Timeless Memories

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ABSTRACTS

Joyce Goodman, The University of Winchester
Temporalities, Trajectories and Histories of (Women's) Education

This keynote uses three vignettes from the history of women's education to discuss the potential of multiple temporalities for historians of education. Helge Jordheim (2014) describes multiple temporalities as messy, moving temporal relations between past, present and future that are plural and distributed across geographical, cultural or historical spaces, with slower, faster, and other rhythms, successions of events and narratives. To analyse the vignettes I draw on a range of writers on time and temporalities.

In the first vignette I use a photograph taken in the school hall at Wycombe High School for Girls in the 1950s and the metronome I used as a child when practising the piano. With this vignette I explore the nature and meaning of multiple temporalities, both linear and indeterminate, and discuss relations between time, space, matter and bodies.

The second vignette moves to the inter-war period and to the Phebe Anna Thorne progressive open-air model school for girls on the Bryn Mawr College campus in the USA. In this vignette I use photographs and documents to focus on multiple temporalities and social and educational change. I explore how temporalities associated with the natural world, as well as durational temporalities and linear temporalities of modernity associated with acceleration, were implicated in fashioning the attentive girl pupil and what newspaper reporting refers to as "Bryn Mawr's superwomanhood".

The third vignette moves to the French protectorate of Indochina during the 1930s and to power and multiple temporalities. I discuss the educational work of Suzanne Karpelès, the founding director at Phomn Penh of both the Royal Library the Buddhist Institute. I address regimes of historicity that the French used to provide justifications for colonialism and which constituted a play of power in a reversal of indigenous and Buddhist temporalities. I focus on Karpelès' account of a pagoda school inspection which worked to synchronised temporalities along linear lines in an intercultural mimesis between Khmer modernists and the French administration in the uneven power relations between coloniser and colonised.

To conclude, I argue that the inclusion of elements of temporal indeterminacy alongside analyses of the "stubborn fact" (Whitehead 1985 [1929], p.129) of time as linear abstraction enables historians of education to point to a future yet to be made, with the potential to enrich accounts of social and educational change.

Maria Grever, Erasmus University Rotterdam

Historicizing historical consciousness: Visions of different timescapes in a post-colonial world

The study of historical consciousness is subject of an incredible body of publications in various disciplines, each with different, sometimes overlapping, normative agendas. Within the educational discipline, leading history education researchers have elaborated the concept in didactic schemes and models that represent a ladder-like progression with different stages in order to strengthen critical historical thinking, assuming it is possible to measure and assess historical consciousness (e.g. Carretero & Lee, 2014; Körber & Meyer-Hamme, 2015; Körber, 2016; Seixas, 2017; Gibson, 2021). Although researchers are aware of the possible Western modernity bias of the concept (e.g. Rüsen, 2002; Seixas, 2012), in their research they actually use it as a static and a-historical phenomenon by treating it merely as a cognitive-epistemological category without bothering much about its conceptual origins. Consequently, there is a risk of perpetuating a Western view of history as a linear temporal development.

In this paper I argue that historical consciousness cannot escape its own historicity. It is necessary to historicize the concept and pay attention to the possible plurality of different timescapes: i.e. specific configurations of the relationship between past, present, future (Clark, 2019). In this way, we may be able to better understand and anticipate the emotional responses of young people in multicultural settings such as museums or classrooms.

I will discuss the historicity of historical consciousness by pairing it to the holistic and dynamic concept of historical culture. Historical culture encompasses three interactive levels of analysis: historical narratives and performances of the past; mnemonic infrastructures; underlying conceptions of history (Grever & Adriaansen, 2017, 2019). The third level, which includes historical consciousness, offers the opportunity to discover the coexistence of different timescapes within a community and to deconstruct Western assumptions. I will illustrate my argument with examples from the current debates on decolonizing the human/nature divide and the issue of colonial looted artefacts in museums (Grever, 2021).

María del Mar del Pozo Andrés, University of Alcalá

From personal memories to public histories of education: emotions, tensions, and future directions

The guiding thread of my lecture will be the possibilities that memory studies offer to historians of education to discover new lines of research that allow us to narrate public histories of education that are more interesting and appealing to bigger audiences than to the scientific community.

I will start with the simplest question of all: What are my first memories? The answer lies in the analysis of the ego memory collected in the archive of our brain; a field rather neglected by historians of education but very well known to psychologists. The findings of the experimental studies conducted in memory research for more than one hundred years, and its relations with emotions and identity construction, can enable the historian of education to connect individual and shared memories of childhood and to discover how personal memories of education have been preserved in different historical moments.

In the second section I will address a very influential question in today´s social nets: How I would like to be remembered? This question was also present in the mind of a select group of teachers from all over the world and led to the construction of many private educational archives not known or studied until recent times. The historian of education must discover why educators chose this material for preservation, how and by whom these archives were built, become familiar with its elements (not only texts but also objects, image and sounds) and discover the intangible self-memorial behind the tangible legacy created by these educators.

In the third section I will present the historian of education becoming heir to the memory of the school and the teachers and his or her duties as history-teller and storyteller, finding a good story and a way of communicating that "claim to a place in the memory of the listener"– using the words of Walter Benjamin (1936). The main question is: How can the historians of education transmit the memories of educators and educational institutions to the public? I will use my experience as participant in four documentaries and curator of two exhibitions on school memories to discuss some of the tensions and challenges implicit in these narrative experiences.

In the fourth section I will reflect on the possibilities for the historian of education to get feedback from audiences and to perceive what they remember and understand from his or her story. Visitor studies offer many methodological possibilities for communicating with viewers of museums/exhibitions. A review of the thousands of comments collected in the guest books of the exposition *Madrid, ciudad educadora. Memoria de la escuela pública (1898-1938)* (2019), shows the conflicting interpretations of the concept of memory existing between different groups of visitors, which can be understood in the light of the current socio-political context in Spain. So, my final question will be: What is the public´s remaining memory of an educational story as told by an exhibition?

1.1 Memory, Female Agency and Women's Colleges

Nancy Rosoff, The University of Winchester

From a Distance: Exploring Institutional Memories of a Pioneering Women's College Online

This paper will draw on the materials that are available online from the websites presented by Archives and Special Collections at Mount Holyoke College (USA). These sites will be examined to see what can be learned about the history of the institution and the experiences of its students. The websites contain a wide array of materials that can be accessed remotely, including photographs, letters from students and faculty, academic and administrative department records, institutional records, and multiple publications. Moreover, a series of student curated digital exhibits provides further insight into the experiences of students and alumnae.

Mount Holyoke was the first permanent institution of higher education for women in the United States. Founded in 1837, by the intrepid educator Mary Lyon, Mount Holyoke began as a seminary that offered an education similar to that of already established men's colleges like Yale and Amherst. The first catalogue described the preparation required of those who sought to enter Mount Holyoke: "an acquaintance with the general principles of English Grammar, a good knowledge of Modern Geography, History of the United States, Watts on the Mind, Colburn's First Lessons, and the whole of Adams's New Arithmetic, or what would be equivalent in Written Arithmetic."[1] Mount Holyoke was the model for many women's colleges that developed in the United States and abroad.

This paper will draw on the extensive materials available online to begin to examine how a pioneering institution of higher education presents itself digitally and how a researcher can navigate through extensive holdings to start to shape a picture of the institution's memory. It will also consider some of the challenges of doing scholarship remotely.

Keiko Sasaki, The University of Electro-Communications

Memories of Bryn Mawr College days and the philanthropist society: A case study of three female presidents of women's colleges in Japan

This paper examines how the memories of college days and interactions with the philanthropy society influenced the educational views of Japanese women who returned to Japan after studying abroad. I focus on three female presidents of women's colleges who graduated from Bryn Mawr College (BMC) with support from the American Women's Scholarship for Japanese Women (AWSJW). As the main members of the AWSJW Committee were also involved with the Society of Friends of Philadelphia, they at first sought to provide

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[1] First Annual Catalogue of the Officers and Members of the Mount Holyoke Female Seminary, South Hadley, Mass., 1837-38, https://compass.fivecolleges.edu/object/mtholyoke:46264?search=1837%2520catalogue, 8, accessed 19 May 2020.

the students with the experience of a Christian home life and a family-like relationship with the members (Johnson, 2005). However, the main purpose seems to have changed into bringing up female leaders of Japanese higher education.

From 1893 to 1976, twenty-five Japanese women studied at universities near Philadelphia as part of the AWSJW program. Among the twenty women who studied at BMC (Shibuya et al. 2015), sixteen became professors and four became the presidents of women's colleges in Japan.

Michi Kawai, the second recipient, established Keisen Women's College in 1945. The fourth, Ai Hoshino, become the president of Tsuda College (1929–52). After the war, the Japanese government launched the Education Reform Committee (Kyōiku Sassin Iinkai), to which Kawai and Hoshino were appointed as members. Kawai discussed ideas on the Fundamental Law of Education and Hoshino focused on women's higher education. The seventh recipient, Taki Fujita, become a professor at Tsuda College, served as the representative of Japan at the United Nations' Commission on the Status of Women, and became the president of Tsuda College (1962–73). Their common philosophy was human rights, democracy, and world peace.

