practices and aspects that permeate "the grammar of schooling" (Tyack, Cuban, 1995) and which are connected to the very pedagogical and moral goals of a specific school system (Depaepe 2002). Furthermore, these practices can relate to the different dimensions of citizenship identified by Schugurensky (2010), and, therefore, there can be diverse ways of investigating them, and diverse perspectives from which to frame them, as indicated by some of the studies carried out in the field of the History of Education and illustrated in Chapter 1. However, whatever perspective one chooses to adopt, it is evident, in my opinion, a close link between citizenship education and the curriculum. Consequently, I have recalled the theories on the curriculum because the textual analysis carried out wanted to underline possible connections while having as its focus the curriculum in a broad sense, not only as a legal document but as an object that is constructed and shaped on and by multiple levels: prescriptive, cultural, socio-constructivist, transnational. The desired result would have entailed the ability to look at the different trajectories and threads that outline the different dimensions of citizenship education - understood in terms of values, identity, status and agency (Schugurensky 2010) - and of the curriculum, as well as of the intertwined relationships and the influences that intersect in them and contribute to creating them. The idea was also to go beyond the mere judgements on their values as outlined by the previous research on the European Schools. Nevertheless, this work has limitations that have not always made it possible to visualize the different strands in detail. For example, this work focuses mainly on primary school from 1957 to the '90s, due to the impossibility of tracing some sources relating to secondary school and, thus, it does not provide a more complete picture; furthermore, due to the complexity of the research object, given its transnational nature, at times it was not always possible to follow or delve deeper into some of the paths initially outlined and I often had the impression of ending up in dead ends or of being distracted. Beyond the limitations described, what conclusions can be drawn from what we have seen so far?

In Chapter 2, through the analysis of Albert Van Houtte's speeches between 1960 and 1963, the image of a harmonized school curriculum emerged as a result of cooperation between different national states and aimed at promoting a citizenship based on multilingualism and collaboration; an idea of citizenship outlined by a global and intercultural dimension. If this had already been observed by previous research, the element of originality that I wanted to add was

the focus on the contexts in which these speeches were delivered: in the first case, in the speech of 1960, held at the Pax Conference Christi, a link, albeit weak, was found with a grassroots movement active in the field of moral and peace education, as well as attentive to development issues. at the moment I have no other elements that confirm the non-sporadic nature of this link, yet its presence, albeit single and therefore marginal, indicates, in my opinion, a connection with the theme of education and promotion of peace and development. Van Houtte's speech, given in Chicago in 1963 at the Conference organized by UNESCO, in my opinion, partly confirms this connection and brings an even broader and more international dimension. In fact, Van Houtte talks about international citizenship in this case and explains the need to cooperate to create new educational experiences that would have been up to the times and the challenges to be faced. On the model of the European Schools, Van Houtte proposes the possibility of organising a future international school of the United Nations in Washington without, however, mentioning the experience of Ecolint in Geneva and UNIS in New York (Dugonjić, 2014a), international schools which seem, in my opinion, to share some similarities with the European Schools on shared values and the narratives of their birth as a response to the practical needs of a particular social group. Thus, at the moment, I do not have sufficient elements to state with certainty that there has been contact with these other experiences of international schools, even if I find their possible absence strange. I believe that this topic can be explored further in the future also in an attempt to broaden the discussion on educational internationalism (Hofstetter, Schneuwly, 2020).

Moving on to the provisional results, in Chapter 3, I have focused on the analysis of the documents linked to the organization of the curriculum; as seen, those documents did not present an overall pedagogical vision, especially at the beginning, but some recurring threads can also be seen here: first of all, and at least at the beginning, there is a centrality given to the national dimension since the condition to be able to return to one's country of origin and be able to integrate into the educational system there seems necessary; in this way, it is seen clearly the nature of the European Schools as a transnational institutions characterized by the fact of "taking into account, or even building on national structures to transcend them" (Hofstetter, Schneuwly, 2020, p. 27). Language and language education are fundamental tools to allow all of this; moreover, (multi)linguistic education is conceived as the cornerstone of the curriculum and it is, at the same time, the tool that promotes the exchange and mutual knowledge considered necessary to avoid misunderstandings, identify with others and promote a climate of peace as can be seen, for example, from the considerations on the teaching of the German language in 1963 (ES HTP 1963). Even the teaching of reading and literature are considered

