Inés María Gómez-Chacón (ed.)

European Identity

Individual, Group and Society

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Introduction

Inés M.ª Gómez-Chacón
International Programmes´ Manager
Education for an Interdependent World (EDIW), Belgium

This book originated from a series of lectures delivered during the Seminar *European Identity: Individual, Group and Society* held at the University of Salamanca on October 18-19, 2002, under the auspices of the European Parliament and the Spanish *Subdirección General de Programas Europeos del Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte*.

The Seminar hosted over a hundred participants coming from various European countries: Austria, Belgium, Spain, Finland, France, Ireland, Italy, Portugal, Russia, Rumania and the United Kingdom. The partners in this project were four institutions from four different member states, with cultural differences and diverse educational traditions, with proven capacity to offer arguments and experiences capable of facilitating and enriching the educational guidelines leading to the making of a *European Identity*: EDIW International Association, Belgium (coordinator); *Jean Monnet* Chair of History of European Integration at the University of Salamanca, Spain; *Progetto Domani* International Association: Culture and Solidarity (PRO.DO.C.S.), Italy; Portuguese-Spanish Pedagogy Association, Portugal.

When the Seminar was conceived our major goal was to open the doors to the multiple gateways leading to what we initially called *European Identity*: conceptual approaches, specific realisations, favourable policies, social, cultural and business challenges and methodology transmission geared towards the transformation of ideas and dreams into positive and specific realities worthy of being considered examples of good practice. This book does not provide a closed answer to the subject of *European Identity*. What is proposed in the following chapters is a reconsideration of *European Identity* from the advantageous standpoint of our most recent searches and experiences. While we are going to be presented with different

perspectives, complementary in some cases and divergent in others, the text as a whole ultimately aims to assert the originality of European culture: "the European spirit lies not only in plurality and change but in the dialogue between pluralities which brings about change"[1].

By means of this book (this dialogue) on *European Identity* we would like to "foster deep reflection on the reciprocal relationships between educational processes and European construction" and to analyse the goals that were defined in Laeken in this respect: to bring citizens, and particularly the young, closer to the European design and to promote real knowledge about European institutions. In short, we would like to "strengthen the value of Europe, from the institutional referent to the personal referent, to establish the condition of being European, feeling European, considering oneself European, understanding oneself as European and living European".

Debates on the issue of *European Identity* have become inevitable. Proof of this are the various colloquies that the European Council has organized in Strasbourg to tackle and examine the notion of *European Identity*[2]. Historians, philosophers, sociologists, theologians and politicians were summoned to these meetings with the idea of promoting such identity in the various member states. The wish of everyone who contributed to the development of this Seminar was to take one step forward: to analyse the everyday meaning of *European Identity* for all European citizens, particularly in the educational fields, and to point at elements that can help promote and anchor this concept.

Our basic aim is to make aspects of *European Identity* and its educational perspectives fully operative. In order to achieve this, *the presentation of the subject focused around a central theme: "individual-group-society", and the content was distributed into two blocks: "Europe from an Educational perspective" and "European Identity: New Challenges for Schools".*

The subtitle of the book: *Individual, Group and Society* provides evidence of the numerous interrelations that are (and must be) established throughout an individual's growth process, within certain spatial and time connections and coordinates, and within the framework of a group socially defined by language, history and culture: aspects which characterize profiles and societies that are, in

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[1] Morin, E. (1990) *Pensar Europa*. Paris: Gallimard.

[2] Council of Europe. Colloquy *European Identity*. 1st part of the colloquy: *La notion d'identité*. Strasbourg, April 2001. Colloquy, 2nd part: 20-21 September: *Des identités culturelles à une identité politique européenne*. Final Colloquy, 18-19 April 2002: *L'Europe demain: communauté de destin ou destinée politique commune?*

turn, equally defined by the same indicators. In the case of Europe, the multiplicity of its member states, some of which are also multinational, and its multicultural and multireligious physiognomy encourages one to observe the strategies and modalities that different institutional and civil agents have considered and implemented vis-à-vis a political union. This union can be accomplished through the application of various organizational models and conceptual and operational structures.

Nowadays*, the notion of personal identity* is indeed multiform due to the diversity of relationships that the individual is bound to experience. The thematic interpretation in terms of identity construction is now present in numerous situations. All of this seems to originate from the fact that the individual, its actions and its representations are once again the centre of scientific and social question marks. Identity construction is the referent in which strategies are formulated and personal beliefs are consolidated.

The present-day reality of the *realization of European citizenship* has brought geographical limits into question. Greater emphasis is now given to demarcations of socio-psychological nature, belonging to a particular appreciation system and of shared behaviour patterns assumed through received socialization and education. We deem it significant to tackle the topic of *European Identity*, the meaning of which is obtained from European-Community values granting participation and recognition to multinational, regional or local multiple identities. From this standpoint, we believe that the existing interdependence between individual —group— society, challenges the existence of different identity formulations, both local (= national) and regional (= Community and/or European), which education will have to adequately ponder and balance.

The starting point for our reflection was a formal conception of the notion of *European Identity* (how someone can get to say "I am European" and the impact this can have on his or her social and political life, undoubtedly according to the content given by him or her to that "being European"). This analysis is reflected in the programme in the first two Sections of Block 1: *What do we Mean When we Say Europe?* and *What Underlies European Policies? Institutional Objectives in the Construction of a European Identity?*

This previous analysis of the notion of European Identity shapes the following part of the programme in which some indispensable empirical questions are dealt with. Is self-identification as a European really becoming relevant for many people? For whom exactly? In what contexts? According to them, what does this *European Identity* that

they attribute to themselves, contain? What effects does it have? All of it is contained in Section 3 (Block 1): *Does a Rejection of the European Model Exist? Implications in the Educational Spheres*; and in Sections 4 and 5 in Block 2, entitled as follows: *What makes us Europeans? Identity Construction in the School Framework* and *European Identity / Identities in a Plural World*.

Lastly, we believe that identities are not just given to us as such; they are created and defined by us out of historic and social materials allowing this construction. This fact raises many questions for educators. What materials should they use and place in the hands of their students? What type of dynamics should they promote? Who will be included and who will remain excluded from this collective identity? How should we facilitate the construction of identities that acknowledge multiple feelings of belonging and that develop throughout a lifetime fearless of dissolution or personal fragmentation? It is in the course of Block 2, and particularly in its last Section, where the educational challenges (or goals) related to identity and *European Identity* development will be set out, and where we hope to give answers to all these issues sharing possible models for European integration.

Each author´s contribution with respect to the raised issues and to the agreed prospective guidelines will now be specified.

Rethinking *European Identity* and being educated on *European Identity*

The work carried out jointly throughout this Seminar, most of which is contained in this book, has led us to formulate the following progress guidelines and to specify some actions that will be implemented with the collaboration of all the participants and institutions that wish to join our cause as well as of everyone who, after reading this book, would like to contact us. The working guidelines are the following:

—To make progress in thought construction.
—To make progress in designing policies.
—To make progress in providing significant experiences.

Making progress in thought construction, "rethinking the concepts", thinking about conceptual reference frameworks and establishing kaleidoscopes and groups

Some of the contents that were debated and which have been highlighted as progress guidelines for thought construction are:

—What we call *European Identity*.
—What goals we want the so-called *European Identity Construction* to contribute to.

What we call European Identity

European Identity is a dynamic concept. It implies communicating our historical and life referents and establishing a dialogue permitting the collective construction of this notion and developing and encouraging alterity and coexistence. In the chapters by Ms Anna Donnarumma, Ms Inés Gómez-Chacón, Ms M.ª Angeles Marín, Ms Mercedes Samaniego and Mr Andrés Tornos, different conceptualizations currently in use about culture and *European Identity* are examined. The subject of *European Identity* is tackled at personal and Community levels, both in view of the new instances of socio-political and cultural organization of the citizens of member states and at the educational system level.

In two of these chapters (those by Gómez-Chacón and Tornos) some of the aspects young people identify with being European are highlighted, and certain problematic areas vis-à-vis the construction of a European feeling of belonging in the educational spheres are stressed.

Education plays an important role in the acquisition of European citizenship; however, we aim at developing a feeling of belonging (identity) to a new reality: "the European Union", which raises a number of questions and problems. The chapter by M.ª Angeles Marín tries to answer the following issues, among others: Is there a *European Identity*? How can education contribute to shaping *European Identity*? What does it mean to educate in order to feel a member of Europe´s plural society? If we ought to develop, among citizens, a feeling of belonging to Europe from the field of education, which is the Europe with which we identify ourselves?

What goals we want the so-called "European Identity Construction"
to contribute to

This is one of the concerns that all of the authors, in one way or another, have tried to tackle and answer. In this respect, however, we would like to highlight the chapters by Ms Anna Donnarumma, Mr Antonio López Pina, Ms Mercedes Torrevejano and Ms Margarita Usano.

Professor López Pina´s chapter, entitled, *Europe: Meaning and Motive*, tries to "underscore some relevant aspects for the alternative cultural

model to the present-day hierarchy of values". He asserts that the meaning of Europe is the result of what Humanism has historically meant for Education and stresses the role of schools as the instrument to educate young people both in *moral autonomy* and in citizenship awareness.

In the chapter *The Ethical Dimension in European Identity*, Professor Torrevejano raises the subject from the present-day scenario, interpreting the concept of Europe as an idea which integrates and extrapolates —at least intentionally— the domains of category types "state" and "nation", categories which constitute "the highest symbolic value of modernity". Thus, Europe should be regarded as the singular reality which has constituted lifestyles whilst reflectively and critically arbitrating the concepts that theorize them and legitimize them.

In this sense, what we understand by modernity essentially belongs to Europe. In this sense too, the identity of Europe, which can be interpreted as a rationality project, appears as a task demanding what is human, embodied in the value of freedom. If this is so, Europe´s ethical identity, beyond being acknowledged within the cultural system expressing it, is a question open to the ways in which that task can be currently continued. The task has various fronts: on the one hand, the forging of a political conformation that deeply examines the "good" within the liberal democratic state, as a domain of law, all the more universal the more it can appear as a unity-community of differences; on the other hand, the delving into understanding morality as the unfailing structure of what is human. Lastly, says Torrevejano, if it makes any sense at all to talk about the ethical dimension in *European Identity*, Europe cannot be configured as a fortress in front of any external space.

In this respect, Margarita Usano, in her chapter entitled *Difference as a Destabilizing Factor*, contributes some statistics about population and immigration and gives us a close overview of the concepts of human security, globalization and anti-globalization movements, citizenship, active and equal democracy as well as of the key themes of Education for Development, which lead us to the conclusion that accepting diversity, he and she who is different, demands experiencing forms of coexistence of which we can all learn. It is not only about tolerating but about building social peace, indispensable for human development.

In their respective contributions, these authors set out "the negotiation of a global social and environmental contract" in which Europe would have a prominent position. In this realm, the messages of solidarity, peace and sustainable development acquire a meaning corresponding to our values.

On her part, Professor Donnaruma brings up the issue that the European Union currently has "two objectives: to conclude the process

of enlargement and to redefine the institutional configuration itself through the present-day Convention". It is all about making a "Europe understood to be a political subject which brings together a freely assumed network of bonds and cooperation". She highlights how the European project leads "with unyielding specificity, to the universality of the peoples by constructing a new humanity and a culture which respects otherness and diversity". She wonders who are the Europeans and which elements are indispensable to understand this condition. She selects, among others, the concept of integration, as an element which asserts a supranational identity, a «post-national constitutional patriotism". In addition, she mentions that such identity is linked to the "concept of citizenship", which is dual since it does not cancel national identity and goes beyond a mere legal condition. The reasons underlying the new forms of public powers at national, regional and local levels are referred to, and so is the new approach of good "governance", in order "to germinate socialisation and cohesion, while respecting alterity, diversity and democracy in the regional area".

Donnaruma´s approach to the topic outlines a cultural and political project that extends internationally, framed in the present-day historical context, within the process of globalization, and in which common good emerges as our century´s fundamental right. The socialisation-cohesion-identity process that she sets out is indeed interesting. From this perspective, the European individualistic tradition would remain very questionable.

Consequently, from the viewpoints that were previously pointed at, it is considered necessary to work on a series of new concepts in the educational sphere:

—In order to help understand administrations, the significant changes that are taking place in the management of a territory are evident.
—To facilitate socialization processes, bearing in mind the political sense of communities. This demands greater understanding and development of the concepts of "governance" and "good government".
—To advance in common good through *social good* and *personal good*.

Making progress in policies "suggesting horizons and specific guidelines for educational policies"

In Section 2 (Block 1): *What Underlies European Policies? Institutional Objectives in the Construction of a European Identity*, the concept of

"policy" is viewed as "the actions sharing a vision and embodying it". As a work-directed guideline we could ask ourselves how that vision should be built and which are the educational actions that can gradually create the necessary conditions for *European Identity*.

In the chapter developed by Ms Julia González it is emphasized that among the multiple areas and perspectives from which institutions can tackle the construction of *European Identity*, two should be stressed. Firstly, the field of education, due to its relevance vis-à-vis the transmission of values and procedures and its impact on the formation of a future-oriented sense of citizenship. Secondly, the area of political relationships with third countries and its dominating principles. It is in this context, and in contrast with the goals and ways of proceedings of other cultural areas in a global world, where *European Identity* actually begins to emerge.

Ms Encarna Herrero indicates, from the Spanish standpoint, that European programmes contribute to the enhancement of quality education and to the promotion of ethical values that are necessary in any society, whilst they foster in citizens a feeling of belonging to Europe.

In the course of the Seminar, the contribution of political leaders from the European Parliament was indeed significant. Mr Pedro Aparicio, Spanish Euro MP, paraphrased Anne Marie Thiesse when he said that "Europe has been made, now let us make Europeans". He asserted that "this must allow us to launch a great attempt of identification amongst EU citizens. If we only work under the hypothesis of there being a European "identity" (common culture, common history, etc.) we may encounter difficulties, since nationalistic feelings are still very intense. Because of this, I prefer referring to Europeans´ "identification" as an active and future process in which European institutions, but also Universities and social, professional, cultural and economic groups have a great role to play".

The view of Cristina Gutiérrez-Cortines, also a Euro MP, expresses "that *European Identity* is a complex concept that is hard to define since it is a combination of feelings, attitudes, and belonging awareness: aspects which are subject to historical memory and individual experiences. However, if we search the past we can find elements and signs that society and time have deposited, as an integral legacy that is not always visible which has generated cultural needs and political models that constitute our system´s backbone. If we analyze European history we can find many routes that take us to the present day, forming a woven plot on which institutions, society and lifestyles have gradually developed and evolved. This foundation explains the gift

Europeans have for coming together and form a new system based on convergence. Common law, which has been studied in all European universities for over seven hundred years, defines the basis for peaceful coexistence, the boundaries between the public and private domains, people´s law, the notion of the freedom of man and respect for his dignity, the recognition of the law of the weakest, the responsibility of institutions before citizens, private and public ethics and the importance of dialogue and social policies. All of these issues constitute the foundation of an awareness that many define as European citizenship.

Making progress providing significant experiences, moving to other educational fields and spreading the best practices

Items dealt with:

—Conditionings of *European Identity* transmission in the classroom.
—Promotion of integration models in recipient countries.
—Education on multireligious and multiethnic "acknowledgement" for the construction of Europe.
—Strategies for the formation of educators from the standpoint of identity.