Through detailed analysis of their biographies, I demonstrate that their educational vision and practices were formed through their experience in the BMC days and their relationships with the philanthropist society of Philadelphia.

Annette Rasmussen and Karen Andreasen, AAU Denmark
Schooling of Women in the first part of the 20th Century: Memorizing Female Agency

In this paper, we address the development of home economics schooling in the first half of the 20th century as memorized by the women entrepreneurs in the field. Schooling in home economics developed in this period and like any kind of education aimed at the socialization of citizens into particular social roles. It was forming the female body into specific practices that also formed the foundation for the universal welfare state, of which health, education and care constituted the pivotal points (Esping-Andersen, 1990) that are also conceptualized as biopolitics (Foucault, 2008). In the history of education and in memoires of women pioneers of the time, such education contributed to the empowerment and emancipation of women while they neglected more contradictory themes. The fact that the schooling of women in the area of home economics also meant socializing them into specific roles in society was put to the background.

By providing more education and professionalization for women, the welfare state in general contributed to reducing and in some ways 'undermining' the importance of the family and kinship relations in society. Home economics, on the other hand, promoting the nuclear family as a social norm and thus tying women at large to the private sphere, also institutionalized men as more powerful than women in society. To some extent, the welfare model changed the position of women, as they moved from private dependency on their husbands to being more dependent on the state (Siim, 1988). Thus, the alliance between the family and the state was a prerequisite for the strengthening of women's position as wage earners and their integration into the public labour market (Rogers, 2006; Hernes, 1987).

Schooling of women in the field of home economics, including their capacity to form and maintain a household embodies what some have called "the right to a family"(Orloff, 1996). This reflects and interrogates the character of the laws regulating sexuality, marriage, and household formation. Such agency thus involves contradictory roles, in which both gender suppression and agency form parts and pave new ways of social identity and status (Lützen, 2000). At the time in history however, schooling in home economics was for some women a way of strengthening their position in a society where they had only few educational opportunities. As mentioned, such contradictions are pushed to the background and seem to be almost 'forgotten'.

Our analytical approach is bottom up studies of women entrepreneurs in this field and their contribution to the development of home economics as described in their own writings and memories (biographies of women pioneers and other archival materials) and analysed in some of our writings. (e.g. Andreasen & Rasmussen, 2020(a and b); Rasmussen & Andreasen, 2021).

1.2 Reading the Text for Affect, Dynamics of Memory and Timeless Truth

Luana Salvarani, University of Parma
Memories of a contested heritage: American 19th-century schoolbooks on continental European history

The role of history schoolbooks in processes such as nation-building and framing of cultural identities has been particularly relevant in the 19th-century, and the United States represent a peculiar case in point. Since Ruth Miller Elson's *Guardians of Tradition. American Schoolbooks in the Nineteenth Century* (1964), relevant scholarship has focused on different aspects of such literature, with particular attention to the representation US history and the connected processes of 'invention of tradition', while the treatment of continental European history still needs further analysis. The subject is particularly interesting for the mechanisms of memory, identity and oblivion it involves. Countries such as France and Germany enjoyed the respect and interest of American authors, willing to inculcate in pupils the veneration of Republican values (whose Enlightenment roots could not be denied) and of Protestant ethics; at the same time, a feeling of 'otherness' was considered crucial in the building of American identity. The Republican ethos in connection with the religious feelings of regeneration during the "Second Great Awakening" developed a marked perception of exceptionalism: being American meant being proudly different from Europeans. Therefore, the memory of European cultural heritage was built in a complex interplay between admiration and distance, curiosity and 'archeologisation', calculated emphasis on differences and half-unconscious silences. Starting from the section on Europe contained in the third volume (1806) of Noah Webster's *Elements of useful knowledge*, through Samuel Griswold Goodrich's *A Pictorial History of France* (1842, revised and reprinted up to the 1870s), up to several histories of Germany issued in the decade after the German unification, the paper aims to retrace some of the dynamics of memory and oblivion implied in the relationship of the new nation with its prestigious but contested ancestors.

Naïma Lafrarchi, University of Ghent
Time, memory and affect in the classroom: a challenge for history teachers in Flemish secondary education

In a super-diverse society, which is also mirrored in history classes, history and memories are questioned. More specifically, we observe second and third generation descendants' narratives regarding memories which are part of the common good of Western/European history. The perspectives and narratives of the descendants of the indigenous population generate tensions and heated debates in and outside the classroom. In our view, these are engaged debates, as the affect plays a role in them. As 'memories' are meaningful for the individual and society as a whole, understanding historical events and their affectional impact is most important in a super-diverse society. In a post-colonial globalized world narratives, remembrances and acknowledgement of the different perspective is not without importance. Adolescence is the time when pupils search and sculpt their own identity. It is formed by individual and collective memories from the past in the present and shapes how they will and perceive the world and the future. In practice, we aim to enhance and increase the insights regarding the place and role of affect of history teachers of secondary education. Although some initiatives have been taken to integrate a multi-perspective approach, to include a variety of narratives and historical sources, still the content of history books shows an unilateral and homogeneously 'European' perspective. The new learning outcomes framework for Flemish secondary education is formulated broadly. This framework contains sixteen key competences; two are of interest here, namely historical consciousness and citizenship. The key competences include a limited list of historical content concepts, second order historical concepts, historical skills such as historical thinking and attitudinal competences. The broadly formulated framework offers opportunities for the history teacher to take account of the 'affect' and bring in the variety of 'memories' and 'narratives' of the super-diverse class.

Tina van der Vlies, Erasmus University Rotterdam
'Timeless memories' in English and Dutch history education

People grow up with the narrated constructions of time in the widespread genre of history textbooks. These constructions are not neutral but cultural constructions that affect people's worldview of the past, the present and the future. In this paper I will give concrete examples of 'timeless memories' in English and Dutch history textbooks.[1] Moreover, I will discuss the 'timeless truths' of these powerful memories in order to understand their influence on contemporary society, e.g. the Brexit debate. Textbook authors can recompose distinct moments in time and space into a different spatio-temporal configuration. For example, after World War II, English textbook authors generated analogies between Philip II, Napoleon and Hitler, framed as masters of Europe who aimed to invade England. Several English authors stressed the danger of invasion and highlighted how England 'stood alone' against these masters. Historical events were no longer interpreted within a specific historical context, but various moments in time were connected on basis of the same plot. Hence, a 'timeless memory' interacts between

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[1] Tina van der Vlies, Echoing Events. The Perpetuation of National Narratives in English and Dutch History Textbooks, 1920-2010 (Erasmus University Rotterdam: PhD Thesis, 2019).

different histories, times and places, and its anachronism becomes a 'quality': "its bringing together of now and then, here and there – is actually the source of its powerful creativity, its ability to build new worlds out of the materials of older ones."[2] Events from different time periods can be interrelated on basis of the same plot; this returning plot can transcend historical boundaries and function as a frame of reference while interpreting the present and the future. Hence, the 'timeless' memory of 'standing alone' popped up in the Brexit debate as well.[3] In my paper, I will show that the 'timeless' memory of 'standing alone' became widespread in English history textbooks – media that have provided many people with meaning, memory, and identity – after 1945, and that this interpretation is still perpetuated in education, despite curriculum changes and textbook revisions.[4] Moreover, I will contrast this interpretation with a Dutch example of a 'timeless memory'. The Netherlands were occupied by Nazi Germany for five years and I will discuss how and why national backgrounds affect 'timeless memories' in history education.

1.3   Constructing and Contesting Memories of Education

David Bray, University of Birmingham
Whatever happened to the free school movement?

Free schools formed a key, symbolic element of the 2010 coalition government's education policy. Described as new, innovative and 'free' from government bureaucracy, they reflected a globalised education reform movement (GERM) that 'borrowed' from USA charter schools and Sweden's *friskolor*. The 2010 coalition free school were positioned within a market-led arena as small and innovative, offering greater choice and diversity for consumers (parents). They were promoted as an opportunity for parent-led groups to start a new, state-funded school, part of the Conservative-led 'Big Society'. These schools were described as 'free' from government bureaucracy, able to provide an innovative curriculum, and employ teachers outside nationally agreed frameworks. Collectively these elements made a contribution to the GERM doctrine of improved standards, social inclusion and greater equity (measured through examination outcomes), although it was never clear how this would be achieved.