tools capable of promoting this understanding and, therefore, a climate of peaceful coexistence starting from primary school. Since the 1960s, the specific teaching of *Civisme* has emerged in secondary schools, alongside the central role that has also been given to history and geography, as well as moments of collective work carried out through the European Hours. If what has been stated so far adds little to the observations made by previous literature on the European Schools, I believe it is significant that, in the present study, we have attempted to trace the origins of such attitudes so to make clear that the "European Schools" did not come out of the blue but built on specific traditions; I might be stating the obvious and yet I believe it is useful to provide some 'context' to go beyond rhetoric considerations: in the 1971 document, for example, the role of the different national laws emerges - especially French, Belgian and German - mostly characterized by an approach that recalls active pedagogy; furthermore, the mention of French laws and the reference to the *tiers-temps pédagogique* constitutes, in my opinion, an example of the influences found and which played a role in the definition and organization of disciplines such as the European Hours, History and Geography. Going back to language studies, in the indications on language education, references to an active methodology and alternative pedagogy can be found since the 1957 programmes – such as the advice to use cooperative methods, creating a class' library and printing and writing text in a way that might have some Freinetian echos - and they are progressively made more explicit in the subsequent years, also in other subjects such as social disciplines, the European Hours and Mathematics; in the latter explicit mention to Piaget and Montessori is made. From the analysis of the preparatory study for a reform of the curriculum conducted in 1971, part of this influence from active pedagogy can be traced back to the single national experiences that are analyzed; as already said, the case of France is particularly significant, in my view. In the document published in 1972, it is then stated the necessity to give some pedagogical principles to the European schools based on the centrality of the child and of his/her curiosity, motivation, and psychology and so leading to a reflection - at least mentioned in the prescriptive documents - on classroom management methods and the teacher's role as mediator and guide. These reflections on teachers' role and their relationship with students appear also in some of the subjects indicated in the 1977 Harmonized Timetables and Programmes. In the 1972 document, a reference to the need to ensure that students develop an attitude inclined towards learning to learn is also present; I believe it is interesting to note that the concept of "learning to learn" will be taken up again later and it still constitutes part of the vision of the European Schools regardless of the criticisms in this regard.

As Daniel Tröhler reminds us

the relevant definition of a school subject, its respective contents, and its standing among all school subjects are expressions of particular cultural and alchemistic - the arranged practice in which the child is being transformed into the citizen - hopes and strategies, even in the case of rather unsuspicious school subjects such as mathematics, which transform children into valuable or loyal citizens within the respective cultural frame or value systems (Tröhler, 2019, p. 526).

Considering the aforementioned words, I believe that the emphasis on the active dimension of education present in the European Schools' documents and aimed at responding to the needs of individuals and, at the same time, stimulating their participation and involvement together with their ability to learn have in some way contributed to the definition of an image of citizenship and citizenship education relying on the importance – and to a certain extent necessity - of the individual initiative, so giving importance to agency and, in a certain sense, prefiguring those characteristics that have been identified in the idea of citizenship as a way of being, a "learning to be" (Delanty, 2000), almost in a performative and discursive way.

Moreover, in the last reform document analyzed, in the 1990s, many of these concepts are reiterated due to the need to reinforce the underlying pedagogical visions of the European Schools. The European dimension is given greater emphasis, too, as it is explicitly mentioned in the 1994 Convention, just after the Maastricht Treaty. Going back to the 1990 document, more attention to the contemporary environment and social context is also present: for example, mention of a democratic and multicultural Europe is made and there are descriptions of social problems and of the social reality of the European Schools at that time.

Another element that has emerged since the 1970s and which has developed slowly is the theme relating to the inclusion of students with special needs and difficulties: if, in the 1970s, the total unpreparedness of the European Schools to welcome and work with these students was recognized, in the 1980s we witnessed training experiences on Remedial Teaching, and, in the 1990s document, some initial methods of intervention were outlined. However, in terms of "inclusion", it seems relevant to me to point out how the Schools have also attempted both to welcome students who are different from those belonging to the milieu of European officials - as demonstrated from the beginning by Van Houtte's story - and to give space to those interested in undertaking an educational path not necessarily aimed at an academic future but of an occupational nature: in the programs of the 70s there are indeed subjects belonging to a shorter experimental vocational trunk where an attempt was made to give both practical knowledge - relating to learning a job - and also cultural, theoretical knowledge and knowledge linked to the world of rights: for example, in History, the study of trade union organizations was also proposed. The contemporary reality of the European Schools no longer includes this type of proposal, yet it seems relevant to mention it, in my view, because it represents an effort to be

'inclusive', and so to vehiculate 'inclusive values' that promote participation and could be considered part of Citizenship Education, too (Ydesen et al., 2020).