Conditionings of European identity transmission in the classroom

To make progress in this direction we believe it is essential to bear in mind the approach on conditionings of European Identity transmission in the classroom outlined in the chapter by Andrés Tornos: *The Meaning of European Identity: Past, Present or Future Project*. The author highlights that the possibility of transmitting an identity in the school framework is subject to processes in the wider social context. At least the profile of that identity must have developed in such context, against a background of social relationships, both pertinent —for whoever may acquire it— and understandable in terms of everyday use. Next and simultaneous with the transmission of the identity, the positioning of the student's *facie ad faciem* groups of origin will be important. Particularly so will be the way the new reference identity becomes integrated into these groups with their own previous identities. He finally points out that the future prospects resulting from the assimilation of the reference identity by the students will be of interest. Since it is European Identity we are discussing, this implies considering its past, its present and its future, not from a historian´s

perspective, but rather as agents which determine the possibilities of an education on such identity. European Identity does not exist, but we have to move towards it critically and the role schools play in this respect is very important. Lastly, we have to face the risk of how to tackle the possible "loss of solidarities" among the new generations in our countries, analyzing everyday knowledge and applying strategies leading to awareness and attitude change.

Promotion of integration models in recipient countries

For the promotion of integration models in recipient countries, in which each culture maintains its own idiosyncrasy, the development of an education articulating plural citizenship and the introduction of the concepts of "countersocialisation" and "common good" are proposed. In section 6, Profesor Del Palacio refers to some aspects of this proposal.

In the chapter entitled *Dilemmas and Tasks in the Formation of Education-based Professionals Regarding the Issues of European Citizenship and European Identity*, Alistair Ross presents the study carried out by the Socrates Thematic Network CICE ("Children´s Identity and Citizenship in Europe") of the European Commission, a network made up of twenty-nine European states and ninety Universities, to train educators in the fields of citizenship and European Identity. He considers the tensions and issues that have emerged in contemporary Europe around the idea of identity —individual identity and group identity (or 'citizenship'). In particular, he examines the challenges that these present to the education-based professionals: the people who are responsible for the development of children's and young people's sense of individuality and their skills and understanding of participation in society. He also considers at what ages citizenship education should take place, and who should be responsible for this. He also enters into some discussion regarding what should be taught and how, given the rapid social and political changes that are occurring in Europe. Finally, a set of key directions and issues for educators are identified, which set an agenda for development.

Education on Multireligious and Multiethnic "Acknowledgement" in Relation to the Construction of Europe

Deliberations about both cultural diversity and common cultural heritage have been on the agenda of the EU since its establishment.

Thus, the feeling of "Europeanness" has been fostered in the educational field through, for example, joint symbols and diverse Euro-campaigns. However, the concept of European Identity is still quite evasive, as are the notions of "national identity", "cultural identity" or "ethnic identities". In his chapter devoted to nationalisms, Mr Xabier Etxeberría first of all clarifies the notion of nationalism and refers to two broad types of nationalism variants —ethically acceptable and disposable. Afterwards, the four types of nationalism which exist in Europe (two ethically acceptable, and two of the disposable kind) and the role that they are all playing in the construction of European Identity and Citizenship (which can range from the greatest prominence —with three reference models, plus one resulting from its overcoming— to the greatest rejection —thus, standing on the borderline) are specified. In a second Section, the author analyzes the notion of fundamentalism as a political-religious phenomenon, specifies the existing fundamentalist forces and highlights their contradictions with what ought to be the heart of European Identity. In relation to this, the connection that may exist between religious traditions and a secular and universal identity is briefly presented. Along these lines, Ms Lurdes Figueiral, from the Portuguese-Spanish Pedagogy Association, defines the existing challenges in the field of education, highlighting the relevance of the role of the teacher.

Cultural identities change across different contexts and relationships are constantly being negotiated. Ethnic identities are a result of a continuous process of self-definition and self-assessment. The anchoring of an individual in a given national identity or ethnic group keeps on being a relatively permanent phenomenon due to family up-bringing and early education. Professor Liisa Salo-Lee, based on her experience in the Communication Department at the University of Jyväskylä (Finland), points at how language is an important factor but not the only one in the determination of cultural identity. For nations with many different ethnic groups and languages, the community is often the first reference group, and a source of confort and security. In today´s Europe, we face questions like: How do people cope with their adaptation processes between cultures? What is the role of communi-cation and language in the adaptation process? How can people be helped towards balanced multicultural identities? And how should the "New European Identity" be conceptualized to capture the current European plurality as distinguished from other plural societies in the world?

Throughout Section 5 we have had the opportunity to talk about some images of identity construction: Christian identity, Muslim

identity and Japanese identity. In this book, two of them are reflected (see chapters by Fujita and Merinero).

Strategies for the formation of educators from the standpoint of identity

Throughout all the sessions, some strategies for schools and teacher and student formation were pointed at; particularly so in the chapter *What makes us Europeans? Identity Construction in the School Framework*. Certain specific teacher development guidelines from the point of view of identity were suggested. Following are some of them:

—To define a more sociologist conception of European Identity.
—To learn and teach how to appropriate and negotiate multiple identities.
—To learn how to be an agent of one´s own socialization and not only a product of it.
—To reveal some epistemological obstacles: cultural diversity and disciplinary approaches.
—To develop learning communities.
—To share experiences that allow a European cultural identity.

To reveal some epistemological obstacles: cultural diversity and disciplinary approaches

This point is broadly developed in the chapter entitled *Multicultural and Non-Racist Science Education*, where new trends in Science Education research are presented, incorporating education on future citizenship, among the aims of Science education. The author explains how to teach science in a multicultural setting avoiding the typical prejudices with regards to both race and ethnicity. Solutions pointing at a more satisfactory curricular approach are pointed at. The first solution consists of the incorporation of knowledge resulting from the sequencing of the human genome. The second solution has to do with the demythologisation of science, avoiding the transmission of the most common stereotypes. Lastly, a re-conceptualization of the cultural perspective for Science education is proposed. This work discusses two different Science teaching perspectives: the Western one (*border crossing*) and the Eastern one (*multiscientific*). The updating of teacher training and development programmes are crucial in order to accomplish the aim pursued.

To develop leaning communities

Professor Yves Beernaert emphasizes how the construction of European Identity is closely linked to the construction of European Citizenship and to the introduction of the European dimension in education. Active citizenship and employability are at the core of development of the European Union related to lifelong learning and to the quality of education. The recent 2001 Communication of the Commission[3] on lifelong learning and the 2002 Action Programme on the concrete objectives of education and training systems confirm this in relation to the main characteristics of the school as a learning community.

If schools have to contribute to develop European Identity alongside the local, regional or national identity they have to develop themselves into real learning communities which have to respond to key characteristics. The pedagogical project and the school plan must constitute the basis for the learning community. The school's mission statement and its commitment to the creation of such a community must be clear and explicit. Within the mentioned basis there is also the need of a coherent, motivated team composed of members from the learning community. The constant and conscious search for quality: assessment and self-assessment, is the third key element. The school wanting to be a true learning community has to be a learning organization. Another major point that the author points at is the fact that schools have to be caring environments, as this contributes to affective citizenship. They also have to be open to cooperation with the surrounding local community and with civil society in every possible way to strengthen education and vocational training. Educational institutions that can be included within this concept of learning community have to encourage active citizenship and create democratic structures in every possible way, getting involved in European and international cooperation in order to strengthen their own identity as contribution to that European identity which is gradually being built.

Through learning communities, educational institutions, young people and local communities across Europe and the world can become aware of their own identities and of how their own identity can be enriched in cooperation with others. European and global cooperation tries to maintain the richness of identity diversity: "the

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[3] Commission of the European Communities; Communication from the Commission: Making a European Area of Lifelong Learning a reality. Brussels, November 2001. COM (2001) 678 end, 40 pages.

mixed (European and global) salad in which every element is still recognizable. It is not about creating a European or global colourless melting pot in which identities and personalities disappear and are ultimately lost".

To share experiences that allow a European cultural identity

In this book we aimed at developing one of the topics and a proposal of integration models from various perspectives. The chapter entitled *European Pacifism, Builder of Transversal and Globalized Identities* includes the Spanish version suggested by Professor Mario López Martínez, from the *Instituto de la Paz y los Conflictos*, University of Granada (Spain) and the British version proposed by Professor Ladislas Bizimana from the Centre for Conflict Resolution, Department of Peace Studies, from the University of Bradford (United Kingdom). In these chapters, analyses, judgements and alternatives which promote peace education in the educational processes are offered. So are elements associated with a peace culture, understanding this concept as something much wider than the mere absence of war: a positive peace which fulfils all the necessary requirements for a fair and sustainable human development, this is, a type of development which aims at the satisfaction of basic human needs. This widening of the notion of peace runs parallel to that of violence, which would be defined as everything that, being avoidable, hinders human development. Axiological, epistemological and methodological aspects about peace and violence which help develop a European integration model are explained.

Ms Guida de Abreu, from the University of Luton (United Kingdom) also shared with us another interesting experience concerning the construction of European Identity. In her chapter she carries out an analysis in which she examines the meaning of "being European" for three Portuguese women living in Britain. What type of experiences allowed them to build a European cultural identity? Following the analysis, and in order to be able to discuss some of the implications for teacher training, the author focuses on how the process of migrating from Portugal to England has an impact on the development of the cultural identity of Portuguese children and young people in British schools. Through the analysis of issues related to the development of cultural identities, the subject of EU identity and teacher training is dealt with.

Finally, in the chapter by Mr Juan Vallés we have referred to the very pertinent contribution to European development by the business world through the role of the "business firm": the economic, social and legal unit conceived as a fundamental cell for the necessary social cohesion

through the production of goods and services and the allocation of resources. The application of "new technologies" and the absorption of migratory flows are the new challenges for the business world, challenges which ought to be envisaged in the vocational training of our youth.

These are the prospective progress guidelines derived from the lectures and discussions that took place during the Seminar. The ethical-educational-teaching projects presented in this book are based on them. The purpose of this book is to promote the relevance of self-identification of Europeans in contexts other than the economic one, referring to more valuable models of peaceful coexistence and political culture than the current ones.

In order to accomplish this, our reading and our contribution should keep alive the spirit that encouraged Jean Monnet, expressed in the Opening Address by the President of EDIW, when she quoted Jean Monnet as once having been able to crystallize the present-day challenge in the following words: *"Our Union is not of States but of people"*[4] Although it may sound obvious, the main contribution of education to the construction of Europe is the formation of its citizens.

The name of our association, EDIW (*Education for an Inter-dependent World*), contains a reference to an interdependent world that demands dynamics of solidarity and peace, as mentioned throughout the book.

Because of this, our conclusion expresses the following commitments:

—We aim at promoting an education for European citizens which selects adequate approaches, methods and strategies that allow us to continue advancing towards the goals of an anthropological system entailing the founding principles of the human profile, the transcendent dimension of people, the essential dimension of openness towards the others and the capacity to participate actively in the construction of the social system. An education which acknowledges, in the roots and in the future of Europe, the creation of an *ethos* where the values of alterity and plurality are paramount in order to build an open Europe.

—We would like to promote open participation spaces so that the profiles of European Identity are modelled through interaction not only with Europe´s inner space today but also through interaction with people and organizations in communities and cultures in other parts of the world, especially with those towards whom our solidarity should be greater.

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[4] Speech: Washington, 30 April 1952.

Opening Address

Camino Cañón Loyes

President
Education for an Interdependent World (EDIW), Belgium

We have all gathered at the University of Salamanca to reflect upon an issue which is particularly important in this time and age in which our world is so stirred by violence. We are going to carry out a non-productive task. Presenting the study of European Identity is in itself a way of asserting that economic approaches do not constitute the exclusive referent in the process of European construction.

Hanna Arendt mentioned with subtle sharpness and a touch of irony: "It has always been assumed —maybe wrongly— that thinking was the heritage of a few. It might not be excessively daring to believe that, in our days, these few are still fewer. This fact can be of little or limited importance for the future of the world, but it is not so for the future of mankind"[1]. By means of this Seminar we would like to join those few who dare to think about relevant issues for the future of men and women in our planet. The international association EDIW (Education for an Interdependent World) is clearly showing an interest in "fostering deep reflection on the reciprocal relationships between educational processes and European construction" within a framework of solidarity in relation to the rest of the countries in the world.

We believe that European Citizenship, as it currently appears in Community treaties, is a barely shaped reality, which still requires thought and definition. Its realisation in the daily lives of our societies depends, to a great extent, on the pace of the process of European construction. In order for this citizenship to develop and acquire real meaning, specific profiles that are undoubtedly associated with the recognition of European Identity ought to be defined.

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[1] Arendt, H. (1993) *La Condición Humana*. Barcelona: Paidós, p. 349 (first published by The University of Chicago Press).

Identity is no longer determined by factors of adhesion or belonging to a clan, country or lineage. We live in an age in which identity is increasingly built by people through their interaction with groups with which they are associated in one way or another and through which they find their places in the society they belong to. These groups are shaped by new generations in multicultural, multiethnic and multireligious ways. Encounters take place through any means of transport, including the various types of navigation and walks on cyberspace.

The development of these processes demands educational notions that make possible the integration of so many differences and pluralities in both individual identities and referents of collective identity. Identity and citizenship being interdependent realities, in a world of great migratory movements such as our own, the way in which these dimensions are shaped constitutes the greatest challenge in the construction of an open Europe in an interdependent world.

Such are the concerns which have led us to organize this Seminar. We have received the Declaration of Laeken about the Future of the European Union with great interest and we have made its aims our own: "We have to resolve three basic challenges: how to bring citizens, and primarily the young, closer to the European design, and the European institutions; how to organize politics and the European political area in an enlarged Europe; how to develop the Union into a stabilizing factor and a model in the new, multipolar world".

The programme of this Seminar aims at facing the challenge posed by the objectives of Laeken: how to bring citizens, and particularly the young, closer to the European design and to the enlargement process; how to promote real knowledge about European institutions and to anticipate the role that Europe is called to play at the beginning of the third millennium. In short, we would like to strengthen the value of Europe, from the institutional referent to the personal referent which means *being* European, *feeling* European, *considering oneself* European, *understanding oneself* as European and *living* European in an interdependent world in which the areas subdued by poverty show their face to Europe through the permanent migratory waves which reach our countries.

Surely, one of the greatest tasks the European Union has to face is that of encouraging new and comprehensible reflection upon what we call European Identity, a new and committed definition of our responsibility as Europeans, an increasing interest in the very meaning of European integration in the modern world and the creation of a European ethos. The fundamental values of this ethos are alterity and plurality as plurality nowadays refers not only to regional diversities developed

throughout history but also to multiethnic/cultural/religious groups that are a part of the daily life of European society. Education constitutes the key for the development of this new awareness which is absolutely essential in order to generate an identity which is open to the world.

For this reason, within the field of education, we are aiming to choose adequate approaches, methods and strategies to continue advancing in the direction signalled by the goals of an anthropological system which "conceives educability as an essential dimension of man"[2]. We wish to offer educators the conceptual and methodological tools that will allow them to analyse the situations around them in order to not only achieve a better knowledge of their environment and its increasing problems but also to foster a change of attitudes and to implement new practices that can make twenty-first century Europe into a living space where peace, justice and solidarity are real values.