This paper considers how this discourse ignores, or 'forgets' the radical, innovative, locally-led free school movement of the 1960s and early 1970s in the UK and USA. Often designated as a 'movement' these small schools were based around freedom from state bureaucracy, increased pupil democracy and 'grass roots' solutions that responded to the needs of individuals and communities. Many were based in church halls, or community

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[2] Michael Rothberg, Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 5.
[3] Fintan O'Toole, 'Brexit is being driven by English nationalism. And it will end in self-rule', The Guardian, June 19, 2016. https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/18/england-eu-referendum-brexit
[4] Tina van der Vlies, 'Echoing National Narratives in English History Textbooks'. In M. Carretero, S. Berger, M. Grever eds., Palgrave Handbook of Research in Historical Culture and Education (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 243-258.

centres, run by volunteers (some of whom were qualified teachers) and their innovation, localism and smallness reflect key elements designated as desirable within the 2010 coalition policy. The free school movement 'failed' for many reasons, including lack of state funding and a subsequent flight towards traditionalism driven by greater centralised control over education. Although the history and development of these schools has been erased from cross-party education policy-making they contain interesting examples of community-led schooling and elements of what some 'consumers' may want, but which the state is unwilling to provide.

Helen Carr, University of Birmingham
"A right to their dreams, but not to a state subsidy to realise them": The Islamia School and the campaign for state-funded Muslim schooling

In 1983, Yusuf Islam, formerly known as the singer songwriter Cat Stevens, founded the Islamia Primary School with his wife in the London Borough of Brent. He founded the school as he felt that there was no school in his local area that would be able to provide a suitable education for his Muslim daughter. The school soon began to seek state funding as a voluntary-aided school. There were numerous Catholic and Jewish voluntary-aided schools at this time and the 1944 Education Act allowed schools such as the Islamia Primary School to receive state funding. Yet it took the state 15 years to grant Islamia such funding.

In the 15 years between the founding of the Islamia Primary School and the school receiving state funding, a heated battle was fought over the place of such a school and, more broadly of Muslims, in late twentieth century British society. This battle was, in part, over how Britain perceived itself and what it chose to remember about its own past. In the media, press and by local and national government, Britain was argued to be a secular, Christian or Judaeo-Christian society. *The Times* argued that Britain was "a nation built on Judaeo-Christian foundations", citing the presence of Milton and Eliot in the canon, in its arguments against state-funded Muslim schools. Others, however, chose to remember Britain's long history of religious pluralism. They invoked examples including the provision of fish on Fridays for Catholics in schools, conscience clauses dating from the 1870 Forster Education Act allowing non-Anglicans to withdraw from religious education and provisions made for Jewish pupils to leave school early on Fridays ahead of the Sabbath.

The contest for the control of memory and the narrative came to a head in the late 1980s and early 1990s in the aftermath of the Rushdie Affair. This paper will explore the battle fought between the Islamia School and the state and the role of constructed memory of Britain's past in that battle.

Martin Johnes, Swansea University
'Wales hasn't forgotten yet': Memory, linguistic oppression and the Welsh Not

Nearly everyone in Wales can you tell something of the Welsh Not. They can explain how Victorian schools hung a wooden board engraved with WN around the neck of children heard speaking Welsh. They can tell you how the board was passed from Welsh speaker to Welsh speaker until the end of the day when the poor bearer would be caned. They probably learned this story in their own education. They might recount a story of how someone in their family was a victim of it. They might explain it's why Welsh died out in their family. They might cite this as an example of the English government's oppression of Wales.

The idea that Welsh was beaten out of children is very powerful in Wales' collective memory. The Welsh Not was not a myth and was common in schools in the first half of the 19th century. After 1870 the Welsh Not was still in use but written records are contradictory in detail. Educational and nationalist commentators in the late 19th century were claiming its demise as evidence of the progress of Wales and education. It was certainly never government policy but teachers had significant freedoms and school inspectors were often frustrated at the exclusion of Welsh from the classroom. Others, in contrast, had no time for Welsh. There are family stories of the Welsh Not still being used in the 1930s, despite the fact that from 1907 Welsh schools were supposed to teach infants in their mother tongue.

This paper explores the contradictory evidence for the Welsh Not, how policy and practice can differ, and how both contemporaries and later generations can mispresent events. It considers how understandings of education past and present are distorted by wider experiences and outlooks. It shows how remembering and misremembering school practices can be powerful, emotive and political.

2.1   Temporalities and Remembered Pasts: The Case of India

Tim Allender, University of Sydney

Class Divides and gender separations: traumas and memories of the colonial India boarding experience, 1790-1960

This paper examines boarding spaces in colonial India, 1790-1960. While nominally of European shape and form, its precincts filtered and exemplified the products of empire where most children were excluded, and those who were included were traumatised by the broader discourses of empire. The paper draws on written and visual records, recovered in colonial and Indian archives, located in India and in Europe. The voices are European yet the Indian experience is partly detected; but where memories were traced mostly by outside colonial apparatchiks rather than by individual participants who fell silent as they slipped from the colonial gaze in young adulthood.

There were two distinct manifestations of this boarding house experience, each with its own cultural variants. At both levels, they were focal points of transnational flows of culture and memory.

The first incarnation was the most recognisable, at least on the surface. This was a boarding house shape and form, transferred from the metropole, mostly after 1860, and partly localised in a cultural sense for the children of colonial elites.

The second incarnation began two generations earlier, around 1790. It involved the contested colonial space of the 'orphan'. Here there was much more colonial dissembling. Children in these boarding settings were disempowered by their poverty, and their lack of an intervening parent (though many parents were still living). For these destitute 'orphans' the boarding threshold more closely incarcerated their body, adorning it with emblems signifying its loss of traditional culture and usually converting it to a foreign, monotheistic (Christian) religion. These spaces were created not for reasons of Western philanthropy, but rather to serve the changing power agendas of the raj based on racial, class and gender exclusions, especially regarding Eurasians (mostly children of mixed European and Indian lineage).

Anurag Shukla, Indian Institute of Management Ahmedabad
Education, Temporalities, and Discontinuities: Re-reading the History of Education in India from a temporal lens

The British colonization of India brought a fundamental rupture in people's collective memory and, subsequently, disrupted their way of knowing, recalling, and remembering. Through the imposition of industrial and civilizational temporalities, it permanently fractured the existence of multiple temporal regimes that formed the basis of the dynamic process of communal life in India. Instead, it introduced a notion of time that was 'absolute, universal, abstract, transcendent, empty and homogenous' (Benjamin, 1999). This new conceptualization of time, riddled with issues of power and hegemony, transformed virtually all aspects of the everyday life of the colonized by 'collapsing different histories, temporalities, and racial formations into the same universalizing category' (Hall, 1996). It is colonial education that played a significant role in inculcating and naturalizing the western temporalities such as the forward vector of progress and incremental acquisition of civilization, etc., Colonial education, in the hands of colonialists, not just became a tool to justify the more direct forms of exploitation carried out in the colonies, it also actively sought to break the articulate memory of the colonized, which, till then, had served as a means of transmission and wider preservation of knowledge and traditions (Fentress & Wickham, 1992). Colonial consciousness that emerged from the decades of administering colonial education robbed people of their own experience of the world. Setting this background imaginary against which to view and comprehend the history of education in India, this paper seeks to investigate how these constructions crept into and continue in everyday conversations, public discourse, and academic theorizing around education. The paper employs a historically inflected approach and draws on historical research to analyze the loss of memory and dismemberment of the colonized through language, religion, and education.

Laura Day Ashley and Inderjit Baines, University of Birmingham
Understanding policy uptake through lenses of the past, present and future: analysis of India's 25% reservation policy for disadvantaged children in private schools

Section 12(1)(c) of India's *Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act*, 2009 requires private schools to reserve 25% of school places from Classes 1-8 for local disadvantaged children fee-free in return for per-child subsidy (Government of India 2009). While some argue that this legitimizes private education (Ramachandran 2009), others see potential in 'opening up a highly stratified school system to disadvantaged children' (Srivastava and Noronha 2014, 181). This paper draws on Verger's (2012) identification of conditions for effective and impactful policy theorizing, framing and mobilization to understand how this policy came to be taken up. It argues that while Section 12(1)(c) is a policy innovation, it is not unfamiliar and has resonance with existing and remembered past education ideas, policies and practices with a range of imperial, indigenous and intercultural roots. These include socially responsible private school initiatives, private aided schools as a form of public-private-partnership, and the 'common school system'. The paper will also draw on recent evidence to assess the clarity and feasibility of the implementation of the policy and the impact on its uptake. Finally, it will consider the future of the policy in the context of emerging evidence on the effects of covid-19.

2.2 Time Past, Time present

Vincent Carpentier, UCL Institute of Education
Education, long economic cycles and crises of survival

In this paper, I propose to use the perspective of long economic cycles to explore the ways in which past economic downturns have contributed to transform the relationship between social and economic systems. I explore whether and why some economic crises had a more profound impact on the reduction of inequalities than others. I am also interested in the ways in which those crises were remembered and how (at times competing) historical memories have influenced the nature and extent of changes the crises produced in the short, medium, and long term. Based on a combination of quantitative historical data on education and health and policy documents, the analysis led me to distinguish key transformative crises which produced significant developments of the sphere of human development including educational and health systems (the 1830s, 1870s, 1930s) from other crises which I interpreted as lost opportunities leading to a retrenchment of the social sphere (1973 and 2008).