As already said, the analysis in Chapter 3 was focused on the prescriptive level, linked to a programmatic dimension far from practical reality; I have attempted to a have a glimpse of the latter in Chapter 4, focusing on the Pedagogical Bulletins. The topics addressed in Chapter 4 were intended to provide a first, brief and not in-depth analysis of the universe behind the Pedagogical Bulletins of the European Schools, starting from the assumption that they can give teachers a voice and, therefore, show us something also from their perspective (Goodson, 2005). The analysis conducted is not extensive and was limited to only a few articles and a few years; consequently, it can be considered a preliminary analysis which, moreover, did not cover the entire period during which the Pedagogical Bulletins were published. In this case, I recognize a difficulty in the analysis due to the lack of sources concerning certain years, and to a particular complexity typical of the European Schools System itself: while recognizing that all school systems are extremely complex, I think that the European school system is even more so, due to the different 'mixed origins and influences' that come from multiple points, in a disorderly manner, and which are also reflected in the Pedagogical Bulletins. Considering all of this, what conclusions can be drawn from this preliminary analysis? What images, what visions of citizenship, of the curriculum do they offer? After having carried out a major excavation to go beyond the massive amount of rhetorical and specialist material - which, however, tells very little about the lives of the people who were part of the ES contexts - small spaces seem to emerge where it was still possible to show dissent and also some critical aspects; I believe that this is also significant from the perspective of a reflection on the idea of citizenship since it shows that among the values embodied by some of the teachers - and therefore perhaps also taught by them - that of dissent was present. In the case, for example, of the article on censorship, I was not able to find further information on the specific episode recounted, but I hypothesize that the author of the article could have behaved similarly in his classes, inviting his students to demonstrate some dissent, if necessary. Moving on to Aidan Smith's article and also to that of Margaret Brennan, I believe it was first of all possible to trace a further geographical influence on the context of the European Schools, to add to the original ones initially outlined in the 1971 Report. The Anglo-Saxon and Irish contexts, the *Plowden Report*, A. S. Neill and the alternative and democratic experience of Summerhill School entered the scene for a moment, albeit fleetingly. All these elements reiterate the need to pay attention to the children, to their image and self-esteem, to the adults they would have become. As Smith reminds us, the goal should have been to educate happy people, capable of experimenting and

learning about their abilities; although it is an element that can be traced back only to Smith's single case, this article introduces the element of happiness as an element to be considered in the educational project that includes even citizenship education. I also believe it is not much distant from the ideas expressed by Brennan and the Italian Section in Luxembourg in 1978. The Italian contribution also shows the difficulty in the practical implementation of the harmonized curriculum, and, in doing so, it proves, in my opinion, to be another expression of dissent together with Brennan's contribution, even though they are both 'more quiet' than the article on censorship. However, the acknowledgement remains that the curriculum of the European Schools, although subject to a first reform in 1971 and 1972 which added elements attributable to active pedagogy, still remained very technical and very curriculum-centred rather than child-centred. Thus, the invitation to rethink it follows, paying attention, as the Italian Section of Luxembourg reminds us, to the fact that any changes carried out for good purposes would not fall only on teachers, increasing their workload. The need and request for organizational restructuring therefore seems to emerge.

Finally, as for the values that can be traced back to the image and idea of citizenship education, Margaret Brennan's article suggests, in my opinion, the importance of giving real space to both cultural and physical differences. Among the values to be taught and put into practice, what seems to emerge is not only that of looking at the needs and talents of each student but also that of giving space to everyone, regardless of their diversity and peculiarities. This seems to materialize in part in the start of Remedial teaching experiments which, for example, in 1971-1972 was not foreseen and which was actually considered very difficult, if not impossible, to carry out. Other issues and articles of the Pedagogical Bulletins also talk about Remedial Teaching and my research on them is still ongoing. However, I felt it was important to mention the topic because I believe it can lead to a reflection on the connection between citizenship education and what is today defined as an inclusive perspective (Ydesen et al., 2020), a perspective that is realized through networking and the action of different influences. The reconstruction is fragmented and incomplete, but it testifies about the intertwining and convergence of different trajectories. A not very deep analysis is also that on the *Livre Blanc des Enfants du Quart Monde* which, however, in my opinion, illustrates a possible opening beyond the "bourgeois" and mostly socially homogeneous reality of the European Schools, inviting a revision of the idea of the child to which reference is made. In conclusion, I believe that reading closely these Pedagogical Bulletins, although rhetorical in some respects and although they do not accompany us in the classroom, do however offer a broader look at the reality of the European Schools and the dimensions of citizenship education and the curriculum.

At the end, I believe it can be said that the story of the European Schools does not have the shape of "the arrow or spear, starting here and going strainght there and THOK! Hitting its mark" (Le Guin, 1989, p. 6) but that of a "bundle. Holding things in a particular, powerful relation to one another" (Le Guin, 1986, p. 7): in this bundle of trajectories, other relations remain to be investigated; some biographical stories and stories related to material culture in the European Schools are, for instance, still waiting for being reconstructed. In particular, the following paths could be addressed in the future: the individual stories of teachers such as Aidan Smith and Margaret Brennan and their individual contributions to the European Schools; the further possible connections of the European Schools with other international educational organizations and with individual national states or individual European Schools: in this sense, there are various possible paths. What remains to be explored is the analysis of the pedagogical bulletins and the creation of initiatives such as Remedial teaching. Finally, in light of the critical readings on Lifelong learning, it could be interesting to delve deeper into the theme of learning to learn, which already appeared in the 1970s. A theme, the latter, which could also contribute to the reflection on the curriculum and citizenship education conducted so far: a citizenship that is both national and global - at least 'on paper' - based on dialogue and peace, the respect for the individual, collaboration and active participation; a citizenship that calls for the recognition of all differences and yet made such process more difficult in practice.

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