To carry out the programme that we have set ourselves to do, we count on the collaboration of institutions and organisations of EU member states with cultural differences and diverse educational traditions. They all have proven capacity to offer arguments and experiences which can facilitate and enrich the educational guidelines leading to the making of a European Identity in the sense that has been described. We thank each of them for their invaluable cooperation. We would also like to express our gratitude to our partners in this project, who are present here with us:

—Jean Monnet Chair of History of European Integration at the University of Salamanca, Spain.
—Progetto Domani International Association: Culture and Solidarity (PRO.DO.C.S.), Italy.
—Portuguese-Spanish Pedagogical Association, Portugal.

We have also relied on the financial support of the following institutions:

—European Parliament.
—Subdirección General de Programas Europeos. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, Spain.
—Investigaciones y Ediciones Foundation, Spain.
—Foro de Profesionales de la Empresa, Spain.
—Caja Duero, Spain.

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[2] Galino, Angeles. "Aproximación a la antropología pedagógica de Pedro Poveda", in *Atreverse a Educar*, vol. II, (1998) Madrid, Narcea, S.A.

For this Seminar´s working agenda, we have counted on the participation of:

—EU politicians from various Community institutions, who will share their opinions with us,
—specialists on the proposed fields who will offer new methodologies and approaches,
—various social and educational agents (individuals, organisations, educational institutions, companies,...) experienced in European issues that will contribute their experiences and examples of good practice,
—individuals related to EDIW, the organization which is ultimately in charge of this Seminar and which, alongside the aforementioned organizations, has made this Seminar possible,

all the individual who have chosen to participate in this Seminar, contributing their experiences and findings.

I would like to welcome you all to this gathering. Thank you for your presence here. My thanks also go to the University of Salamanca for hosting this event. I would also like to express my gratitude to Ms. Inés María Gómez Chacón, who has directed and coordinated this Seminar.

The goals that we have set ourselves for this Seminar presuppose previous accomplishments and realizations, based on which we would like to begin our task and continue advancing. The participating groups and individuals will prove that our work constitutes a step forward with respect to strides taken in the past both by themselves and the realities of which they are an active part. Our challenge consists of accomplishing a feasible collective construction which makes the integration of diverse knowledge, sensitivities and personal styles believable, whilst maintaining their individual character.

Let us list again the goals of this Seminar:

—To closely analyse the issue of European Identity, assessing the quality of theoretical and practical information on structural mutations and the methodological and epistemological changes that are taking place, in order to reconsider the relationships between the following: individual, nation, group, culture (individual - group - society).
—To reflect upon new teaching modes on the subject of Europe; and to offer teachers conceptual and methodological tools that will allow them to analyse their practice.

—To gather experiences about European Citizenship / European Identity: to learn about their contents, their means, their results and the difficulties that the various proposals have encountered.
—To compile a teaching guide which contributes approaches, methodologies, resources, experiences, accomplishments and problems for European Education.
—To generate information about European Education through interactive tools.
—To identify people, groups and resource centres that deal with this subject.
—To create a network of European teachers specialised in the transmission of relevant knowledge concerning European Citizenship / European Identity.

This Seminar aims at making aspects of European Identity and its educational perspectives operative. In order to achieve this, the outline of the programme focuses around a basic theme: "individual – group – society", and will be divided into two areas: Europe from an educational viewpoint and European Identity: new challenges for schools.

Amongst the numerous educational projects, systematizations and applications related to these objectives we would like to highlight those carried out by the groups gathered in this Seminar. For instance, we discuss the issues of citizenship, moral dimension, ethical aspects and values in political literacy (Socrates project "Children's Identity and Citizenship in Europe´s Thematic Network" (CICE) coordinated by London Metropolitan University; Research Group on Intercultural Education from the Universidad Central of Barcelona (Spain); Socrates Thematic Network "A Philosophy for Europe" coordinated by the University of Urbino (Italy); PRO.DO.C.S...); different projects about what the youth thinks about their emerging identities (social, political...); the comprehension and feelings related to Europe (Socrates Thematic Network CICE, University of Barcelona, Spain & University of Luton, UK); education in democracy and human rights; theoretical and methodological keys for curricular development (Socrates Thematic Network CICE; Socrates Thematic Network "Humanitarian Net"; PRO.DO.C.S.; Socrates Thematic Network "A Philosophy for Europe"; Centre for Conflict Resolution, Department of Peace Studies, Bradford University, UK; Deusto University; Co-ordinating Office of Development NGOs (ONGD), Spain; Instituto de la Paz y del Conflicto, University of Granada, Spain ...); teacher training on citizenship education (Socrates Thematic Network CICE, EDIW in Belgium, Foundation Castroverde in

Spain, Portuguese-Spanish Pedagogy Association from Portugal, Jyvaäskylän Yliopisto University in Finland, Instituto de la Paz y el Conflicto from the University of Granada in Spain…), Seminars on human relationship awareness in populations of University students in exchange programmes (Erasmus, Intercampus,…) in which the notions of difference and cultural identity of the participants are analysed and in which the contents of reciprocal culture-transmission which favour the creation of a European cultural identity are identified (Socrates Thematic Network "Humanitarian Net, EDIW, Jyvaäskylän Yliopisto University in Finland, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Department of Peace Studies in the UK…); as well as many other actions and institutions[3].

Recently, the Council of Europe and the European Union have provided us with keys for the development of a new awareness of our

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[3] We are sure that this list is much longer, not only institution-wise but also considering all the individuals who have participated in this Project. As an example, these are some of the projects that have been carried out:

—EDIW (2000) International Seminar: "Education et Citoyenneté européenne en milieu escolaire: expériences et méthodologies actives". Brussels, 27-28 October, 2000. Minutes published in CDRoms and in www.ediw.org

—CICE Thematic Network Project 1998 – 2001: "Preparing Professionals in Education for Issues of citizenship and identity in Europe". London, 2001.

—Ross, A. (Ed.) (2000) Developing Identities in Europe: Citizenship Education and Higher Education. *Proceedings of the Second Conference of Children´s Identity and Citizenship in Europe Thematic Network*, Athens.

—PRO.DO.C.S. Decennio Internazionale per l´Educazione ai Diritti Umani. 1995 – 2004. Italy.

—Bartolome, M et al. (2000) *La construcción de la identidad en contextos multiculturales*. Ministerio de Educación y Deporte y CIDE.

—Bartolomé, N (Coord.) (2000) *Identidad y ciudadanía. Un reto a la educación intercultural*. Narcea: Madrid.

—Marco, B. (2002) (Coord.) *Educación para la ciudadanía. Un enfoque basado en el desarrollo de competencias*. Apuntes IEPS, Nº 67. Narcea: Madrid.

— Associaçao Luso-espanhola de Pedagogie (ALEP) (2001) Formación de profesores de centros de Primaria y Secundaria en Educación para la Ciudadanía. Sponsored by the European Social Fund (E.S.F.) within Measures 5: "For the Training Teachers for Centres of Primary and Secondary Education (5/5.1/NOR/806-003/PRODEP/2001)".

—González, J.: Löwenstein, W.; Malek, M. (1999) Humanitarian Development Studies in Europe. Assessment of Universitiesù Training and NGOS´ Needs. Thematic Network on Humanitarian Development Studies. Deusto University.

—Malhiero, M. (2000) Education a la Citoyenneté en milieu scolaire au Portugal en EDIW (2000): International Seminar "Education et Citoyenneté Européenne en milieu scolaire: expériences et méthodologies actives". Brussels, 27-28 October.

—Abreu, G. "From Crying to Controlling: how Portuguese Girls Adapted to their Secondary Schools in England". Portuguese Children in UK and Channel Islands Schools: Working Conference. University of Luton, 19-20 November.

European nature and have contributed to the development of European Identity favouring exchanges and partnerships as well as generating better knowledge between people, countries, institutions and cultures. In the first part of this Seminar we will be able to verify the scope of these contributions when discussing European Programmes and their Actions.

We would like to identify the elements that intervene in the process of European Identity development. In some cases, cognitive systems play a role since there is relevant or adequate content to be learnt. In other cases, the realm of affections and feelings intervenes. The former are necessary yet insufficient to develop the feeling of belonging. We would like to highlight how the various elements in the process come into play; that is, through what educational proposals, activities and learning situations European Identity can be developed.

In conclusion, we would like to echo two authorized voices from our recent past:

The first quote is from Jean Monnet. He was able to crystallize the challenge of the new Europe using these words: "Our Union is not of States but of People"[4]. If Europe remains an abstract idea, the adhesion and identification of individuals is impossible. What we are proposing here, what we are searching for together, is an educational system which forms individuals who are capable of respecting each other´s differences and standing together to build this shared space, open to the world and generous with the areas of the globe in which people lack everything that we take for granted every day: water, food, housing, respect and personal freedom.

The second quote belongs to Edgard Morin (1990) who alerts us to something essential to European culture: its capacity to question and reconsider all certainties: "What is important about European culture is not only the main ideas, but rather these ideas and its opposites: the European spirit lies not only in plurality and change but in the dialogue between pluralities which brings about change. The European spirit lies not in the production of what is new as such, but in the antagonism between what is old and what is new"[5].

The European Identity which we are contributing to build demands educational processes in which educators feed the difficult processes of daring to innovate and of burying the roots in the best accomplishments of European culture; of asserting one´s nature while acknowledging the

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[4] Speech. Washington, April 30, 1952.
[5] Morin, E. (1990) *Penser Europa*. Paris: Gallimard, p. 150.

multiple faces of the human diamond; of enjoying the achievements and of knowing how to share them with those who have followed other paths in their history; of living in peace and of struggling so that peace becomes the heritage of mankind.

Salamanca. October 18th, 2002

Block 1

Europe From an Educational Perspective

1.
What do we Mean When we Say Europe?

Mercedes Samaniego Boneu

Jean Monnet Chair of History of European Integration
University of Salamanca, Spain

What Europe was or thought it was: the Eurocentrism of past centuries

To talk about European identity, to refer to the Europe that we are re-building, is an exercise in delicate and clichéd reflection. Delicate for, although we are dealing with an area in which the consensuses reached are broad, the existence of disagreements in such a current debate are just as commonplace. And for the same reason, and precisely because the debate about the future of the European Union is so topical, it is almost impossible to avoid falling into the trap of repetitions.

Despite all this, the thoughts resulting not from these pages, but rather the approach of this Seminar we are participating in, are an indication of the importance we keep giving to the task of finding and strengthening identity traits for the Europe of the 21st century, for the great Europe many of us Europeans feel committed to.

In this respect, it so happens that while we continue to investigate what we want to be, or with what Europe we identify, it is necessary to give access to history as the guarantor of what we were, at least of the way we were during what we chronologically call modern times, two centuries that recount the still recent passing of our continent.

And with this passing of time, we immediately run into that proud "Eurocentrism" with which we have made the history of the last two hundred years, and that is perhaps one of the sombre moments of our past. Not so much because we seemed to ignore other realities, but rather by recognizing the importance of Europe, at least that of a number of its great nations, we were lending credibility, whether cons-

ciously or not, to historical phenomena that are analysed in a more critical manner nowadays.

Indeed, in the words Le Goff, Europe frequently succumbed to the temptation "of confusing European civilization with universal civilization, of wanting to create the world in its image."[1] And it similarly succumbed to the temptation of refusing to openly accept its "shared mistakes and sins", which do not tarnish the brilliance of historic successes which according to Helmut Schmidt can be explained by traits attributable to "the Greeks, Romans and Christians, common to our cultures and that we have gradually adopted and assimilated during more than one thousand years of history."[2]

As a matter of fact, the undeniable contemporary leadership of Europe became a reference during stages much closer to us in time, the moment that, following WWII, there was a will to regain lost prominence, a situation that the countries who were the victors in the struggle did not resign themselves to. It was fundamentally about returning to a certain level of power without which it seemed impossible to lift post-war Europe up.

However, if this attitude was a incentive for European recovery, it would be unfair to ignore how the quest for peace, the definitive understanding between age-old adversaries was also present in that construction of Europe in 1945; renowned Europeanists fought at times intrepidly for the pacification of the people of Europe, some of them undeservedly branded for becoming polarized around the exclusive search for economic progress as the fundamental element of a plan of calculated rapprochement between rivals. If indeed it was necessary to give concrete expression to this plan in economic formulations, one must not overlook how shared material development was the key to a lasting peace beyond forms of behaviour based on highly individual interests, and, perhaps above all, at a time when the memory of countless dramatic splits at the very heart of Europe was excruciating.

In those circumstances, the looking back at past glories was done not so much to consider a return to a prominence that had to be at the very least shared with the new powers leading the world, but to see how to re-discover the keys to Europe's thousand-year-old heritage, in that attempt to survive the effects of a war that had changed the world.

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[1] Le Goff, J. (1994) *La vieille Europe et la nôtre,* Paris: Seuil. p. 66.

[2] Schmidt, H. (2002) *La autoafirmación de Europa,* Perspectivas para el siglo XXI, Barcelona: Galaxia Gutemberg, Círculo de Lectores. p. 171.

What we are: "Is there a European Identity?"

The topical question of European identity is not new, even though it seems to concern us more deeply nowadays as the changes at a global level apparently affect us more directly.

We have the impression that the European Union is focussing the debate on how to bring out our identity as a European society. Let us not be deluded however; such advances do not always result in what is commonly referred to as "more Europe", nor are they a sign of a higher degree of closeness among the region and people around us, of an increase in mutual appreciation of the enlarged Europe we are heading towards.

Firstly, there the difficulty in defining the European identity, in particular if one wants to delineate it clearly. For one thing, in order to identify oneself it is necessary to have a clear "idea of oneself and of others, which implies the acknowledgment of a certain difference, and, in fact, that of belonging to a community. [A growing problem], if, as Prof. Dumoulin points out, we frame it in the context of that vast and complex loss in values and certainties that is marking our time"[3].

In this sense and in accordance with reality, a "polyidentity" is bestowed on contemporary man, not referring to multiple identities of the person, but "only to one made up of all the elements that have given shape to it"[4], which is almost a permanent feature in our world in which one can no longer speak of loyalty to one single identity without this presupposing the denial of one's own roots. On the other hand, "globalization confirms the mixing in several spheres and can constitute an element of universal reference [...]"[5], valid in these sort of matters.

In the sphere we operate in, Europe is a multi-dimensional reality, and for this reason is "recognized and understood in its historical dimension, as diverse and subjected to movements of construction and destruction during the course of time, which perhaps represents one of the most prominent identity traits."[6] It does not seem, then, that the

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[3] Dumolin, M. (1998) *Identité européenne et légitimité du projet européen*, in the work edited by Toussignat, Nicole: *Les identités de l'Europe: repères et perspectives.* Actes du Colloque tenu à Louvain-la-Neuve le 9 mai 1996, Université Catholique de Louvain, pp. 7 y 11.

[4] Marin, M.ª Angeles (2000) *La construcción de la identidad en la época de la mundialización y los nacionalismos*, in the work coordinated by Bartolomé Pina Margarita: *Identidad y ciudadanía. Un reto a la educación intercultural*, Madrid, Narcea S.A. de Ediciones, pp. 31-32.

[5] *Ibid.,* p. 27.

[6] Cf. M. Dumoulin, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

European identity lies in a homogeneity that could make specificities of special interest disappear, but rather that "the fact that Europe is a mosaic of languages, of cultures and of traditions, leads some to imagine that European loyalty will come about without common traits and different cultures being eroded"[7], an aspect that one must really keep in mind from the beginning, in the face of an already-existing intercultural future and in order not to undervalue the richness that diversity generates.