I then consider the extent to which the exit strategies from those economic downturns were influenced by crises of survival such as pandemics or wars. This longue durée lens suggests that the transition towards a "new world" is an open process depending not only on the political, economic and social contexts but also on the competition between alternative historical memories. This questions whether the transformations that were supposed to follow the 2008 crisis are more or less likely to happen in a post covid-19

context. One possibility is that the pandemic might lead, by revealing and exacerbating our individual and collective vulnerability to inequalities and the fragility of social systems (education, health, housing, social security), to revive the social sphere and eventually tackle the ongoing structural inequalities which produced the 2008 crisis.

Rooney Figueiredo Pinto, University of Coimbra, and Ana Catarina Amorim de Lima, Universidade Aberta – CLA Ponte de Lima
A Primary School in the time and memory of village of Ponte de Lima – Portugal

This article aims to present a research about the memory of a Primary School in the village of Ponte de Lima (Portugal). In late 19th century and early 20th century, the village had 17 school buildings, but, on February 18th, 1915, the local press reported that the illiteracy rate in the village was around 80%, with the majority being young female. In fact, it was a social and educational problem in the whole country, as one of the reasons why children did not attend school was the need to work in agriculture and rural areas in order to help their families financially. In 1929, the local government start the construction of a new primary school building, which led in 1930 to its inauguration, whilst a pedagogical conference was held and proudly covered by the local press. In 1957, the school reached its limit, requiring the construction of new classrooms. The documentary research carried out in the city's archives focused on the main local newspaper of the time "Cardeal Saraiva", on photos from that period and on interviews with teachers who taught at the same school during the Estado Novo in Portugal (1933-1974). It was possible to (re)construct a mnemonic and temporal portrait of the Primary School at the village of Ponte de Lima, based on the teachers' memories, the news published in the local newspaper and the social dynamics in the village documented in the photos.

Krishna Kanta Roy and V. Kalyan Shankar, Symbiosis School of Economics, Pune
Time and Origins of Computer Education in Schools in India: The case of West Bengal

What does it mean to have a computer at school? What is a teacher supposed to teach about it and what are the students expected to learn? These questions may appear a little rhetorical in the present. However, in the course of the 1980-90s, they were a matter of great speculation, awe and anxiety, even more so in a developing country like India. In November 1983, during an official visit to India, the Queen of England gifted 30 BBC Micros to the Indian government, which found their way into local schools. Following suit, the government launched a pilot project called Computer Literacy and Studies in Schools (CLASS), following a national workshop on computer literacy curriculum held at NCERT, March 1984.

Scaling down from these national initiatives, how were the governments across the different states of India responding to the call of computerization? School education remains a subject of state jurisdiction in India; each state had the liberty to choose its own pathways. Here in this study, we choose the state of West Bengal, which was a beneficiary of the CLASS initiative; between 1984 to 1998-99, 257 schools from the state had benefited from the

project. However, the real spurt in computerization of schools was witnessed only when the state government initiated the Computer Literacy and Training Programme (CLTP) in 2001. In this paper, we attempt to outline the time and efforts taken by the state of West Bengal to respond to the national initiative of computerization in schools and what happened pre and post 2000. The analysis will be based on two time periods – a. from 1984-2000 & b. 2001-2020. Methodologically, we rely on archival documentation from the Department of School Education, West Bengal government and WEBEL to map the expansions in computer education in the state. Going further, we also draw upon in-depth interviews of key stakeholders from various governmental departments to understand how the project of school computerisation unfolded.

2.3   Education Time, Education Memory and the Visual: an ecological workshop

Eulàlia Collelldemont, Universidad de Vic, Inês Félix, Umeå universitet, Ian Grosvenor, University of Birmingham, Björn Norlin, Umeå universitet, Núria Padrós, Universidad de Vic, and Angelo Van Gorp, University of Koblenz-Landau (History of Educational Ecologies International Research Group)

The German naturalist and scientific illustrator Maria Sibylla Merian (1647-1717) through years of close observation realised that insects' development was influenced by the environment and interconnectedness was vital to their health. This understanding was radical in her field, and she translated it into her botanical illustrations where she presented not just the insects but their whole ecosystem. In a series of illustrated books, she both expanded existing knowledge of the natural world and framed the basis for what today we understand as ecology. Merian's work brought the visual and the ecological into conversation (Kaiser, 1997; Pomeroy and Kathirithambry, 2018; Sidman, 2018). As historians of education, we know that education is a complicated assemblage of structures, processes, and social and material relations, and as such exists within a broader political, social, cultural, and economic framework with both proximate and remote connections (Barad, 2007). Following Merian, the *History of Educational Ecologies* International Research Group (HEC) want in this workshop to bring the visual and the ecological into conversation with the complexity of education, time and memory. The aim being to use visual evidence to explore the structural materialist and the affective dimensions of the relationship between education, time and memory and thereby trace lines of articulation or, following Deleuze and Guattari, 'rhizome filaments' which can help us construct the ecology of a given education phenomenon (Deleuze and Guattari, 1981) and in the process understand how thinking ecologically can give us new insights in our field of study.

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3.1 Representing, Resignifying and Revisiting Teachers

Larry Prochner, University of Alberta

Revisiting an Anecdote in the Historical Narrative of Early Childhood Education: Patty Smith Hill and the Story of the Kindergartner Walkout of 1896

In this paper I explore the role played by anecdotes in historical narrative. The particular focus is an anecdote that is often repeated in histories of kindergarten education in the United States: namely, that 33 kindergarten teachers who were followers of Friedrich Froebel, the founder of kindergarten education, walked out of a lecture by psychologist G. Stanley Hall at Clark University in 1896, leaving only two open-minded teachers—Patty Smith Hill and Anna Bryan—to stay to hear him out. While the event never occurred, the story was told by one of the protagonists, Smith Hill, as if it did occur. The paper begins by drawing on archival sources[1] to detail the history of the anecdote before analysing the story in the context of the professionalization movement in early childhood education in the 1960s and 70s. The paper concludes by suggesting that while such anecdotal evidence is problematic for historians, who are concerned for the credibility and reliability of sources, anecdotes can be valuable as a "framing context" for understanding the temperament of the time and shifting temperaments over time.[2]

Claire Tupling, University of Derby

The Lax family of Staindrop: Re/presenting a narrative of occupational reproduction in the making of a teaching dynasty

This paper discusses an archival case study which was used to collect and re/present a family-history narrative of one family associated with elementary school teaching in Staindrop, Co. Durham, England in the second half of the nineteenth century. This study drew on a range of historical records held in digitised archives, including census returns, newspaper articles and records of births, deaths and marriages. Through these relics, or traces of existence, a narrative of occupational reproduction across three generations of the Lax family is re/presented. For this family, the occupation of elementary school teaching was not passed down to the next generation as a form of inheritance. Instead

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[1] Special Collections of the Filson Historical Society in Louisville, the Association for Childhood Education International records in the Special Collections and University Archives at the University of Maryland, College Park (hereafter, ACEI Records), and Teachers College archives at Columbia University, New York.

[2] Joel Fineman, "The History of the Anecdote: Fiction and Fiction," In *The New Historicism*, ed. H. Aram Veeser (New York: Routledge, 1989), 61. Some of the works contributing to the analysis of anecdotes and history are Sonja Laden, "Recuperating the Archive: Anecdotal Evidence and Questions of 'Historical Realism'," *Poetics Today* 25, no. 1 (2004), 1-28; Na-iem Dollie, "Narratives in Anecdotes, Memory and Interlocutors: An Early Engagement with Neville Alexander's Story," *African Historical Review* 49, no. 1 (2017), 27-45.

the term 'occupational reproduction' is used to examine the occupational trajectories and life stories of the second and third generations of this 'teaching family' with consideration given to issues of social class and gender. The concept of occupational reproduction highlights the ways in which gender shaped the occupations of the second and third generations of this family. For example, the paper highlights how the daughters were most likely to become elementary school teachers, reflecting a process of the feminisation of the elementary teaching workforce at this time. Key life events, including the death of a husband were also found to be a catalyst to the daughters becoming teachers. Individual agency in becoming an elementary school teacher also appears to be a factor.

The use of records found in the archive are inevitably limited in bringing to life a memory of this family. Yet, this paper demonstrates that traces in archives can be reassembled to re/present a family narrative what adds to existing generalised understandings of elementary school teaching in the nineteenth century by illuminating the experiences of individuals who experienced life as teachers.

Maiza Trigo, Université du Luxembourg, and Rooney Figueiredo Pinto, University of Coimbra

The school time and childhood in Portugal during Estado Novo under the lenses of a sociodynamic perspective

Perceiving the schooling processes as a cultural enactment, the memory of the school must be assumed as social and dynamic and the memories that emerge in teachers' narratives reflect their reading of past biographical events in constant social and temporal dialogue with their present. As part of an ongoing investigation, this article aims to reflect on the social memory of school time during Estado Novo (1933-1974) in Portugal under the lenses of a sociodynamic perspective proposed, focusing on the following overarching question: How do the memory narratives reveal the social and temporal dialogue of the school memories? Putting the theoretical framework of Social Memory and Sociodynamics in dialogue, a qualitative approach is used to analyze the data collected with semi-structured interviews. This narrative data set of female teachers who taught during the Estado Novo in Portugal has allowed to see the interconnections of the past and the present made by the interviewees, as the memories of the school emerge in a constant comparison of the time lived then and the present time, such as when talking about economic and social contexts. In other moments, the narratives denounced how the regime revealed itself physically and psychologically in the classroom, materialized in objects and in the concept of authority, such as on the disseminated ideology of "Deus, Pátria e família" (Portuguese for "God, Homeland and Family"). These memories narrated by the teachers revealed social nuances and dynamics in what they chose to highlight from the memory of the school, as the constant socio-temporal adjustment of the narratives also revealed an attempt to re-signify the past, turning memories into more that the remembered past, exposing a sociodynamic matrix of biographical events in the mnemonic exercise while contributing to a better understanding of the social memory of childhood, family and school.

3.2   Ways of Remembering: Local, Sensory and Radical

Maureen Royce, Liverpool John Moores University

Vikings, Country Dancing, Catechism, Football and Times-tables: Primary School memories from Everton, Liverpool 1944-1979

The preservation of recollections and memories from working class adults adds a richer dimension to the formal narratives of the time period. While memories assembled through oral testimonies may be incomplete, there is much to value about recollection.[1]

Portelli suggests that the recall of what is believed to have happened is in itself revealing even if lacking historical accuracy.[2] Education remains a formative influence in the lives of many and the records of the time may not reflect the contextualised experience provided by oral testimonies. Factual accuracy may not be the primary aim of the oral historian who may choose, instead, to look at the relative importance of significant events in educational experience during childhood.

Exploring memories relating to primary school experiences between 1944 and 1979, this paper will focus on recollections of childhood and the formal and informal engagement with learning and relationships with peers and teachers. The oral testimonies relate to a time before the instigation of national primary school testing although for some participants, the 11plus examination formed a significant part of their recall. The research was conducted in Everton, Liverpool. Everton has consistently lower success indicators than the city in relation to educational attainment and is an area of socio-economic deprivation. Digital poverty and the impact on education suggests a need for understanding the relationship between education and working class communities. The authentic voice of the past may signpost positive interventions for present and future generations.

Heather Ellis, University of Sheffield

Making sense of school feeding: Memory, experience and sensory histories of hungry children in England, 1900-1930

In so far as the history of school meals has been viewed through the lens of sensory history it has tended to follow the narrative of school feeding as a 'sensory training' of poor children by the state. As Cathy Burke (2005) comments in her work on the 'edible landscape' of schools, historians have been mainly concerned to demonstrate how sensory language and metaphor were used to mark out and underscore the inferiority of working-class children and their need to be 'reformed.' Geert Thyssen (2019) has recently taken this interpretation further, exploring the notion of 'smellscapes' and the use of smell to demarcate class boundaries. He describes a process of 'colonization of the world of poor children' in the 1860s in which 'the absence of smell became synonymous with a range of

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[1] Thompson, in Perks, R., and Thompson, A., *The Oral History Reader*, p3, argues that memory could be a legitimate and valuable historical source.
[2] Portelli, A., in Abrams, L., Oral History Theory, pp 40-53, suggests that while individual life stories might be idiosyncratic they breathe life into historical records.

civil values such as self-control, order, and patriotism; odorous others were identified as potential disruptors of moral order.'

What is hardest to discover, however, is how the children themselves experienced hunger and school feeding, whether, from their perspective, this 'colonizing project' was successful. In this talk, I will explore the recollections, memories and storying of school meals in England between 1900 and 1930 through a range of primary sources including both published and unpublished autobiographies, in particular, those located in the Burnett Collection of Working-Class Autobiography and the Archive of Working-Class Writing Online. I will also make use of oral history projects and archives such as the appeal for memories of Margaret McMillan on the centenary of her birth in 1960 (University of Greenwich) and the Hundreds and Thousands of Childhood Memories project run by the Children's Society in 2008. School Archives, particularly those created to celebrate important anniversaries will also be drawn upon.

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Jane Martin, University of Birmingham
Memory and forgetting: radical histories and the comprehensive ideal

This paper aims to put history of radical movements and organizations in conversation with present-day concerns with equity and inequality in education through a focus on the place of the comprehensive ideal in public life and the media. To do this, it will re-visit the professional and experiential knowledge base to consider 'what works, for whom, when, where and how' viewed through the prism of the social action of scholar-activist Caroline Benn (1926-2000), parent and governor at one of Britain's earliest and largest comprehensive schools, London's Holland Park. Working with the second head of the school, Derek Rushworth, explicit efforts were made to create an inclusive school through, for example, a wide pupil mix, mixed 'ability' class organization, a largely common curriculum and a consciously democratic community.

Set against the background of educational selection in an English context, the paper uses newly available documentary sources and narrative enquiry to investigate not only the experience, meaning and impact of the comprehensive ideal but also the false and one-sided picture often given of it. In so doing, it connects local and global histories and migration of peoples through a focus on radical London in a 30-year period between 1965 and 1995 and *re-views* the work of the Popular Memory Group at the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies alongside that of Raphael Samuel, notably Samuel's plea to remember "what others forget" in *Theatres of Memory* (2012). This paper speaks to the need to fundamentally re-think education today, providing examples of what early comprehensive schools were trying to achieve to redress inequity in education.

I will argue that Benn's particular utility as a historical subject is to illustrate the significance of a critical period in education politics and policy-making for the intellectual

history of post-war socialism. In documenting this grassroots organising for public education reform, the paper recasts accounts of women's political agency and how memory of radical practices can be mobilised or forgotten in the present. It will be argued that Benn was a very important propagandist and scholar, whose tenacious campaigning brought the educational causes she championed into Left thought and the general culture.

3.3 Memory: Spaces, Spectacle and Activism

Susanne Spieker, University of Hamburg
Emigration from the Palatinate: Traces of Memory in Public Spaces

My paper addresses memory of migration from the Palatinate and its presence in the public space of Germany today. The regional focus of this contribution is the German middle-size town of Landau in der Pfalz and the surrounding region of the southern Palatinate. Since the late 17th century, more people migrated or fled for the Americas from the southern Palatinate than from any other region in Central Europe (cf. Bade & Oltmer 2010): "Almost every family in the Palatinate, on the Rhine and Moselle, in the Hunsrück, the Eifel and the Westerwald has relatives who have emigrated to North America" (cf. Schmahl 2009: 132–33). Therefore, emigration is part of the cultural heritage of the Palatinate. Since 2000, the Institut für Geschichtliche Landeskunde at the University of Mainz hosts the website Auswanderung [Emigration], which connects the different local research activities around family heritage, local history, and memory, and provides factual information. The framing of (forced) migration and this specific temporality of the topic determine the type of research that arises, whereby analogies to previous developments are largely ignored (cf. Lucassen, Lucassen & Manning 2010). Migration in general is "given little space in the collective memory, in the remembrance culture of European society" (cf. Hahn 2012: 9). According to Hahn, younger generations are hardly aware of the relevance of the topic and the majority consider a migration story in their own family to be unlikely. However, there is hardly a family in the German-speaking area that has not migrated in the last two to three generations. If relatives emigrated, they were "consciously or unconsciously forgotten" (cf. Hahn 2012: 10). My paper focusses on the question as to what is remembered when people are leaving? How and when does a population remember (forced) migration today? The wave of migration during the 19th century, between 1800 and 1870, is remembered as part of the local identity. This paper analyses contrasting memorial plaques for different migrants from the middle of the 19th century, to be considered as visualization practices concerning this migration that belong to public and community memories. The plaques were placed in the late 1930s, the 1950s and 1980s. By comparing these different timeframes, their social and political contexts, and the reasons why these people received a place in the local memory the paper sheds light in the discussions around local identity, nationalism and power (cf. Said 2000). People remembered made their fortune abroad, were influential members in their societies of arrival and became 80 to 100 years later part of the cultural heritage of their birth places (cf. Assmann 2006; Assmann 2013).
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Mark Freeman, UCL Institute of Education

'Truly memorable events': reflections on the memorialisation of historical pageants

Historical pageants were an important aspect of popular engagement with the past in twentieth-century Britain, as the large multi-institutional research project 'The Redress of the Past' (RotP, 2013-21) has demonstrated. Pageants were theatrical representations, involving and watched by thousands of people, of moments and themes in the past of the communities that staged them. As such they were attempts to depict and memorialise the past, but as events themselves they were also commemorated – in public monuments and street names, to give two examples. Moreover, they were personally memorialised by many individuals who took part in them, in the form of physical souvenirs, meticulously compiled scrapbooks, and private memories that RotP has collected through its oral history research. These official and unofficial memories can in turn – like pageants themselves – provoke comparisons and contrasts between past and present. Exactly fifty years after it took place, one participant in an early post-war pageant recalled 'a truly memorable event, encapsulating a great sense of community spirit'. The implication that pageants – which rarely now take place, and never on the scale that they achieved in the mid-twentieth-century – embodied a lost 'community spirit' is explored in this paper.