Even if we consider the present existence of a "European identity" a given, questions of concern come up when we ask ourselves how this identity has arisen, what its origin is in a short time. Many are those who attribute its consolidation to the imperious pressures of the second post-war period and, therefore, as G. Bossuat points out, it is nothing but the product of "coincidences, the mechanical result of the debilitation of nation-States […], a response to economic and commercial globalization, to the dissemination of a standardized culture and the establishment of a consumerist society […]."[8] A mechanistic vision that will doubtlessly have to be compared to other, more historically significant ones.

On the other hand, there is no lack of detractors of the European identity, who argue that there is a scarcity of clearly traceable, historical referents. Unlike what is happening with national identities, the question of what elements, what symbols have up to very recently represented the aforementioned Europeanness is being raised. Those who deny the existence of European identifiers, attempt to show how Community institutions currently act alone in favour of an almost ethereal identity that seldom materializes in visible signs.

Such assumptions are based most particularly on the observation that we have not progressed in the same rhythm in the construction of a European identity as that achieved in economic integration. That is why, so Luykx wrote, there is a "dysfunction [between both integration formulae], given that the economic one "is advancing too speedily" and European identification "going too slowly"[9]. A gap that could explain, partially at least, why we are now seeking to strengthen a common identity supposedly light years behind our material integrative achievements.

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[7] *Ibid.,* p. 13.

[8] Bossuat, Gérard: *Histoire des peuples européens et identité commune*, *op. cit.,* edited by N. Toussignant, p. 41.

[9] Luyckx, Marc: *Réflexions prospectives sur l'identité européenne, op. cit.,* edited by N. Toussignant, p. 124.

On the one hand, there are numerous well-known approaches of a different nature inclined to elaborate on the existence of a European identity in operation today. As a counterpoint to our affirmation, we refer to Václav Havel's Letter on the European Identity, presented before the European Parliament in 1994, and that still is one of the outstanding texts with regard to the identity of the whole of Europe. The arguments used by the author recount the presence of elements that distinguish and unite us in that destiny of building a new Europe, "an answer to the historic challenge of the present and the sad experiences of the past."[10] Notwithstanding all this, a few years later, he acknowledges the "scarce tradition of conscious Europeanness" in such a way that the revival of this concern among Europeans also seems to demonstrate that Europe is reconsidering its role in the world, is becoming aware of its otherness in the world with regard to a "multicultural, multipolar world, in which recognizing one's own identity is a prerequisite for coexisting with other identities."[11] It seems needless to underscore Havel's preoccupation about giving some consistency to a recognizable identity that has nevertheless not fully taken root in broad social strata in Europe.

Truth be told, negating European identity would be tantamount to denying our entire past heritage and our current reality. Consequently and although there is an attempt to omit this obvious fact, it manifests itself chiefly in the existence of a common way of being, the complexity of which eludes us. By way of generalization, and in the words of the German Edmund Ohlendorf, "the acceptance of common values implies the creation of a community of values."[12]

Hence it is advisable to give concrete expression to these values insofar as possible. Havel does so in the aforementioned Letter, from which we have reproduced a lengthy quote in order to emphasize how "the fundamental European values, ideal and principles are founded on the recognition of tolerance, humanitarianism and fraternity […] Our greatest assets, he continues, are Freedom, Peace, Human Dignity, Equality and Social Justice. [Values] rooted in Antiquity and Christianity, that have evolved over the course to nowadays make up the bedrock

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[10] President of the Czech Republic, Václav HAVEL: *Letter on the European Identity*. Speech to the European Parliament in Strasbourg, 8 March 1994.

[11] Havel, Václav: article in "Catalunya-Europa", the magazine of the "Europar-lamentaris del Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya" (MEPs of the Catalan Socialist Party), 2000, available on web page:

http://www.catalunyaeuropa.org/magazine/debat/identidadeuropea.htm

[12] "Identidad Europea", an educational project to promote the European dimension of teaching, E. Ohlendorf: www.eduvinet.de/eduvinet/es010.htm

of modern democracy […] A set of values that possess clear moral foundations and obvious metaphysical roots regardless of whether modern Man admits it or not." In this reflection the trail of our history becomes clear, which has an undeniable specificity.

In this same line of thought, the Frenchman Dumont similarly alludes to four specific values of our identity: personal dignity, freedom, creativity and the separation of powers that, even though they are also attributes of the western world, in the case of Europe and as regards the commitment to defend human life, these values reach their ultimate expression with "the abolition of capital punishment, solidarity, the equality of an individual's dignity evident in the European social model and inscribed in the welfare State."[13]

It is not necessary to reiterate that our civilization is not unique, but it can be proud "to be one of the oldest […] Christianity lay Europe's spiritual foundations and unified a continent for the first time […] where Churches are the most common and widespread monument. [But especially] where Christianity characterized Europe by its values and moral dimensions. [A civilization] that has withstood without any major ruptures from the time of the great Athenian cities until now […]."[14] Moral values that "create a civic conscience and responsibility, in which social life, industrious, tolerant and a building block of equilibrium and progress usually stand on"[15] even if there is proof of situations that contradict the potentiality of such affirmations.

Along with European identity as an observable and verified reality, another means of identification has emerged, even if not against a future that is less "Communitarian", one that is a little different for it shows itself to be amply localistic, regionalistic, nationalistic. Those who represent this option are the champions of a Europe that is closer to its citizens, that is more accessible. To a certain extent, their vision of a Europe with fifteen Member States or that of an enlarged Europe does not lack a good measure of common sense. For they want globalization to be equivalent to what the President of the European Parliament, Pat Cox, calls "a set of traditions […] present in our sense of region or in our sense of local or national identity", hereby responding to a more or less

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[13] Dumond, Gérard-François: *L'Identité de l'Europe*, Nice, C.R.D.P., 1997, quoted by Carmen Freire da Costa in: *L'identité européenne et les Droits de l'Homme*, European Studies Papers, Università degli Studi di Siena, Centro di Ricerca sull'Integrazaone Europea (C.R.I.E.), no. 2, febrero 2002, p. 11.

[14] Bournazel, Alain & Tarride, Etienne (2002) *L'Europe des réalités*, Paris, Arnaud Franel Editions, Coll. Actualité et Société, see Cap. V: "Sauver l'Europe par les nations".

[15] Ortega Carmona, Alfonso: *Europa como idea y realidad*, Salamanca, Ediciones de la Universidad Pontificia, 1996, p. 181.

unfounded fear in the results of the dehumanizing aspect of globalization. Without therefore denying that Europe, together with its particular localized diversity, "is part of a complex and multiple range of identities"[16], as we have indicated in previous pages.

It is appropriate to add that the current fear of losing a supposed particular identity is usually the hallmark of groups that are radicalized in their political expression. This explains how the new far right defends local and regional interests, rejecting the presence of immigrants and once again claiming an exclusive nationalism expressed in a violent and xenophobic manner. "The weakness of the European left" is blamed for the reappearance of such totalitarian formulations. In our opinion, this explanation needs to be qualified. Nowadays the generalized democratic conscience, despite existing weaknesses, would be enough to eradicate such racist forms of expression, such fanaticism. An educational and civic policy is missing, however, in which the respect for diversity in all its manifestations is inherent in civilized society around us.

"Conscious Europeanism" as a guarantee of the Great Europe

Let us now focus our interest on the near future in which our European identity will have to be re-considered, which no doubt amounts to placing ourselves in a complex situation. For perhaps we have focussed a good deal of our identity in that cultural unity sometimes not very clearly outlined, re-assessing fundamental elements of our history every step of the way, to the detriment of new conceptions on our Europeanism.

"Conscious Europeanism", to which one constantly calls on at present, as the driving force of an enlargement that is just around the corner, goes beyond what we have experienced up to now.

Our belonging to an extensive geographic area that we call Europe; the quest for economic progress coincident with sustainable development which will make our continent long-lasting; socio-political awareness at the basis of a transparent, participatory democratic coexistence; the maintenance of peace in whatever manifestation, all this and much more should reinforce our identity.

A task of consolidating the foundations of our identity, which not implies only implies appealing once again to the lights and shadows of the "collective memory", but also to make it move to become the

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[16] Cox, Pat: in "Europa a debate", no. 1/2002.

"conscience of a European identity […], of European patriotism."[17] The key to such a difficult achievement may lie in the short-term formulation of a Europe united by means of federal, or confederal, ties, or at any rate ties that give the EU, both from within and from without, an image of a Europe whose political commitments compare with its economic, monetary and cultural ones.

The difficulties concerning political union, dating from the very beginnings of the Community, are no mystery to us. In particular as regards reaching a consensus on foreign policy issues. The power of national history, of traditional diplomatic commitments, of circumstantial interests or those interests that have taken root in each country's development, ultimately prevailing over integrative arguments that ultimately go against the individual good of the Member States. How can the move be made towards a form of European patriotism that comprises the whole of Europe?

If such is the reality, will State institutions and national governments have to be the ones who plead for a conscious Europeanism on behalf of citizens? This does not seem to be the best way forward. In the building of the Community, there has been no want of that "Europhoria" that played a significant role in integration; just like there has been no lack of Europessimism that we have bemoaned time and time again. And in both situations, it has been civil society that either accelerated or slowed the common venture down.

The potential of citizens transpires to be a fundamental element in determining the European identity, given that European citizenship not only recognizes individual rights, but also promotes "commonly-accepted rules of interaction [which allow for] the solution of conflicts between different collective identities."[18] By these means, its "active participation in the decision-making of the collectivity, and the attribution of economic and social rights" is thoroughly accepted, which essentially is nothing more than developing the text of the Community Treaties, the purpose of which is "to place the citizen at the heart of European construction."[19] From this place, European identity and the expectations of the people will be favoured.

Nowadays, it is frequently highlighted how civil authorities possess little responsibility in Community life, to such a degree that their role

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[17] Again we refer to Gérard Bossuat, *op. cit.,* pp. 42 and ss.

[18] Nida-Rümelin, J (2002) "Sobre la ciudadanía europea" en *La Vanguardia* de Barcelona, 18 febrero.

[19] Pi llorenz, M. (2002) "*¿Una Europa para los ciudadanos?*", En *La Vanguardia* de Barcelona, 10 marzo.

ends up being mere formulism. In this respect, it is advisable to insist that it is not only Community institutions that have power. We are very much aware that there is no shortfall in angry reactions to what are considered impositions from Brussels. By the same token measures that are not satisfactory are called into question, or else, and this is serious, a broad demobilization takes place, running contrary to a committed participation in Community issues.

The condition of the European citizen presupposes, as we have seen, becoming involved in the task of promoting "conscious Europeanism" to which we aspire and whose scope goes beyond the interests of the EU in order to cover the interests of a world in constant and growing conflict. It is not our intention to detail the "worldwide systemic problems [that exist and go hand-in-hand with] a moral gap."[20] However, we wish to at least attempt to point out how the existence of unfair inequalities calls for new rules of exchange and a genuine cooperation in world trade; how multiculturalism encourages respect on an equal footing with other ideas, other customs, "in the framework of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights […], and with the pros and the cons of a new situation"[21], and in the context of a religious pluralism implying "a culture of dialogue and of peace-building; of recognition of specificity and the wealth of each and every religious tradition [in which] theological exchanges delve into their own spiritual traditions."[22]

When Nicole Fontaine still held the post of President of the European Parliament, she supported what is now one of the Community's most solid aspirations: how the Union, in the space of few years, must become "the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and with a greater social cohesion."[23]

It is advisable to remember that such a situation must take place at the heart of an enlarged Europe, one that shows solidarity vis-à-vis the new members from Central and Eastern Europe, the great Europe that "finds its raison d'être in the two major objectives that the founding Fathers assigned to European construction: peace and prosperity. Expanding the EU means expanding their objectives to those countries not only for reasons of solidarity but also on account of realpolitik. […]

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[20] Held, D. (2002): "La globalización tras el 11 de septiembre", en *El País*, 8 julio.
[21] Miret Magdalena, E. (2002): "El reto de la inmigración islámica", en *El País*, 9 julio.
[22] See editorial: "Pluralismo religioso" in *Novamerica,* no. 93, the magazine published in Brazil.
[23] Editorial of the journal: "Europa a debate", no. 1/2001.

For how would peace withstand all these forms of nationalism, the issue of minorities, of fledgling democracies, at times undermined by corruption and by the spectre of a return […] to past or current wars, that are not to be considered epiphenomena?"[24] In the same sense and even against those who do not vouch for enlargement, Jacques Santer maintains how "[…] the globalization of economic relations and of technological progress result in the fact that not a single country of the European Union possesses the necessary international influence to bring its interests to a successful conclusion alone, interests that moreover are increasingly based at the very heart of the EU's general interest. […] The future enlargement provides a real added value in terms of stability, geopolitically or by way of cultural richness."[25]

In spite of all this, there are increasing doubts not only with regard to the fact of enlarging the EU and the repercussions thereof on the economic prosperity of the current Member States, but also in the face of the undeniable cultural differences of some of the Applicant Countries, although, truth be told, such questions marks are the product of mutual ignorance, for the most part[26].

The only viable solution, whatever political approaches shape the Great Europe in the future, is for the European Union to be, "first and foremost, a territory of communication, of exchanges, of displays of culture and shared creations, based on the marvellous civilization that unites them."[27].

It is not possible, however, to hide the real disaffection that perhaps still lingering between at least some people of Europe. Perhaps this is because a formula for rapprochement that is more civic than institutional, more human than legal, more spontaneous than forced, more communitarian than nationalistic has not yet been found.

To this the following must be added: that numerous scholars of the European Community reality state that its "weakness" is, so it seems, attributable to a democratic deficit, to a decrease in the dynamism of the almighty US, to the difficulties that it is going to have to face up to the moment there are 27 countries in the EU, if the institutional dysfunctions that can appear are not considered in depth beforehand[28].

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[24] In: Malosse, H. et Huchet, B. (2001): *Unifier la Grande Europe*, Bruxelles, Bruyland, Coll., Axes Savoir, Foreword by Jean-Pierre Raffarin.

[25] *Ibid.,* Epilogue by Jacques Santer.

[26] In this connection, Helmut Schmidt recognizes the cultural differences between the EU and Turquey, Romania, Bulgaria, Slovakia, Malta... See *op. cit.,* p. 180 and ss.

[27] See *op. cit.,* by Alain Bournazel and Etienne Tarride, p. 192.

[28] Consult the work by Jean-Paul Fitoussi et Jacques Cacheux (dir.): *Rapport sur l'état de l'Union Européenne.* 2002, Paris, Fayard, Presses de Sciences Po, 2002. pp. 8-9.

As Europeans supposedly confident about the EU's capacity to fulfil their expectations regarding the EU, we insist on the need to strengthen the values that, as aforementioned, have identified Europe during the course of its history. It is necessary to act swiftly: "If, in the next ten years —Delors stated in the mid-nineties— we have not succeeding in giving a spirit, a soul to Europe, we will have lost the game."[29] A little later, the former German chancellor, Schmidt, expressed a similar concern about Europe's beings: "No society can live at long-term peace with itself without a minimum of ethics. Nor will the EU be able to lastingly remain united without a minimum of ethical consensus in European nations. In the past, it was not only the Churches who were bearers of ethical standards, but philosophers, universities, the great scholars and the great educators. In the 20th century, things changed. […] Europe needs commonly accepted ethics covering both rights and obligations. In fact these common ethics, carried on from past centuries, largely exist, although more so in people's unconscious. I believe it is desirable that spiritual and political leaders make ethics emerge in the European public conscience."[30]

However, are these viable approaches in a Europe where it seems economic and financial interests predominate, where violence, xenophobia and terrorism proliferate, or where the excluded are a growing reality? In the questioning words of the young in the debate about the future of Europe: Quo vadis, Europa?