RotP staged exhibitions and events with heritage sector and local history partners in various locations across Britain. This paper reflects on the feedback from these activities, considering the widespread interest in the role that pageants once played in generating and sustaining place-specific versions of collective identity. The events and exhibitions – now themselves small elements of the past in the places where they took place – generated further reflections from their participants and audiences, which in turn offer insights into the ways in which community, local belonging and senses of place are understood in a contemporary context.

Susannah Wright, Oxford Brookes University

Memories of the First World War, children and the peace movement in the interwar years

This presentation considers the significance and impact of the remembering of the First World War, for a generation that grew up in the interwar years and, either as children or later as adults, became involved in the British peace movement. This generation had not experienced the War themselves, or if they had were too young at the time to remember it. Remembering the War for them meant connecting with the stories of individuals and wider collective narratives of memory, whether in family, schools, church, community, or popular cultural contexts. They engaged with the memories of others, imparted through objects, pictures, films, books, conversations, lessons, or acts of public collective commemoration (Gregory 1999, Winter and Sivan, 1999, Wright, 2020). I examine retrospective accounts of individuals involved in the peace movement, gleaned from archived oral history interviews of individuals born between 1914 and 1930, to ascertain their perspectives on their encounters with memories of the First World War and the impact this had on them. What sort of memories did these individuals encounter and in what contexts? What role did they perceive these memories playing in their peace movement involvement?

The first part of the paper is methodological in its focus. I discuss the primary sources used, the particularities of the individuals represented in them, and the re-construction and re-telling of memories at a later date (and in this case memories of others' rememberings). The second part explores interviewees' accounts of their encounters with memories of the First World War in varied contexts: the family, school, church, and books and films. The First World War, re-remembered later by those who encountered it through the memories and retellings of others, remained a powerful marker for those growing up in the interwar years. For the peace movement activists whose narratives I examine, one impact of these 'second-hand' memories was to inspire them to work to avoid a repeat of that conflict.

4.1 Memory Narratives, Life Stories and Authoritarian Politics

Tibor Darvai, Eötvös Loránd University

"My real life started with the liberation". Hungarian socialist education scientists' narratives about their life and works

On the 20th anniversary of the appearance of the socialist pedagogy in Hungary, the reflection of seven socialist education scientists were issued between 1963 and 1965 in the Pedagogical Review with the title "About my life and my work".

In our research we analyze these seven narratives from the aspects of how these life stories were built, what the differences and the similarities are in them. We also examine that how

the life stories were reflected on the political and education political events. For example, how the Revolution of 1956 appeared in the narratives.

The interpretative framework of our research is given by political science applied on history of education, in short, political science approach (Nagy 1997, Sáska 2018). Within this framework we interpret the life stories as narratives hence we also use the narrative approach (Hoshmand 2005; László, 2008; Tamura, 2011.). At the same time, our research has elite sociological (Nagy 2013) and intellectual historical explanations as well (Kiss-Trencsényi-Hudra 2021).

According to our results, the professional-pedagogical description of the life stories are more emphasized in the narratives than the relation to the political or education political directions. In some cases the authors of the narratives take strong stands on political questions, for instance, on the issue of the Revolution of 1956.

Most of the authors of the life stories were first-generation intellectuals born in the countryside or in the territory of the historical Hungary in the 1910s or in the 1920s. In the Horthy era they did not really belong to the mainstream line of pedagogy or education science, mostly due to their age. Their career started thanks to the socialist takeover of power, which is why they stayed loyal to the socialist system all along. In the early professional socialization of this education scientist elite, the college culture turned up intensely, from which they tried to escape, since in that era (recently, too) education scientific and academic career belonged to university and not to college system.

What is the role of historians of education in thinking about time, memory and temporality? As far as we can see, it is to create present from past, alive from dead, remembered from forgotten with the power of interpretation. What is over should not be let past, this is the role of historians of education.

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Lajos Somogyvári, University of Pannonia
A school principal's asylum and exile in the 1950's Hungary countryside

The presentation sums up an 8 years long research, with winding paths of discovering the past: firstly, it began as a school history exhibition, in which many members of the community (former students and teachers) participated to collect their experiences about a secondary high school, established 1953, in a small town of Tab, Somogy County, Hungary. Because of this collaborative research, a new perspective drawn up, based on local stories, images and materialities (Lawn & Grosvenor, 2005), a history from below (Myers & Grosvenor, 2018). With the adding of local and national archive sources to this corpus, an important actor popped up from the early years of the institution, an iconic figure of the regional cultural memory, Dr. György Almásy, the second school principal between 1955 and 1957.

In a given historical period, as in "a ball of knots and ropes that weave together" (Nóvoa, 2015, 52.), different temporalities can be found. In my case study for example, the official turns of the Hungarian history (1953, the death of Stalin and the new phase, 1955 – back to the old system, 1956 revolution and afterwards the retaliation) is seen through the lenses of personal family and school episodes. There are many important aspects, worth to study deeper on this micro-level: students with not adequate social background, youngsters' trial in 1957, religious education as a resistance against the official power, etc. In the broader context, using Almásy's life-story, oral histories and archives, my special narrative will speak about the possibilities and limitations of a school principal in the communist era, in a small community. Almásy arrived here after his university career suddenly stopped (due to political reasons), this place meant both asylum and exile to him – spatial and temporal features (Hassan, 2010) are the main principles of this untold story.

Rooney Figueiredo Pinto, University of Coimbra, & Maiza Trigo, Université du Luxembourg
A case of early childhood care in Portugal: between the memory of authoritarianism and the History of Education

Abstract This article aims to reflect on the memory of Casas da Criança (Portuguese for the understanding of Child Houses), one of the most important works in childcare, and its relevance in the History of Education in Portugal. During the authoritarian regime of Estado Novo (1933-1974), the Portuguese physician Bissaya Barreto used his political influence to initiate a series of social works, on maternity and childhood assistance in order to combat infant mortality, precariousness in food and low schooling rate of children (in Portuguese, the work is known as A Obra Social). From documents found at the archives of the University of Coimbra, the Bissaya Barreto Foundation and the Miguel Torga Institute, a qualitative approach was adopted to analyze the data complied (e.g., children's registrations and pre-service internship reports). The data provides a broad view of the social work carried out in the central region of Portugal, the organization of the several institutions and the peculiar characteristics of Casas da Criança. Strongly influenced by hygienist thinking, this social work was a three-part fold: training of childcare nurses, assistance to mothers and early childhood education and health. The project Casas da

Criança reflected the international montessorian models such as Casas dei Bambini in Italy or La Maison de L'Enface in France. Even though it does not diminish its merit, this is a paradoxical case where one of the most important works of assistance and education for children in Portugal was developed during an authoritarian regime. Therefore, Casas da Criança stands as an interesting case of early childhood care developed in Portugal during its authoritarian regime, and, to work on the construct of its memory, the research in History of Education emerges as an equation that must be built and balanced upon the researchers' lenses over the social work, the power relations and the dictatorial regime.

4.2   Memory, Experience and Expectation in English Education

Pam Mansell, Royal Holloway University of London
Representations of educational pasts: a case study of pupil memories from four girls' and four boys' state grammar schools, 1902 to 1939

This paper investigates representations of their educational pasts by pupils of eight early state grammar schools in the south east. While the post-World War Two, post-1944 Education Act, working-class grammar schoolboy became a familiar fictional trope, the girls were largely ignored. The public school life of boys has also been represented widely in plays and novels, in memoirs and autobiographies, and by historians. While there is little in the way of autobiographical writing from other classes, historians set out to record working-class memories of elementary school life. However, there has been little investigation of the lives of grammar school pupils and what was done was largely confined to schools in industrial towns in the north and midlands or in London, reflecting the focus on the working class. *The Old School*, edited by Graham Greene in 1934, epitomises state grammar school representations in its one account of grammar school life. Class is the lens through which H.E. Bates remembers his first day in his Midlands school and his disappointment that it did not measure up to the 'school stories of popular writers'. It did not have the 'vast playing fields' of the public schools, there were no prefects frying 'their midnight sausages' and his fellow pupils were 'for the most part, the sons of lower-class people', who 'almost all spoke with the crude bastard dialect of that Midlands district'. The representations of educational pasts accessed in this paper are taken from school magazines, especially the jubilee editions, and the memories of both sexes will be used with the aim of complicating the state grammar school narrative and identifying the significance of gender, class and region for the pupils' representations.