In order to be valid, the answer must be demanding and not fearful of the transformations that our society of the beginning of the XXIst century requires. The globalization we are involved in drags all the burden of the past along with it, for which we are largely responsible. Nevertheless it offers new opportunities for change.

If we are convinced that the EU is based on principles "of freedom, democracy, respect for human rights and for fundamental liberties and the rule of law, let us turn these principles into a standard of behaviour favouring "the fight against all forms of prejudice and exclusion, be it economic, ethnic, cultural or racial."[31] The reflection about the Europe of the future should bring about a committed attitude about the scope of the principles that we have placed at the foundation of our behaviour and that make up the substance of our identity.

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[29] Jacques Delors in a private interview with the Churches, 1994, collected by Marc Luyckx, in *op. cit.,* p. 129.

[30] *Op. cit.,* p. 193.

[31] In the *Novamerica* magazine, no. 93, cit., p. 143, an interview with Cecilia Mariz.

2.
Europe: Meaning and Motive

Antonio López Pina

Jean Monnet Chair of European Legal Culture
Universidad Complutense, Madrid, Spain

Talking about the meaning and motive of Europe is somewhat awkward, and I am not sure of being able to approach the subject from a high enough intellectual standpoint, nor am I sure of being able to express myself in a manner worthy of such a select and experienced group of educators as yourselves.

If the greatest gesture you ask from me is to voice my thoughts, I shall not leave it undone. So, in a globalized world, where the powers *that be* have little or no respect for international law, and where the amounts of capital involved mean that free competition, business ethics and responsibility are no longer an obstacle to profiteering, we find that an objective historical viewpoint, the *purpose* of Europe, coincides with its *meaning*, which can be derived historically from philosophy.

My presentation on the subject will first of all consider the idea and the meaning of Europe. Following on from this, I shall give you my vision of a political Union for freedom, following Kant's idea of a worldwide confederation. By way of conclusion, I shall postulate how European culture may be transmitted via the State school system in a secular manner.

The idea and significance of the *meaning* of Europe[1]

It is impossible to condense the idea and significance of Europe into just a few minutes, so I cannot hope to explain these notions to

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[1] The simplest incarnation of Europe is the myth: one of the most engaging Greek legends from classic mythology is that in which Zeus kidnaps the Syrian maid called

you completely. I shall therefore simply highlight some issues of particular relevance to an alternative educational model, as opposed to the increasing market values, consumption and disrespect for the rule of law and wars to which we are all accustomed.

Despite the fact that I have roamed around a Europe which ranges from Cádiz, Palermo and Athens to Paris, Oxford and Dublin via Prague, Berlin and St Petersburg, the real Europe that I have discovered on my wide-eyed wanderings is in fact all about a spiritual adventure. It is for this reason that I intend to start off by offering you a vision of Europe where philosophy is very much in the foreground. In any case, this is only part of the bigger picture, since the notion of Europe also encompasses its own historical pedigree within our continent and its influence on the rest of the world.

The philosopher's Europe

The philosopher's Europe is vast; however for the purposes of this paper I shall offer a summary of its Humanistic elements. We can see this tendency originating in the *Dialogues* by Plato (428-347 BC), the *res publica* theory postulated by Cicero (106-43 BC), and the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius (AD 121-180); these ideas are described by Burckhardt in Renaissance Italy[2] and permeate the works of philosophers from Locke, Erasmus, Galileo, Newton, Voltaire and Diderot to Lessing, Kant, Goethe, Marx, Bertrand Russell and Ernst Bloch[3].

Europe, the daughter of Agenor, king of Tyre, from the isle of Crete. The kidnapping has been immortalized various different ways in art: the frieze in Selinonte (6th century BC, Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale) with a religious aura; courting in Pompey (2nd century BC, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale); as bounty in Titian's version (1559-1562, Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum); and finally against a background of prosperity full of *raffinatezza* and sensuality in the Veronese version (1528-1588, Rome, Musei Capitolini).

   [2] Cfr. J. Buckhardt, *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien*, Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1989.

   [3] Such is the tendency discovered by Burckhardt in Renaissance Italy (from Petrarch [*Epistola*, 1336–1353; 1304-1374] and Pico della Mirandola [*De dignitate hominis*, 1486; 1463-1494] to Francisco de Vitoria [*Theologicae Relectiones*, 1557; 1486 - 1546]) and which underlies the work of Locke (*Two essays regarding civil government; On Tolerance; Essay concerning Human Understanding*; 1632-1704), Erasmus (1469–1536), Galileo (1564–1642), Newton (1642–1727), Voltaire (*Essai sur les moeurs; Traité sur la tolerance*, 1694-1778) and Diderot (*L'Encyclopedie*, 1751, 1713–1784) and also Lessing (*Nathan der Weise*, 1779, 1729-1781), Kant (*Was ist Aufklärung?*, 1784; 1724-1804), Goethe (1749–1832), Marx (1818–1883), Bertrand Russell (1872–1970) and Ernst Bloch (*Das Prinzip Hoffnung*, 1959, 1885-1980).

Among a multiplicity of contents, the value attributed to the Ancient World stands out particularly, from Petrarch (1304-1374) and Goethe (1749-1832) to the English writer Matthew Arnold (1822-1888). Humanism is a secular movement, encompassing the notions of spiritual revival and the moral promotion of man. By this token, man is placed at the centre of the world and makes himself the subject of the entire universe. Humanism stated that man was the measure for all things, and could be the ultimate foundation; moreover, philosophy was to be a means for finding out about life and the problems faced by humanity as a whole. So, despite leading a terrestrial existence, man —representing the pinnacle of creation and the essential link between all creatures— was also able to lift himself high enough to communicate with God himself; indeed, in the final analysis it was this very ability to achieve union with the divine that Pico della Mirandola celebrated in his essay on human dignity (1486)[4]. The Italians Humanists were to find this series of ideas and beliefs embodied by Petrarch; the 18th century philosophers were inspired by Locke, Thomas Mann by Goethe, and William James by Montaigne. Even now, those of us who teach the Humanities to young people have sought to initiate our pupils into such a tradition.

Today, I would like to highlight just a very few of the many fundamental tenets of the humanist tradition: *virtù vince fortuna,* the post-Renaissance belief that strength can overcome any adversity; man's *moral autonomy*; and, finally, the power of negation, of critical reasoning without sacrificing tolerance of other ideas.

Virtù vince fortuna

With the Renaissance, the Ancient World became an alternative model, not just for rhetoric and literature but also for the most important artform of them all, the art of living —this included private life, overcoming adversity, and public life, converting the State into a work of art. Such emphasis on man's creative potential and his freedom to shape his own life gave rise to personality and a growing self-consciousness, which is reflected in the increased number of portraits, self-portraits, biographies and autobiographies executed in a realistic manner, considered by Burckhardt to be a characteristic feature of Italian Renaissance. The main theme of Humanism was man's potential, his creative faculties. In this way, Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472),

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[4] vid. Pico della Mirandola, *Oratio*, 1486.

author of *Religio, Virtus, Fatum et Fortuna, Intercenales* (1437), believed that man was able to rise above both adversity and chance. The movement made for a self-assured society, hungry for success and eager to achieve glory and immortality. Such progressive secularity of values was reflected in a sharp awareness of history, which now disregarded the effects of Providence and attributed all achievements and failures to the results of human effort. With the passage of time, the recently perceived *immanence* would reveal the double-edged nature of cultural secularisation, namely anomic and amoral behaviour correlating to disbelief alongside the equally present impulse for human creation and the characteristics which I shall now discuss.

Man's moral autonomy

The human being has his own value, with human dignity (Pico della Mirandola, *Horatio,* 1486) being the ultimate source of all other values and of human rights. Dignity is the root of man's latent powers: the ability to create and communicate —via language, the arts, sciences and institutions—, to contemplate oneself, to speculate, to imagine, to reason. In contrast to man's technological vision —whereby man is seen as part of the divine order— or his scientific vision —in which he is part of the natural order, and never central to it—, Humanism situates man squarely at the centre of human experience, which man himself also occasions. Neither religious faith as part of a divine order nor scientific research as part of a natural order are excluded from this vision; it is nevertheless supposed that, as is the case for any other system of belief, religious faith and scientific research are authenticated by experience.

With dignity established as a concept during the Renaissance, Kant (1724-1804) made it the basis of *moral autonomy,* a characteristic of Enlightenment Man. Man's duties and obligations were now self-imposed: they arose from his own sense of duty, and were no longer imposed by an external religious faith, neither was pressure exerted by man's material or social surroundings. As a consequence of enlightened thought, man's moral behaviour led him to believe that he was the master of his own actions, and therefore free. Free perhaps, but not without a regulatory framework: Kant went on to determine morality by a categorical imperative: *behave in such a way that at any moment your conduct may be a principle of universal legislation.*

Inspired by Kant, and in a vision which bears a close resemblance to that of the Renaissance, Max Weber (1864-1920) postulated that the origins of capitalism were to be found in spiritual autonomy: ideas

are relatively independent not only of their context but also of social class and instinct[5].

The power of negation, critical reasoning without sacrificing tolerance of other ideas

For the Enlightenment prophets, reason was the liberating force by which one is able to overcome obstacles inherited from the past —constraints and prohibitions imposed by habits, earlier laws and authoritarian institutions— and by which fear and superstitions may be dispelled. Such beliefs, exploited by the Church, were considered a hindrance suffered by man on the road to full development. The 18th century philosophers believed that reason originally had an instrumental use, as a support mechanism for raising delicate or embarrassing questions, and also served to expose the empty, orthodox nature of conventional wisdom. The Enlightenment saw reason being applied critically to authority, traditions and conventions, whether to do with religion, law, government or habits. Whereas Christianity had postulated salvation, philosophers used the lure of the emancipation resulting from man's moral autonomy in their use of critical reasoning. Such critical reasoning, whereby everything is called into question, is the principal maxim of universality, which nourishes European culture. Furthermore, these same philosophers fought to wipe out the Ancient Regime and in its stead establish a State governed by the rule of law and based on equality, freedom of thought and freedom of expression. This included the constitution of a secular State, governed by representative institutions and whose mandate would include keeping legislation and interference with personal freedom and private enterprise to a minimum.

A thought, a principle or a piece of evidence was for some time considered to be the foundation for absolute truth, but these same thoughts et cetera would then be called into question by the next generation, and European culture would again be dogged by the problematic nature of knowledge. Highly original on the one hand —the heir to Greek philosophy, offspring of Judeo-Christianity and creator of modern science and reasoning—, European culture nevertheless derives its vitality and merit from the fact of having harboured a tremendous amount of tension at its very heart: religion and reason; faith and doubt; mythical and critical thought; rationalism and empiricism; universality and individuality; philosophy and science; humanistic and scientific

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[5] Max Weber, *Schriften zur Religionssoziologie*.

culture; antiquity and tradition versus novelty and change; reaction and revolution; immanence and transcendence, and so on. We can witness a constant clash of ideas in European culture: Faust's thirst for knowledge, for instance, conjures up Mephistopholes, the spirit of negation. Negative thought —the negation of reality in Hegelian terms— is the energy which enlivens the spirit. Such negativity can be found in many different guises —doubt, irony, rebellion or protest— but must never be confused with scepticism or pessimism. Doubt, for instance, is not just present in Montaigne's meditation but also in Descartes' method; it is a part of Hume's empiricism and is inherent to Pascal's faith.

In the theatre, Hamlet was the physical embodiment of doubt. Don Quixote, Faust[6] and Don Juan are all protagonists of a failed quest for the absolute. Each one of them, in his own way, denied finitude, believed in the unlimited, and deliberately ignored the principle of reality at the very moment when the world of science, capitalism and the middle classes was experiencing phenomenal vivacity, based on the selfsame principle of reality. European literature has always borne negativity, the result of failures and sufferings, a vision of undefined progress and of conquering the planet.

European genius is the fruit of tension and of the communication that takes place between the diverse elements involved in historical change, and is present in both continuous renewal and in the tension between old and new. Of crucial importance to European cultural evolution is the productive meeting of variations, coincidences and negation. Opposing forces survive each dialectical crisis, but without ever succumbing to one another; instead, the argument is pushed onwards and develops greater scope. European culture does not just experience these oppositions, conflicts and crises, they are in actual fact its life-blood. Opposing ideas are no less important than dominant beliefs such as Christianity, Humanism, reason and science[7].

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 [6] Cfr. Marshall Berman, *All That is Solid Melts into Air. The Experience of Modernity*, London: Verso, 1983.

 [7] Díez del Corral, Luis. El rapto de Europa, 1974; Guillén, Claudio. Múltiples moradas, 1998; Horst Stuke, Aufklärung, in Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe. Historisches Lexikon zur politisch – sozialen Sprache in Deutschland, Hrsg. Von O. Brunner; Conze, W.; R. Koselleck, 1979; Duroselle, J.B. L'Idée d'Europe dans l'Histoire, 1965; Schneider, P. … ein einzig Volk von Brüdern, 1987; P. Gay, The Enlightenment, v. I, The Rise of Modern Paganism, London, 1970; id. Dichter, Denker, Jakobiner. Aufklärung und Revolution, Hamburg: Rowohlt Verlag 1973; Zu Begriff und Problem der Renaissance, August Buck Hrsg. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1969; Paul Valery, Note (or L'Européen), in Revue universelle, Paris, 15 July 1924 - Oeuvres, Paris:

When examining the motives for Europe's cultural boom, secularism stands out with particular prominence. It is no longer just a question of Humanism, reason and science —the most significant products of European culture— being essentially secular; instead, it is a question of no issue ever having escaped controversy in Europe, with cultural life having dragged the previously untouchable dogmas of religion and politics into the secular debate. Such widespread secularisation was without precedent in any other culture, even Greek civilization. Although universality is certainly present in other cultures —Buddhism and Islam, for instance, are also universal religions— it is nevertheless true that nowhere apart from in Europe has universality been the main driving force; what is more, Europe managed to create a non-religious universality.

Reason is considered by enlightened Humanism to be more valuable for its critical and pragmatic application to the moral, social and political problems of human experience than as an element in the construction of a philosophical system. Instead of attempting to impose a series of values or symbols, Humanism has taken on board the assumption that the truth can be reached via different routes, and that it is necessary to perceive other cultures —Ancient Greek, Chinese, Roman, Indian— on their own terms. In this way, Locke, Voltaire and Lessing ranked tolerance as an essential value for Enlightenment Man[8].

Europe's historical pedigree within our continent and as an influence on the rest of the world

At the end of the 19th century, Europe seemed to be at its peak: it was ruling the world and while Europeans no longer considered their culture and civilization to be superior, they certainly saw them as a vehicle for truth. The rest of the world was only able to develop if it assimilated European instrumental reasoning, that is to say our own industrial and military technology. Furthermore, cultural rationalization was at the heart of Europe's triumph over the planet, and was the very thing that obliged history to dance to Europe's tune (Hegel)[9].

Gallimard (Collection La Pléïade), 1977; Bullock, A. The Humanist Tradition in the West, London: Thames and Hudson, 1985; Morin, E. Penser l'Europe, Paris: Gallimard, 1987).