David Civil, University of Birmingham
A Crisis of Expectations: Education and Meritocracy in Post-War Britain, c. 1944-1974

The immediate post-war decades can be characterised as a unique historical moment where a majority of Britain's intellectuals, politicians and policy-makers sought to use the nation's schools as the primary vehicles for delivering a more equal, less class-ridden society. While this was a profoundly meritocratic vision, it was one which both social

democrats and conservatives imagined would become more egalitarian over time. The meritocratic products of the nation's reimagined education system would use their expertise to grow the economy and the post-war state would redistribute the proceeds of this growth to create a progressively equal starting line to the educational race. This formulation lay at the very heart of the post-war settlement. Immense expectations were therefore placed on schools, teaching professionals and the meritocrats themselves to salve Britain's class tensions. While conservatives were more comfortable with the concept of meritocracy in education as an end state, for social democrats in the 1950s and 1960s like John Vaizey, Anthony Crosland and Hugh Gaitskell greater egalitarian rewards would be yielded in the future from meritocratic arrangements today. This paper will explore how these gradualist expectations became embedded in Britain's intellectual politics from the Butler Act onwards. In doing so it will demonstrate how the long time horizons associated with educational change served to underpin the 'post-war consensus' but also how by the end of the 1960s impatience with this political temporality helped to unravel it. On the left, a nascent identity politics challenged the meritocracy to deliver on its promise of equality of opportunity for all, introducing the categories of race and gender to the egalitarian agenda. The right responded defensively, returning to a narrow selection and standards discourse. The paper will conclude by analysing how this 'crisis of expectations' generated a new intellectual politics of education in the 1970s and beyond.

Lynda Maddock, University of Bristol

Changing Wine Into Water? The Place of the Bible in Scripture Knowledge Public Examinations 1944-1954

For much of the 20th Century, the public examinations system of the United Kingdom assessed school pupils' understanding of religion through a qualification in Scripture Knowledge. Religious knowledge and biblical knowledge were regarded as synonymous.

By the time of the 1988 Education Reform Act, a very different approach to Religious Education had been adopted and assessing an understanding of the Bible in the public examination of this subject became a thing of the past for most pupils.

The research paper will offer a comparative study of the qualifications in Scripture Knowledge and English Literature sat by school leavers in Wales at around the age of 15. This comparison was chosen because both subjects examined an understanding of texts and the assessment requirements were quite similar. The focus is on the decade or so following the 1944 Education Reform Act, when secondary education became both free and compulsory for all and many more pupils were given access to the public examinations system.

It will suggest that the aims, objectives, expectations and assessment demands of Scripture Knowledge and English Literature qualifications were very different from one another and will offer an attempt to explain this disparity.

4.3   Institutions: Learning, Regulation and Resistance

Thomas Walsh, Maynooth University

The impact of the '12 Practical Rules for Teachers' (1845) on the social regulation of teachers in Ireland

Similar to other jurisdictions (Dent, 1977; Rich, 2015; Wardle, 1976,), the selection, training, recruitment and management of primary school teachers became a concern for the churches and the State in Ireland in the nineteenth century (Coolahan, 2017). Central to the interests of both the churches and the State was the impact of the character and moral influence of the teacher in society, both in their job and as members of local communities. This influence was seen as critical by the various churches to instil religious loyalties and values, as well as by the colonial State to promote political and cultural assimilation and respect for lawful authority (Harford, 2009). This meant that from the earliest stages of the establishment of a national system of education in Ireland in the 1830s, the personal and professional lives of teachers were heavily regulated and overseen by various authorities. The purpose of this oversight was to elevate the moral character of teachers, which had been perceived as 'morally dissolute and politically subversive' under the earlier Hedge School system (Dowling, 1935).

This paper focuses on the impact of the rules and regulations of the Commissioners of National Education in the mid-1800s that provided a framework for the control of teachers' professional and personal lives. The key focus is the *Twelve Practical Rules for Teachers* published in 1846 (CNEI, 1847) and their impact on teacher identity. This analysis is supplemented through a critique of the wider rules and regulations of the Commissioners of National Education, including its *Instructions to Inspectors*, which were published periodically in the period. Lastly, the extensive annual reports of individual inspectors are explored in the period 1845 to 1855 to establish the impact of these instructions and regulations on the personal and professional lives of teachers.

Collectively, the analysis demonstrates the substantial overlap between teachers' personal and professional lives in the period under review. It led to the creation of an upwardly mobile social class of teachers which became, over time, increasingly respectable and respected in society. Ultimately the national regulations and local managerial oversight defined teachers' professional and social roles, catalysing the journey towards professionalisation of teachers as a grouping. The origins of the homogeneity and identity of the contemporary teaching workforce in Ireland can be traced back to these foundational regulations, highlighting the temporal impact in history of education.

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Kelly Power, King's College London

'Registers Not Marked': Regularity and Resistance in the Mid-Victorian School

The mid-nineteenth century school is usually temporally conceptualised in terms of regularity and granularity, from Mumford's paleotechnic school as an echo of the mechanised factory to Foucault's shaper of subjectified, docile bodies. There are certainly elements of truth in this. In particular, increased standardisation of classes, external examinations, and age-grading practices led to a more linear, predictable experience of schooling – and, I argue, in perceptions of childhood learning and development. The complexities of children's lives, however, mean that many stand in opposition to the ideal child of policy, and teachers' specific interpretations and implementations of policies reflect this.

An investigation of school log-books of the period also reveals a different kind of temporality: one that is cyclical, localised, and shaped through children's agency as well as that of adults. Progression through the school may occur in a linear fashion, but school life itself is far more complex. There is an external, cyclical structure of holiday periods, and school-specific annual events like treats and excursions. There are seasonal ebbs and flows in attendance, depending on illnesses and the weather. There are days significant to children themselves, such as Guy Fawkes' and April Fool's Day. Most interesting of all, perhaps, are the recurring local events which children choose to miss school for – fairs, circuses, ship launches, races and other sporting events. Some teachers' frustration with the low attendance figures is evident in their log-book entries, while others elect to cancel school entirely or declare impromptu half-holidays, following the children's lead. In examining these accounts from a new perspective, we see youthful resistance to adult-imposed temporal regulation, and we also see the school not as a closed, liminal space for the young, but as interconnected with the local community.

Carole Nahum, Independent Scholar

École Polytechnique, how was it really?

'École Polytechnique' is one of the most prestigious schools in France. It was created in 1794, several years after the French Revolution. It would welcome four hundred young men, from any social class and from any region of the country, after a competitive exam in mathematics. In this institution, dedicated to sciences, famous scientists (Laplace, Lagrange, Monge…) aimed to transmit a general, high level, knowledge. Then after a two-year schooling, the students could join, an 'École d'application' in order to specialize and become engineer or officer for the army.

We focus on the beginning of the 19th century. Many historians of education have addressed the organisation of this renowned school, the schedule, the timetable. They have identified the major changes provoked by the different political regimes (Republic, Empire and Monarchy). Among them, let us mention two famous writers, Ambroise Fourcy for his book *Histoire de l'École Polytechnique* (1828) and Albert De Lapparent for the *Livre du Centenaire* (1894).

Astronomer and physicist François Arago (1786 - 1853) studied in this school between 1803 and 1806. In his book published in 1854, entitled *Histoire de ma jeunesse,* he told how he had lived this period: from the competitive exam for the admission to his nomination at the 'Bureau des Longitudes'. He also described the atmosphere, when in 1804 Napoléon Bonaparte became Emperor. His memoirs give valuable information that decrees, archives and historiographies cannot transcribe. We can hear people through dialogs, and that alters definitely our perception of the school. It was not as we imagine!

Also, Maréchal de Chambray, studied there from 1801 to 1803. Though he is not well-known, he gave precious indications in his book *De l'École polytechnique*, published in 1836.

We compare some facets of these private writings with the official history delivered by Fourcy and De Lapparent.

Post Graduate Panel Sessions

Post Graduate Panel 1

Sait Kirtepe, UCL Institute of Education
Exploring 'Unknown Land Which We Were Forbidden to Explore': The Transformation of Working-Class Childhood through Educational and Child Welfare Reforms in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century England

My project aims to re-discover the role of late nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century educational and child welfare developments in the transformation of working-class childhood experiences in England, based on extensive research through written and oral accounts of working-class childhood memories. It is interested in working-class people's voice within these institutional developments and cultural shifts and aims to construct a new argument about the nature of childhood experiences in that period. Although some official documents will be used as complementary sources, this project will be mainly written with an approach of 'history from below' or 'bottom-up' history; besides, it takes the position that history from below is invaluable because it reassesses individual and collective experiences by investigating the ordinary people's personal and private voices. To achieve the project's goal, the key sources analysed in this project are memory sources, specifically autobiographies and existing oral history interviews belonging to working-class people.

John Carroll, NUI Maynooth
The Irish teacher: Identity, origins and contribution

The proposed research considers teacher identity within the narrative of national education in nineteenth century Ireland. The research aims to address a significant lacuna around the social origins and character of the teachers employed by the Commissioners of National Education, in the decades following the establishment of the primary education system in 1831. It centres on addressing the question: Who was the Irish national teacher? The early establishment of a system of state led education in a primarily agrarian country, bypassed by the Industrial revolution, was highly unusual, and accordingly provides a unique site for research. The National teachers, whilst originally employed as agents of political and cultural assimilation for the British Empire, gradually became figures of prominence within communities. The methodology which underpins the framework is qualitative in nature and gathers data from primary document analysis. As Hale notes the import of research of this type lies in its diversification from traditional sources and the opportunities provided to those voices from history which have, for varying reasons been marginalised or overlooked (2020, pp. 839-840). Concurrently, the study of historical teacher identity and teacher social history has direct relevance for the composition of the workforce in the 21st century.