[8] Vid. Locke, John. *On Tolerance* ; Voltaire, *Traité sur la tolerance*; Lessing, *Nathan der Weise*, 1779, *Gedichte. Fabeln. Dramen, Lessings Werke*, Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1967; Philotas, Lesings *Nathan der Weise,* Berlin: Deutsches Theater, 1993 / 1994.

[9] Hegel, Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte. Theorie Werkausgabe, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1970.

So, it is possible to conclude from Enlightenment hypotheses that all power is subject to abuse (Lord Acton) and that law is created with the aim of controlling such power[10]. On the other hand, fanaticism, arrogance and the *sleep of reason* (Goya), and the earthly utopias of salvation, capitalist exploitation and imperialism have all been European demons. The enemies of mankind all bear our hallmarks: greed, crime and a passion for power during the Renaissance; the intolerance displayed by the Inquisition was a forerunner to the religious wars of the 17th century; worship of the free market, totalitarianism and the atomic bomb are all European inventions. In fact nobody has combined barbarism, science, technology and disregard for law with quite the same aplomb as ourselves, and we are now grieved by these things wherever we go.

Whereas *precisely and uniquely in the West, an original concatenation of circumstances has determined the appearance of cultural phenomena which seem to be involved in an evolutionary dimension of universal scope and validity*[11], as Max Weber stated, secularization has experienced quite the opposite problems from those just described.

At this stage, therefore, as we witness Europeans in their veneration of reason, the results of our analysis could hardly be more ambivalent.

The overriding *purpose* of Europe: as a political Union to promote freedom; Europe's place in a worldwide Confederation for solidarity and peace

When it comes to educating young people with a view to emancipation and citizenship, our attention is immediately drawn to European culture and its contradictory influence. However, this is just one element to be taken into account. While it is true that our youth has Humanism, the Enlightenment, instrumental reason, science and technology —as we have observed them here— at its disposal in order to shape the future, we must nevertheless take a world view when considering how to influence the young people of our society spiritually. Furthermore, it would be of no use to introduce illusions, since our young people have the right to be given un unadulterated vision of

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[10] The constitutional State (Kant; Fichte; von Humboldt) signifies overcoming the natural State, in which man is a threat to fellow men (Hobbes), and using laws instead of men to govern.

[11] Vid. Max Weber, Vorbemerkung zu den gesammelten Aufsätzen zur Religionssoziologie, in *Soziologie, Weltgeschichtliche Analysen, Politik*, 1968.

reality. Let us not beat about the bush: in this day and age the fact of the matter is that a combination of capital and certain reactionary movements, ill-informed grey- or black-shirted populism and Johnny-come-lately fundamentalism has put a check on freedom. At stake is the freedom of our existence, and therefore that of all human beings, and on trial is our political will as citizens, and that of our youth, to construct Europe as the only possible response to such threats.

In an attempt to face up to current challenges, I shall speak first of all about the aims of constructing Europe institutionally, and the motives for doing so.

Europe as a projected political union to promote freedom

Freedom is under siege: from private economic power on the one hand, and on the other hand, from the catalogue of evils that I have just described.

The classic relationship between a social, democratic and constitutional State and market economics —whereby companies respected the social rights of workers— came to an end in the 1970s. In sharp contrast to what Hobsbawm described as the *golden age* (1945-1975), the internationalisation of economic relationships has freed capital from the ties imposed by State control, but currently there exists no political power to intervene in order to counter-balance the international economic "dis-order". The fact that it is so difficult for our States to protect social rights and act as guarantors of freedom is just one consequence of this new state of affairs. Hegel (1799-1815) and Hermann Heller (1927) foresaw the subversion of constitutional States, to be replaced by a handful of private rights, and feudal capitalism as we have know it in Europe since the 1980s; however, not even this foresight was able to predict the extremes that such a threat to our freedom would reach, as those embodied today by private economic power and rampant globalization.

On the other hand, freedom is currently going through a critical phase at the hands of highwaymen such as the gang who held up the White House —ENRON, Halliburton, Arthur-Andersen, Merrill Lynch and WorldCom—, Palazzo Chigi and his band of men, the *Jihad* or Sharon's warmongering Zionism, and the racism of governments and emerging groups in Europe. All of the aforementioned have stretched the rule of law to breaking point and have struck fear into the heart of every honest citizen. The 11th of September and growing levels of fear in our towns and cities have been talked about *ad nauseam*. However,

there is no doubt that for some of us unbridled competition, the carving up of the social fabric, economic insecurity as a consequence of the scarcity of jobs, pensions, globalization and change also scare some of us; the effect of such fear has been the lending of credibility to declarations in favour of making our freedoms subordinate to public order. So, if we are to consider terrorism as a problem that needs to be solved, or if we regard immigration as the phenomenon that it is, we end up thinking of them as threats which have a determining effect on policy, and security becomes the supreme value governing legislation. The response to terrorism which we employed until recently, and the response that our governments are now trying to apply to immigration, would result in an *aggiornata* version of an emergency police state. Europe is closing its doors. A totalitarian state at the market's beck and call, exploitation *compris*, on the one hand, and an emergency police state on the other.

Such a ridiculous obsession with security —which puts social disintegration in the same bag as elements quite distinct from it— has a doubly negative effect. On the one hand, our attention is drawn away from the fact that privatization of public services, the central place occupied by free competition and salvation of the individual as part of a neo-liberal discourse have not only made public space —which is after all the only space in which we are all equals— disappear, and that the same has also happened to the idea of the common good and general interest. On the other hand, concerns over security have ended up strengthening right-wing populist movements which destabilize European democracies such as Italy (the *Forza Italia Silvio Berlusconi - Allianza Nationale - Legha Norte* coalition, April 2001), Denmark (the *Venstre - Dänische Volkspartei* coalition, November 2001), France (*Front National*, April 2002), the Netherlands (*Pim Fortuyn List*, May 2002) and Portugal (2002). Today, as before, it ought not to be a question of sacrificing rights and freedoms in the name of economic initiatives or security; instead, to paraphrase Kant and Hobbes, it should be a question of achieving equality in terms of security and freedom in the public arena, in which we should all be equal as citizens. In other words, we should all enjoy the same levels of freedom and security irrespective of our financial situation or social class.

So, if on the one hand we are to be called upon to defend freedom, then on the other hand, and to at least the same extent, we must take common concerns seriously and explain to people of all age groups the inadequacy of measures such as political and economic protectionism, reactionism behind national or European borders, and putting ourselves in the hands of extreme right-wing governments or

majority groups. Globalization transcends national borders and renders States unable to face up to such challenges unaided. We need multilateral cooperation, and Union is the only political device available to Europeans as a way of influencing the course of events. For this reason, we must fortify the institutions of a political Union for freedom.

Europe's place *in a worldwide Confederation for solidarity and peace*

It seems to be a generalization of our time that we are changing radically, that we are leaving one phase in the history of Mankind and starting out on a brand new, unknown era. Well, in the current climate it seems that, regarding the future, we are putting our European way of life at risk and the outcome will not depend on our actions here but instead will be based on how we operate outside our own borders. This is nothing more than a consequence of the way in which we govern. Not only are our way of life, the manner in which we govern and our dealings with the outside world linked, they are also reciprocally inter-dependent. We cannot expect to continue combining solidarity and autonomy, cooperation and competition for much longer on a national level: the constraints imposed by globalization on the one hand, and preserving our peculiarly European mixture of democracy, social market economics, cultural diversity and awareness of the fundamental nature of the environment for our own existence on the other hand, require action to be taken on a global level.

This in itself would seem challenging enough. The problem is that, when globalization turns out to be a mere front for attacks on freedom, devastation of the planet and American colonization, the required response takes on epic proportions. Human rights, democracy, peace and economic prosperity are all still threatened by the negative facets of globalization: growing inequalities between the rich and the poor, between countries, and even within the same country; the spread of disease and hunger; destruction of the environment; drug trafficking, money laundering, terrorism and arms proliferation.

We are not well equipped to combat such threats. Globalization of markets has overtaken the progress being made by international institutions, and has outstripped the mechanisms required to contain economic forces so as to bring them into line with our social values. Our global governing bodies are not balanced: economic government —the Group of Seven (G7), World Bank (WB), International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Trade Organization (WTO)— is more advanced

than social or environmental government, the institutional framework of which is either weak (the International Labour Organization [ILO]) or simply non-existent. Furthermore, worldwide institutions function like exclusive clubs, in which a minute clutch of rich countries take decisions on behalf of the rest. After all, the institutions are specialized according to different sectors, and for the moment it looks as though we are not going to formulate an overall vision which, for instance, might simultaneously cover the relationship between trade, economic growth, work and the environment.

We are still far from reaching a global commitment of solidarity which covers both free trade concerns on the one hand and joint development on the other. Neither will it be easy to reach such an agreement, but in any case we must look further afield: the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the World Trade Organization and International Labour Organization should all surrender the protagonism they currently enjoy, and sit down together as part of a round table meeting to negotiate a global social and ecological contract. Unless such a contract materializes, it is impossible to see how we can maintain our high standards of social rights and environmental protection in Europe.

It is not just desirable to live in a different world —without the serfdom imposed on some and the *carte blanche* given to others, a more equal place where people are genuinely free—, it is also possible. Europe can contribute to the emergence of such a world in which man can live with dignity, one which counts with the rules necessary to guarantee peace. This alternative, whereby Europe helps to determine international relations, is a response to the interests of Europeans and of Humanity in general, which today finds itself wanting in terms of legislation to cover financial, economic and political processes, and thus guarantee freedom. It is precisely as a counterbalance to capitalist intentions and the hegemony of the current United States government —the same administration responsible for sinking a law-abiding world order which favours mankind— that people are now starting to invoke Europe. The German foreign minister, Joschka Fischer, is in favour of a more egalitarian form of globalization; well, if this is to be achieved then a super-power Europe is indispensable.

The Union's biggest challenge is therefore to assert itself on the world stage as a political and strategic partner on an even footing with America. The Western alliance cannot simply mean abiding silently by America's plans, which tend to push us away from decision-making roles in world politics. It is common practice in Washington to take control of world affairs when serious issues are at stake, such as the Middle East, Afghanistan and Iraq, where oil is involved; in such cases,

diplomatic, economic and defence policy are all in American hands. The European Union cannot resign itself to merely occupying an administrative role, while the Americans assign themselves to the cockpit. At meetings in Doha (Doha agenda for development via liberalization of trade, November 2001), Monterrey (cooperation for development, 2002) and Johannesburg (sustainable development, August 2002), the political and economic significance of the European Union obliged our representatives to function as a world power. It was incumbent upon us to respect a politically, economically, socially and culturally autonomous Europe; in the midst of increasing social and economic imbalances and growing insecurity on a global level, this Europe was seen to champion sustainable development, the resolution of regional conflicts via dialogue and cooperation, and regulated globalization —in short, the only solution compatible with our values.

Why is it that Europe is continually invoked as a source of hope for so many men and women, irrespective of their geographic situation or social and cultural background? Fundamentally, it is because of our promise (which has been broken so many times over the years) to be the bearers of a message delivering solidarity and peace. If the Union were to have greater outside influence, it would be possible to curb the American tendency to abuse power, and would revitalize our alliance with the other, emerging America, itself more faithful to the enlightened beliefs of the founding fathers. For as long as the status quo remains, the United States will maintain its calculatedly ambiguous stance whereby on the one hand its imperial *placet* is granted to multilateralism when it is not affected, and on the other hand, its own strategies are imposed with overwhelming force when it suits the current conservative governing groups to do so.

The fact that the Americans have been prepared to accept multilateralism in the World Trade Organization is only thanks to the fact that Europe is now a commercial power with enough might to deal with the United States on equal terms. One can also imagine that if the euro is successful over the coming months then it may sway —or even overcome— American resistance to reforms in the international finance system.

Another of our assets is cultural diversity. In this way, we are the best-equipped authority to resist monopolies in the audiovisual industry, the flood of consumer goods and the uniformity imposed on us by multinational companies. When faced with such an *enjeu* in terms of civilization, our struggle for the diversity of European cultures in the face of Anglo-Saxon capitalism is also an encouraging reference point for other cultures which are in danger of being colonized.

Europe's emergence as a world power is a condition for fulfilling the Kantian vision of a worldwide Confederation for *pax perpetua*[12]. You will remember that, according to Kant, moral supremacy and reason give us the duty of ensuring peace amongst men. However, peace can only be brought about by means of a pact agreed by all populations. A federation for peace therefore needs to be established, which would maintain and ensure the freedom of member States. Kant believed that populations constituted in accordance with the law would be peaceful by nature; in this way, other States would unite in order to guarantee peace amongst themselves, in accordance with international law. Such a nuclear peace federation would then extend gradually via increased membership, until its membership included all populations on earth.

So, Europe is the only entity which has the potential to be a superpower promoting effective legislation and a worldwide economy designed to favour mankind. If we were to recognize the European experiment as a successful venture in economic and political integration with no detrimental effects on cultural diversity, the Union would be the ideal international subject through which one could understand, promote and manage interdependency in a multipolar world. More than ever, the Union —a plural power— must project itself in the international public arena as an anti-model and counterbalance to the hegemony, intolerance and denial of human rights and international law from which so many in the world suffer. In the final analysis, the promotion of a worldwide Confederation for solidarity, respect for the environment and peace depend upon ourselves: without Europe there would be no *foedus* but in its stead we would be subject to the dictates of capital, serfdom, exploitation, exclusion and devastation of the planet. It is only to be expected that by promoting a superpower Europe and therefore our social model and our policies for peace and market regulation, we will provoke struggles with our allies. It is only through our own growth and assertion of ourselves as a world power that we will create the right conditions for more balanced transatlantic relations, something which is today coveted by everyone, including the enlightened American elite.

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[12] Kant, *Zum ewigen Frieden. Ein philosophischer Entwurf*, Band 9 Schriften zur Anthropologie, Geschichtsphilosophie, Politik und Pädagogik, Erster Teil, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft. Spanish version: *La Paz y el Ideal cosmopolita de la Ilustración*, edition by R. R. Aramayo; J. Muguerza; C. Roldán, Madrid: Ed. Tecnos, 1996.

So even if Europeans were to agree upon a common foreign policy, we would still have to overcome the *décalage* between the hopes we would raise and actual European action: after all, we ought to recognize the fact that international action taken by Europe is only modest. It is not surprising to note that our influence and achievements have been greatest on the rare occasions when we have been able to speak with one voice. This is true of our policy on trade, the environment[13] and the International Court of Justice[14]. However, the same cannot be said of development[15], finance[16], foreign and defence policy[17] or research policy[18].

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[13] The environment is another positive example: the European Union has been able to coherently state a different position from that of the United States concerning gas emissions and the greenhouse effect, which culminated in the Kyoto Protocol.

[14] The world is well aware of the fact that had it not been for the European Union, the International Court of Justice would not have been created. However, the treaty agreed upon by the fifteen member States (30th September 2002), which allows bilateral agreements to be signed with Washington concerning immunity being granted if certain conditions are fulfilled, does not necessarily safeguard the Court's future. On the other hand, Europe has, wherever possible, maintained its stance of sending offences to trial and has not only prevented British, Spanish and Italian governments from claiming immunity for their own members, but has also thwarted the United Nations Security Council in its attempts to have the final say over whether offences are tried by the court. On the other hand, if compromise means that Europe has to abandon any ultra-puritanical posture; then, the United States have not fulfilled their aim of imposing immunity for their soldiers and diplomats on Europe.

[15] As regards cooperation for development, on the other hand, Europe has up until very recently (that is to say the United Nations Conference in Monterrey, 2002) been absent from the world stage, despite the fact that we contribute most funds.