Inna Kravchuk, Pavlo Tychyna Uman State Pedagogical University
History of Women's education in Ukraine (interdisciplinary approach)

Studying history of women's education, it is necessary to stay unbiased and look at the problem from different perspectives. Knowledge of several disciplines can be applied to show the broader picture. History of women's education is closely connected to general and regional history, pedagogics, gender studies, law, legislation, political science, sociology and even literature. We offer to define the notion of women's education as the educational experience of women before the provision of access to all educational opportunities on equal terms with men as well as the acquisition of civil and political rights. First of all, history of women's education is related to general and regional history. To get a deeper understanding of how girls and women were educated we have to find out how they lived. In general, during the 19th century, for many middle and upper-class girls education meant mostly the knowledge of a foreign language, etiquette and accomplishments (playing the piano, singing or drawing etc.). For the majority of families living in rural districts in Ukraine it was more important for a girl to help about the house than to be educated. Besides, it has a close connection with legislation and political science. In the 19th century, the state of women's education in Ukraine was similar to other European countries but in fact, after 1917 one of the side effects of the October Revolution was the provision of equal opportunities for men and women in education. A valuable source of information for studying history of women's education are literary works of a certain historic period including memoirs and biographies. Analyzing them, we

can understand the attitude of authors and their opponents to the issue of women's education and the status of women in society.

Nele Reyniers, KU Leuven

The sound of abnormality. Educational initiatives for children with mental disabilities in Belgium from a Sound Studies perspective, 1850-1940

In this presentation, the origins of Belgian education for children with mental disabilities are studied from a Sound Studies perspective, which takes sounds and silences into account when analysing the educational past. In Belgium, the first educational initiatives for children with mental disabilities arose in two different types of institutions in the second half of the 19th century. Firstly, children with mental disabilities were separated from the so-called 'insane' adults and children in newly established asylums. Secondly, this type of children were separated in special classes as distinguished from so-called 'normal' children in regular schools. In this research, these two educational spaces – asylums and special classes – are analysed from the Sound Studies perspective. In particular, it examines the particular sounds produced by the children with mental disabilities and how they were interpreted by the other actors such as physicians, teachers, staff, academics. On the basis of our analysis we will demonstrate the important role played by the sounds produced by these children in the definition and categorization of children with mental disabilities. The sources used for this research are personal files of the children in the asylums and the archive material of the special school and classes.

Susan Birch, The University of Winchester

The Family Planning Association: Birth Control Education during the Second World War and post war period

This paper considers the impact of the Second World War and the post-war period on sexual behaviour and contraception in Birmingham and Winchester. Crucially it will examine the under researched subject of birth control education in these two diverse locations. Analysing, for example, archival material on the Family Planning Association from the Wellcome Library, London it will address the similarities and differences between birth control education at the family planning clinics in Birmingham and Winchester. The paper will highlight the importance of birth control education and the significance of researching sexual and contraception in Birmingham and Winchester during the Second World War and post war period.

Deniz Altındağ, PhD researcher
How does spatial memory work in childhood?

Space emerges as a reality consisting of layers that overlap each other. Bruno Zevi (1974) argues that space is not just a hollow, but a reality where life and culture intertwine. According to this understanding that the dynamic structure of the space comes from different layers belonging to the ground, space is not only a visual object but a reality. The child begins to imagine by wandering through these layers, thus experiences her/his own existing through the layers which reflect the memories. Spatial memory is a combination of memories, layers, time and imagination. Just as the child's mind, space is called palimpsest, not tabula rasa. Palimpsest is used in architecture to describe the memory in many areas, where the old and the new are intertwined, the traces are not completely removed, and become a new phrase. According to Pallasmaa, our existential and lived reality is a thick, layered and sustained oscillation. Architecture is actually a form of compromise and mediation, and besides placing us in space and on the ground, landscapes and buildings express our experience of time between the poles of the past and the future (Pallasmaa, 2009).

Magdalena Rzepka, University of Warsaw
Education to and through aviation – socio-pedagogical phenomenon of the interwar Poland (1918-1939)

This paper presents the results of research conducted for my doctoral thesis on aviation education in interwar Poland (1918-1939). Reborn after 123 years of partitions, it was economically undeveloped, agricultural country. Yet its government set for itself an ambitious goal – to create a strong aviation. For it was considered an important component of military forces and one of the main contributors to economic and cultural growth of modern countries. The idea of developing Polish aviation was promoted by both the government and social organisations. Their activities comprised mainly propaganda and education. Aviation activists believed that cultivating awareness of aviation's importance and positive attitudes towards it is even more important than aircrew training. It was expected that this awareness would be spread mainly by the youth. So, a lot of activities, ranging from model building to gliding, was aimed at young people. Taking part in them helped to enrich their knowledge and develop moral, civic, and patriotic attitudes. Those most talented had the chance to become pilots, engineers, or aeronautics industry workers—through demanding process of education and training, also shaping characters. In its entirety, this aviation education of the whole society is a socio-pedagogical phenomenon of the Polish Second Republic.

Emre Altındağ, PhD researcher

The Place Where the Unending Time Is: Discovering the history of silent-graphic novels in terms of their timeless communication

Relativity of time's move and condition capsulate a silent language within. Throughout this perspective, the medium of sequential art forms may lead up to an artistic expression output of this state. To create a sequential art, frames and panels are required around visuals which constructed on a page. Any other surfaces may be used also such as electronic screens, leathers, woods or stones... Whether with paneled or without, this medium has peculiar storytelling ways in it. Regarding the history of storytelling, cave paintings and the hieroglyphics (even if their language has its own semiotic, they have a direct relation with graphic novels -especially with the silent/wordless ones) of Ancient Egypt and Potbelly Hill are recognised as the first ones. History of communication is ready to be explored to connect with the minds of post-modern societies in terms of educational sciences as well. The silent language through sequential art forms have their timeless stories may create channels to anyone who intent to see and learn through their silent visuality.

Rebecca Orr, European University Institute

Decolonisation and the foundation of the new universities in 1960's Britain

In the 1960s, higher education in Britain underwent its most radical expansion to-date with the opening of nine new universities. This expansion took place amid a backdrop of decolonisation as former British colonies gained independence in increasing numbers. The connections between decolonisation and the new universities existed but have hitherto been understudied. Drawing upon archival resources including student newspapers, I will explicate these connections with an especial focus on the case of Warwick University. As I will show, returnee colonial officers staffed the new universities as administrators and academics, explicitly drawing upon their colonial experiences to handle student protests in the late 1960s. While other political events such as the Vietnam War exerted a stronger pull on the student imagination at the time, the student body was nonetheless engaged by the issue of ex-colonials on campus as well as British decolonisation more generally. University students sought to encourage teaching on the history of empire and at times, engaged in anti-colonial action. This presentation constitutes my initial findings into the matter and as such, I look forward to receiving any feedback.

Michael Donnay, UCL

Middle-Distance Reading: Digital Humanities Experiments in Higher Education History

One of the key challenges in the history of higher education, identified as early as 1965 by Laurence Veysey in The Emergence of the American University, is one of scale: how to craft

coherent narratives that sit between single-institution histories and generalized (often national) surveys. The heterogeneous nature of institutions in the United States makes the challenge of scale particularly acute. One possible solution to this challenge involves the use of digital tools to perform what Lauren Tilton has termed a "middle-distance reading" of sources. In this paper, I explore how middle-distance reading can shed new light on the influence that the university movement had on minoritized institutions at the turn of the twentieth century. Drawing on methods from the digital humanities, I utilize administrative records from a group of American Catholic colleges to investigate organizational changes spurred by the rise of the research university. I argue that traditional historical methods used in tandem with digital tools, such as AI-assisted transcription, natural language processing, and custom databases, can provide a model for writing higher education history that fills the gap between general surveys and institutionally focused histories.

Ruth Felstead, Newman University

Teaching morality, patriotism and empire in Worcestershire and Birmingham elementary schools 1880-1902: a view of the everyday through the prism of school log books

The Revised Code of 1862 stated that: 'The principal teacher must daily make in the log-book the briefest entry which will … specify either ordinary progress, or whatever other fact concerning the school or its teachers … may … otherwise deserve to be recorded'. Log-books remain one of the key ways of uncovering the everyday life of Victorian and Edwardian classrooms (Horn, 1997, Wright, 2011). Elementary school log books in the neighbouring but very different areas of Birmingham and Worcestershire provide opportunities for comparative analysis and for identifying local variations regarding the teaching of morality, patriotism and empire in both formal and the informal curricula. A reading of these documents suggests that approaches to these topics within individual schools and classrooms was influenced by local differences in politics, religion and educational ideology. Using a sample of school log-books from Birmingham and Worcestershire provides a window on the informal 'curriculum-in-use' (Labaree, 1999), enabling the emergence of a picture of everyday as well as unusual events, and of divergent and convergent approaches within and between these geographical areas.