[16] As regards finances, the right path is beset with national interests. Each European Union member state —Germany, France, Italy etc.— is fighting for its own interests at the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). We must ask ourselves whether our finance ministers, when faced with this spectacle, are perhaps the last exponents of such an archaic notion as national sovereignty. Whereas nationalism amongst our member states may have had some possible explanation before the launch of the euro, it can now only be considered an affront to the currency's international credibility, and will only serve to delight and, of course, enrich those who speculate on the dollar.

[17] Europe's common foreign and security policy lacks its own vision and the means to take effective action. If the United Nations Security Council ends up being nothing other than an institution at the service of American interests, then it is just a sign of our own impotence.

[18] Our research policy would be mean were it not downright suicidal: whereas Japan devotes 3% of its Gross Domestic Product (GDP) to research and the figure for the United States is 2.7%, we are stuck on the year 2000 figure of 1.93% - furthermore, while the United States counts with 7.4 researchers per 1000 members of the workforce and Japan has 8.9, the European figure is just 5.1.

The conclusion to be drawn from this critique is that the overriding purpose of Europe appears to constitute a significant task for an entire generation.

Secularity as a device for transmitting European culture. The *State school* system

This paper on the meaning and motive of Europe would not be complete unless I addressed the question of what concrete measures should be taken concerning schooling, as a response to both the significance and the overriding aim of Europe, and to the challenges with which our young people are faced. In other words, we must reflect on how to include the arguments I have mentioned within the school syllabus. I will have to make do with noting the need to carry out this task, which must be performed by teachers themselves.

I do, however, hope that you will allow me to make two observations concerning the issue.

Firstly, the *State school* system and its *secular* nature. The *state school* system was originally conceived as part of the French revolution, as a vehicle for putting the ethical and political ideas of the Enlightenment into practice. These were, namely: to provide a secular environment in which to exercise freedom of thought; and a way of using rational and scientific means to train independent minds, people who would then be capable of being morally autonomous and who would become diligent citizens.

Before becoming a political project, public education was a moral project whose foundations lay in the idea of freedom and Enlightenment: as a rational subject, man is able to make choices and is called upon to be self-governing. If correctly educated, he can exercise what Kant named the *self-regulatory conscience. Moral autonomy* is therefore the ethical ideal of State schooling. For it is reason, enlightened by the brilliance of knowledge, that guarantees not only correct use of freedom, but also progress as a consequence of the constant quest for true knowledge and the free exchange of opinions.

In order for the republic to be a valid entity, it must be constructed by libertarian citizens, who are prepared to both claim and defend their freedom. The school itself must be a forum for free thought if it is to educate such a lineage of emancipated men and women; pupils must participate fully in the enlightenment process, which will allow them to make rational and unconditioned use of their freedom. It, therefore, turns out that maintaining this free-thinking environment, which generates

reflective attitudes and criticism, is one of the fundamental elements of a truly free society (L. Gómez Llorente)[19].

The reservations about applying *secularity* to confessional education, as expressed by religious denominations, can be explained by the inherent tension between the *moral autonomy* proposed by the Enlightenment —whose ethical imperative is to be found in individual reasoning, and awareness of duty— and the moral of obedience and the idea of being subject to the absolute authority of the Church or of tradition. However, while anti-clericalism, intolerance and doctrinism were rife amongst the conservative elites and those with economic power, you will find nothing but strict respect for the Church, Catholicism, religious freedom and freedom of education amongst the likes of Don Francisco Giner de los Ríos, Don Fernando de los Ríos and Don Luis Gómez Llorente, all of whom held religious beliefs. You will therefore see why I find their posture so laudable; indeed, when talking about the most adequate instrument to transmit the idea and the significance of Europe, you will understand why I am tempted to follow their example.

Secondly, in the situation I have described, what room can be left for hope? How can we possibly speak of a European Humanist tradition as if it still had any relevance when we are living in a world which so brutally denies the values of such a system? How can we still talk of our Humanist tradition when Europeans have inflicted so much suffering on fellow human beings? The thing that did not ring true for those who have lived through the horrors of the 20th century[20] is that the belief in man's natural goodness and perfectibility (Rousseau)[21], the optimism that characterised the Age of Enlightenment and the trust in the positivist version of Humanism of the 19th century have all disappeared as far as science, progress and the future are concerned.

However, we should not accept the present as being everything. If, for instance, we ignore the stoicism of the Ancient World or its reinstatement by Montaigne (1533-1592) —in the midst of the violence and intolerance of the European religious wars— then we are led to ignore the alternative facet of Humanism, in other words trusting in the potential for creativity

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[19] Cfr. Gómez Llorente, L. Vigencia del Laicismo, *Temas para el Debate* (magazine), November 2001; id. Principios de la Escuela pública, in *Por la Escuela pública*, Homage to Mariano Pérez Galán, Madrid: Fundación Educativa y Asistencial CIVES, 1998; cfr. P.Lathuilière, M. Barlow, B. Comte,B. Descouleurs, M. - F. Tinel, *Dieu, est-il laïque? Recherche de sens et laïcité*, Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1998.

[20] Cfr. Hobsbawm, Eric. Age of Extremes. The short Twentieth Century 1914-1991, London: Michael Joseph Ltd, 1994; Gabriel Jackson, Civilización y Barbarie en la Europa del Siglo XX, Barcelona: Ed. Planeta, 1997.

[21] Rousseau, J.J. *Emil*, Bielefeld und Leipzig: Welhagen & Klasings, 1913.

and development which may be aroused in man, rather than simply relying on his innate goodness. The history of Humanism provides us with plenty of opportunities to believe in what Hegel (1770-1831) called the cleverness of reason (*der List der Vernunft*), a doctrine which can serve to strike a blow against the inexorable changes in power relations, however unequal these may be in terms of oppression. When considering the Humanities as European cultural heritage, it is false to say that we have reached *The end of history* (Fukuyama), since the future is still open. The end of history is what happened, for instance, in 14th century Italy, when a handful of men felt compelled to bring the Ancient World back to life, trusting in their ability to create a world according to their requirements. This reluctance to accept a deterministic view of man or of history, and the postulation that free men can overcome adversity and shape the future, is what the Humanist tradition has represented for the last seven hundred years. For all those who refuse to accept the *Smithian-Hobbesian* vision that the future of mankind is characterized by the desire for unlimited profiteering, need, illness, exploitation, precariousness, violence and fear, Humanism holds a spiritually uplifting promise. This is clearly not enough for those who crave security and guarantees; however, for those who decide to face up to adversity in order to be in control of their destiny, and for those who use their faith to confront power relationships which subjugate mankind, Humanism is still a highly attractive proposition.

In any case, the relevance of the Humanist tradition lies more firmly in its capacity to help us to find solutions to new problems than in the values with which our societies have been bequeathed. Let us teach from a new perspective: let us present history, literature and the fine arts as questioning current power relationships and hegemonic thought, and as the response of practical reasoning to the needs and questions of today's youth, rather than considering their past greatness. In the final analysis, this was the role played by the discovery of the Ancient World during the Renaissance, providing young people with an exciting heritage to explore, one through which they were able to work towards finding responses to the conflicts surrounding them and the questions they asked themselves. The Humanist tradition, which is not confined to the Ancient World but which spans twenty-five centuries of history, is the only one which can provide children's and young people's experiences with some sort of meaning. The protests in Seattle, in December 1999, Porto Alegre, in 2001, and even a few weeks ago in Washington, have still advanced no further than mere protests, since those involved have been incapable of coming up with an alternative to current power relationships and hegemonic thought. The organizers of

such protests would do well to cast a glance back at the selfsame Humanist tradition, which could do with being updated; until this happens though, let us get to work.

Epilogue

Although Humanism and freedom have been under siege for the last quarter of a century, my recent experiences in Spain and in Europe have left me in no doubt as to the fact that the conservative and reactionary forces, which are so dominant today, will not last. There is so much in the way of human resources, public virtue and democratic majorities —and I need look no further than my audience for proof—, all waiting for history to take a new turn in favour of a world made to suit mankind. How long did it take for Francisco de Vitoria, Fray Luis de León, Don Gaspar de Jovellanos, Don Francisco Giner de los Ríos and the Free Education Institution[22] and our republican heroines Jimena Menéndez Pidal, Federica Montseny, Clara Campoamor, Victoria Kent and so many other leading lights of Humanism to cross the desert? Who could say that they faltered in their belief even for an instant? Today, their memory beseeches you to fight for an education policy inspired by European Humanism, and I hope it will not do so in vain.

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[22] Cfr. Jiménez - Landi, A., *La Institución Libre de Enseñanza y su ambiente*, Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 1996; V. Cacho Viu, *La Institución Libre de Enseñanza*, Madrid: Ediciones Rialp, 1962; Elias Diaz, *La Filosofía social del Krausismo* (3rd ed.), Madrid: Cuadernos para el Diálogo, 1973.

3.
Europe, from the Institutional Referent the Personal Referent: Being European, Feeling European, Living European

Anna Maria Donnarumma
International Cooperation NGO: PRO.DO.C.S.
Domani Project: Culture and Solidarity, Italy

The institutional referent

The institutional framework of being European

The Commission for Institutional Affairs EU, based on the positive experience of the Convention that drafted the *Chater of Fundamental Rights of the Union* in 2000, has indicated a similar body, a European Convention, as the most suitable organism to provide possible responses for the key issues facing the future of the Union and to collaborate in the drawing up of a European Constitution.

Currently, the EU has proposed *two objectives*: to conclude the process of *enlargement* and to redefine the *institutional configuration* itself through the Convention.

The European Council, on the occasion of the reunion celebrated 14-15 December, 2001, adopted the Declaration of Laeken, in which it takes into consideration said objectives and establishes the foundations of the Convention itself, which commenced activity at its inaugural meeting on 28 February 2002.

The Convention is to approve a *constitutional Treaty* of sorts to specify a Federation of Nation-States (a definition suggested by Jacques Delors), whose preamble might possibly be comprised of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the Union.

Several countries (13 to be exact) that are existing candidates for accession to the Union could participate in the European Parliamentary elections scheduled for the year 2004: from that moment on other States would join the Union.

And one cannot talk about the Constitution without automatically talking about the debate *on European identity*, a debate that is of great relevance at the present moment.

The Convention has begun work on building a Europe…more Europe, as the leitmotiv of the Spanish Presidency suggests… not only considered an unidentified political object (as J. Delors has expressed), but also regulated by its own Constitution, a Europe that brings its citizens together in closer union.

The preamble to the *Chater of fundamental rights of the Union*, proclaimed in Nice, affirms the following: "The peoples of Europe, in creating an ever closer union among them, are resolved to share *a peaceful future based on common values.*"

We are dealing with *a Europe understood to be a political subject*, which brings together a freely assumed network of bonds and cooperation and which *drives the development of peace, justice and solidarity.*

The *Common values* mentioned in the Preamble refer to those reasons for unity that respect the diversity of cultures and traditions of the European people as well as the national identities of the Member States and the organization of their public authorities at a national, regional and local level. This is a project that brings about, with unyielding specificity, the universality of the people by constructing a *new humanity and a culture which respects otherness and diversity.*

The personal referent

Being european a question of personal, national and communitarian identity

But, who is European? Above all, can one even speak of Europeans at all? At a time of Union "enlargement", is it legitimate to ask to what extent one can reduce the concept of identity to a conglomerate of diverse countries?

The Declaration of Laeken itself speaks of *diversity as a distinguishing and basic element of the European Union*. Nevertheless, one of the elements common to Europeans, as argued by the President of the Convention, Valery Giscard d'Estaing, consists of "having made three fundamental contributions to humanity: *reason, humanism, and freedom*". Also, Aznar himself, the current President of the European Council, has affirmed that it is essential "to safeguard the balance between the profound cultural unity of Europe and its obvious historical diversity."

At a macroscopic level, the key concept is *integration*.

Where might this common identity derive from? On what basis is it possible to construct a union amongst diversity? If one looks only at the Nation States, a common identity is based on a shared history, language and sometimes religion, elements that are not shared in the already mentioned multinational States (as the Union could be, according to some).[1]

Ernst Renan has sustained that *national identity* compels us either to forget the past or to remember it. This happens because history itself may be the precursor of the divisions that do not obtain the building of a common identity that is constructed when individuals belonging to distinct groups see, in a broader political reality, the possibility of developing their own national identity without obstacles. Habermas maintains that *European unity* cannot be based solely on membership to shared traditions, cultures and languages which characterize the Nation States: *it should also make reference to the reality of the European citizens.* This should be based on a *"post-national" constitutional patriotism* founded on the adhesion to the principles of justice and democracy.

Citizenship per se represents an idea taken to extreme juridical consequences as a compromise of rights and obligations[2]; consequently, it should be accompanied by identity as a manifestation of individual membership to a political community[3].

The essence of identity and of citizenship

European identity is connected to the concept of citizenship. Article 17 of the Constitutive Treaty of the European Community establishes European

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[1] The concepts of State and Nation are different. The state is constructed, whereas the Nation is a permanent cultural community. Substantially, two elements should be present: a contribution of values and a common identity.

[2] To speak of a legislative corpus that embraces specific rights is not to take for granted pre-existing rights in the Old Continent, but rather to suggest that the same rights form an integral part of the Europe of the future.

[3] In the EU environment one must keep in mind the processes of international globalization and the fact that added to the inequality of rights that opposes nationals against foreigners, given the closing off of EU borders to the exterior, is the distinction between Europeans and non-Europeans.

What must be borne in mind in the current diatribe against a common identity is that "Europe will be social and cultural it will not."

In the age of globalization, the differences that exist in Europe are the consequence of a totally radicalised pluralism. One must not underestimate these differences because they possess great cultural wealth: the bringing together of these cultures should generate solidarity, peace and democracy.

citizenship[4], for every person who is a citizen of a Member State, considering European citizenship a complement to and not a replacement for national citizenship.

This concept of citizenship is completely different from the classical one which considers it as an anchored (inseparable) juridical condition when being a part of a State: in fact, the Union per se as yet is not a State; moreover, *European and national citizenship co-exist* (for which the Treaties do not establish criteria given that this is obtained automatically).

One can also speak of dual, not to be confused with double*, citizenship.* This phenomenon occurs when an individual simultaneously holds citizenship *status* of two or more States.

In Chapter V of *the Charter of Fundamental Rights* the concept of citizenship is also contemplated and the following rights are set forth: the right of access to documents and the right to good administration or *good governance* (which turns out to be an innovation of the Charter itself).

Today there is also a broad concept of citizenship.

The Minister for Community Policies, Buttiglione, has offered an argument for the bonds that grant *identity, sovereignty, and citizenship,* citing Lord Ralph Darendorf, for whom a European *demos* per se does not exist; nonetheless, if it does exist, it is necessary to draft a Constitution.

The European *demos* exists for somebody, but it is *sui generis*.

The *demos* of classical Greek culture is the result of a sinicism (which means living together) and of procuring a temple as a centre around which recognition is obtained. In Athens languages were equal, in Rome they were distinct: European sinicism refers to this latter model, and it is in evolution. There are European citizens and Italian citizens: one cannot be European without also being a citizen of one of the States belonging to Europe. This suggests the idea of *federalism*[5].

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[4] The rights that are traditionally conferred on European citizens are:
—the right to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States;
—the right to vote and stand as a candidate in municipal elections as well as in elections to the European Parliament in the Member State of residence;
—the right to diplomatic and consular protection of any Member State in the territory of a third country in which the Member State of which he is a national is not represented;
—the right to petition the European Parliament;
—the right to complain to the European Ombudsman.
[5] Sovereignty according to J. Locke is never totally lost: simply speaking, it is only partially abdicated, an abdication which is necessary due to the mere fact of being a member of a community. Nowadays, the concept is divided qualitatively (one only

The problem that arises is determining the territory itself: Aristotle, in responding to a question over what the size of the city should be, affirmed that it would have to be sufficient to secure certain factors, such as peace, that the tribes could not secure by themselves.

Feeling european in the regional area itself

In today's current society of globalization and also at a Regional Area level, there are two apparently opposed forces living together: *a tendency towards globalization* (towards the macro, centrifugal, one of enlargement and oriented to difference) *and a tendency towards regionalism* (towards the micro, centripetal, one of contention and oriented to sameness).

The two forces are the fruit of the same phenomenon: on the one hand, thanks to new technologies we are witnessing the construction of the "villaggio globale" and the knowledge of cultures never before close to us; on the other hand, thanks to the first aspect, we are seeing tendencies that seek to satisfy the needs of the region, the closest territory, and the spaces which confirm a vision itself of the world, and which do not upset customary paradigms too much; in short, tendencies that provide the greatest security. For some years now and at a systematic level, we have cohabitated and looked for ways to adapt, both as a political structure and as citizens, to the phenomenon of "globalization", which has been more a fact than a choice. On the other hand, from a grass-roots level we have promoted and favoured legislative recognition for a greater authority and autonomy of local Entities, as a decision-making location closer to the community and to its needs. Examples of this are the passing of decentralising laws and the introduction of the euro as the European common currency. In addition, Europe occupies a position as a unified body in world headquarters and votes for the Reform of local Entities. Representation in coalitions and associations has increased, but so has the number of fundamental realities.

Federal reform, subsidiarity and the social state

A phenomenon that has favoured the diffusion of the debate on Federalism and subsidiarity has been the erosion of the central role of

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needs to think of art. 19 of the Italian Constitution which characterizes the State and the Church as "…independent and sovereign each in its own territory").

the Nation State whether due to the enlargement of the global market or to the significant grass-roots mobilization promoted, to a great extent, by organized civil society, the objective of which is to stimulate a process of participation and responsible co-partnership for public life at a local and regional level[6].

We customarily refer to *vertical subsidiarity* when it unfolds among diverse levels of public institutions (State and local Entities) and to *horizontal subsidiarity* when it operates in relationship with and among public and private sectors and the citizens' right to autonomously choose the provider of the required service. Until the end of the 70's, political attention was much more centred on vertical subsidiarity; subsequently, the debate has even also taken up the aspect of citizen commitment and participation, whether as the receivers or as the providers of the same services[7].

Today everyone invokes the principle of subsidiarity. But while the neo-liberal culture embraces it to justify the return to the private and to individualism typical of classical liberalism, common and popular culture see in it the fundamental criteria for the responsible participation of people and diverse institutions in obtaining the common good.

The experience between problematics and demands

One problem facing tomorrow's Europe is linked to the *democratic deficit* which shapes the institutional fabric of the Union. In fact, European Institutions are suffering a gap between themselves and their citizens. There is a lack of definition of competences, excessive bureaucracy and a general absence of concrete participation.

It is precisely here, at the sight of *participation*, when a demand arises for subsidiarity, for making things common, in which *sovereignty* and *responsibility* are included.

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[6] In the past few years much talk has been heard about subsidiarity and the role of the State in the area of personal services, whether referring to the relation between the services granted directly by the State and those demanded by local Entities, the latter services subordinate to the former, or to the relation between public and private services granted by the private sector, in which the former services would be subsidiaries of the latter.

[7] A recent process of decentralising the State has provoked revocations of absolute authority by citizens, slowly doing away with the assistancialist vision of public institutions in favour of role of promotion, activation, and valuation of the ins and outs of the territorial community, that can cooperate with the State to satisfy the citizens' needs.

As regards subsidiarity, much has been said. Article 3B, paragraph 2 of the Maastricht Treaty sets forth the following:

> "In areas which do not fall within its exclusive competence, the Community shall take action, in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity, only if and in so far as the objectives of the proposed action cannot be sufficiently achieved by the Member State and can therefore, by reason of the scale or effects of the proposed action, be better achieved by the Community."

Subsidiarity is the most real means by which to reach an agreement between uniformity and diversity present in the Union, as the Honorable Lamberto Dini, Convention member, has accurately ascertained and who has lamented the existence of a legislative void on the part of the constitutive Treaties in terms of the instruments for determining who is legitimised to denounce the violation of said principle.

A subsequent problem occurs due to the fact that in order to reach *greater integration*, there necessarily exists the condition that there be a *reduction in the number of matters that require unanimity to give an advantage to the majority vote*. In such a context, one cannot help but considering that an Institution like the European Parliament, like all Parliaments worthy of this name, needs an authentic legislative function to cooperate with the Council in codecision-making procedures and which must be adopted as a rule in an overall redefinition and specification of competences.

The European citizen is asking for a greater participatory democracy, and therefore demands a democratic, not a technocratic, Europe, as the President of the European Parliament, Dr. Pat Cox, has argued.

*Living as a european in Europe and in relation to a world
in transfomation*

The worldwide Panorama characterized by the phenomenon of the globalization of markets and by the displacement of work, facilitated by an increment in information technology, has made the subject of a worldwide Government even more topical and pressing. The Institutions that some decades ago served as interlocutors in the management of controversies and as mitigators in the polarizing impulses of some political blocks, are today at the point of being invalidated by those Organizations set up where economic and financial power are imposed without impediments, often in ways that are not transparent.

Numerous grass-roots drives representing the various voices of organized civil society have been the protagonists in processes whose

ultimate goal is to bridge that "gap" between institutions and the people created since the post-war till today, under the influence of a demagogic policy and an abuse of the institution of democratic representation expressed through voting, converted many times into a genuine mandate, by both parties.

This has generated gigantic and bureaucratic institutions at various levels but which are deprived of life and of a relation to reality and faced with an unmotivated and indifferent population concerning the management of the "public thing"; that is, a society that perceives the government as a monolithic power, impossible of modification. The transformation, on the other hand, must consist of individualizing the interpretative frameworks that place the government at the service of its citizens while not excluding the latter from participating in the solutions to its own problems. One can also define this change as a *transformation of bureaucratic administration into policy "management"* (post-bureaucracy): where the government of a territorial space is no longer an undisputable monolith, but rather is converted into an instrument for verification, valuation and reorganization while keeping in mind costs, earnings, aims and resources.

Forms of resistance have been created with a view to open up dialogue, which represents a step towards transformation-change, recovering the collective political sense and remote meanings of the power of the people as sovereign in decision-making in a democratic context.

These forms of resistance have facilitated *the process of Welfare Reform*, which has stimulated the questioning of Institutions and has channelled the move away from *Government to Governance.*

The first term is that with which the institutions are most frequently in agreement: an exclusive site of public authority. The second, the concept of *Governance,* implies the interconnection between more actors —public institutions, private reality and civil society— in the organized participation of decision-making power.

The concept of "*good governance*" forms part of a wider debate on State Reform as Society Reform (Welfare Society),[8] derogation,

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[8] "...The old organised form of the Welfare State has to open the way for a new structure of Welfare Society where market and State are integrated with a Third sector, that is to say, by the responsible participation of the members of civil society."

In the viewpoint of Welfare Society, citizens not only receive services, but also may play a decisive role.

State Reform speeds up procedures and structures in favour of a more informed population that is motivated to assume their responsibilities and rights in policy making.

subsidiarity, the enlargement of the Third sector, the evolution of voluntary enlistment and on the sources of contribution of personal services.

Governance, or better yet, *good governance*, should be grounded on a secure, flexible, transparent and competent framework; composed of a legitimised worldwide government and a responsible and committed civil society, acting not in its own interests, but rather in those of the common Good, of collective interests. A great deal has been written on a certain *coincidence between social good and personal good* with the conviction that if the opposition is exaggerated, personal good, which we are accustomed to seeing as separate with its own conditions and precise rules, will end up on the losing end.

It is necessary to revitalize public institutions that know how to recognize and to legitimate other spaces of confrontation and decision making. If a centralized role is conserved, it must be to safeguard the coherence of local policies with global guidelines in defence of human rights and for the recognition of each one's obligations.

In today's society, we are witnessing too often the predominance of bipolar logic, conflicts and competitions where there is a clear winner and loser.

In a logic of *governance*[9] it is necessary to engage in the politics of *collaboration, cooperation, mediation and the negotiation of conflicting interests.*

This does not mean lowering commitments and renouncing ethical criterion of choice, but it does mean creating a table of dialogue for participatory policy management and recognizing wide-ranging authority, quality leadership founded on competences and an encounter between different entities. In the past few years, we have learned to fine tune the techniques and styles of the art of negotiating, which might be a good reference point in the partnership between different forces.

One can speak of Good governance at various levels of organizational complexity: micro, middle and macro. The dynamics and assumptions

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[9] There are diverse interpretations of good governance ranging from the E government proposed by the Italian Government for public administrations of developing countries to grass-roots proposals raised for non-hierarchical co-partnership in government politics (Charter of the New Municipality drawn up in Porto Alegre in Brazil). Behind the interpretative framework pursued, one discovers cultural paradigms with different reference points ranging from prêt-á-porter solutions or keys in the hands of expert statisticians, to work hypotheses and praxis that mature en a constant relation between giver and receiver, donor and donee, in the framework of a relationship of reciprocity and equal opportunity.

of each are similar, but their implementation in different political contexts gives rise to a wealth of possibilities and potential creative behavioural solutions.

Because of their geographic and cultural proximity to the population, the local institutional realities are the most advantaged when Good governance is practiced. Many accept the idea that practicing local *governance* is closely connected to the promotion of sociability with attention given to policies of inclusion and the well-being of the people, based on a collective, not individual, logic.

All of this is achieved not only by creating efficient and sustainable social services, but also by spreading an "*I care"* culture through social good and participation.

Another challenge of the "good municipality" is favouring *community building,* the particular aim of which is to foster solidarity and proximity among all social actors. It is not an easy objective to achieve and requires two conditions: 1) cultivating a climate of trust, encouragement and acceptance of different viewpoints in a context of numerous tensions and latent conflicts; and 2) interconnection and encounter.

Building a "community" means building it on *positive sentiments, reciprocal help, communication that values each individual,* and the *elaboration of diversity.* Likewise, it involves promoting *security* which is actually *trust* (not a security that is close-minded or that fears what is alien to us); fostering *dialogue* and knowledge, especially in situations of conflict; valuing the dimensions and contributions of the group; and working together to achieve *common goals.*

In summary, a more active citizenship who are less willing to delegate and more willing to strive to find solutions to individual and collective needs can become an effective instrument for achieving social well-being and fostering relations that establish the correct foundations for attaining the much-talked-about security, in the search for bona fide peace.

Indeed, it will be a long educational and cultural road from which associations, non-governmental organizations, schools and families cannot be excluded. The increase of associated forms in recent years is the gauge of a vitality, of a desire to build, and of social and political change that indicates the direction one must take.

For a solidary and non-hierarchical globalization of the base

As mentioned earlier, the reactions of local communities to the challenge of globalization can oscillate between an unyielding fight to

defend one's own identity and an unrelenting race to compete, with each extreme conceived to be the adversary of the other (bipolar logic). The logic of good governance leads to a change in the valuation of the local patrimony and to the experimentation of shared policy management.

The municipality assumes a role that goes beyond sheer administration; it positions itself as a site of "government" for the local reality, not in a restricted and concentrated sense, but rather in open confrontation with multiple actors.

Administrating a territory frequently implies only a mere executive response to something previously established, a "hetero-direction" in the management of a known space in which one lives.

The aim of good governance in the municipality tends to invert the process by valuing individuality and the local patrimony, starting from the production and distribution of goods and services.

> "…One cannot engage in close-minded and defensive regionalism, but rather should set alternative goals for broad global ones."

This approach attempts to go against the logic of an all hyper-super-mega method of the smallest, closest and most participatory, thus demonstrating the validity of the far-reaching results it achieves, not only in quantitative economic terms, but also on a social plane of group unity and conflict management.

The same dynamics can be carried over to other more complex (but not hierarchical ones) levels: the global consequently becomes a combination of interrelating local communities.

Living european in a context of globalization

European Governance

On 5 August 2001, The European Commission published its WHITE PAPER on "European Governance"[10], the objective of which was to stimulate a debate on the new forms of collaboration and relation with the European people and the Member States.

That is to say, after the monetary Union, it is necessary to promote European culture and the forms of participation in civil society.

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[10] Cfr. European Community Commissio (2001). *European Governance*. A White Paper, Brussels, 5 August.

> "Governance embraces not only Government bodies, but also all of the mechanisms, formal and informal, public and private, that generate a social consensus concerning socially relevant objectives."[11]

In the second part of the PAPER, five fundamental elements are specified for good governance which are to be applied at all levels of government: *openness, participation, accountability, effectiveness* and *coherence.*

The debate on the demand to experience forms of government that accord with the context in which one lives is stoked not only in the bosom of the institutions closest to the citizens, but also in those institutions that may be further away because of the subjects confronted and the openness with which they are presented.

The EU also needs citizen commitment from the Member States and to initiate projects and campaigns to establish closer contact with the people and to be easier identifiable and more accessible in terms of language and procedures (openness).

Participation in all phases (conception and planning) of policy making is an element that may favour adhesion at the moment of implementation, so that the policies are truly at the disposal of the people.

Accountability implies transparency and clarity in responsibilities and competences; everyone must clearly understand what they expect from all the other actors and what is expected of them.

Effectiveness in decision making, which looks to the past to plan for the future, should follow *the principle of opportunity and proportionality.*

The White Paper continues that "…before launching an initiative, it is essential to check systematically if public action is really necessary, if the European level is the most appropriate one, and if the measures chosen are proportionate to those objectives."[12]

Coherence is that spice used in fine cooking that, although often not seen, can be savoured and which is essential to the outcome of the final product. Citizens, not only Europeans, in recent decades have become significantly more weary and distrustful of institutions, which are frequently accused of being involved in underhanded business dealings either in personal or party interests, thus completely losing sight of the motivations to serve with which the institutional responsibility was invested.

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[11] The White Paper on European Governance by Rosario Sapienza, in Aggiornamenti Sociali, # 11-01, p. 778.
[12] *Idem,* p. 780.

The strategies that the European Union is outlining, also through said PAPER, with a view to participatory and motivated European governance from a grass-roots level are the following:

—To improve the level of communication with the general public.
—To simplify language and facilitate understanding of how the EU is structured.
—To initiate a close relation of collaboration with other institutions (particularly with Local Entities).
—To risk experimenting with new forms of decision making parallel to those established by the current norms.
—To listen to the needs of civil society and to broaden consensus at the grass-roots.

The WHITE PAPER also speaks of *two innovate instruments* like *co-regulation* and *an open method of coordination.*
The PAPER textually states that

> "Co-regulation combines binding legislative and regulatory action with actions taken by the actors most concerned, drawing on their practical expertise. The result is wider ownership of the policies in question by involving those most affected by implementing rules in their preparation and enforcement."
>
> "*It is a way of encouraging co-operation and the exchange of the best practices and agreeing on common targets and guidelines for stades members,* sometimes backed up by national action plans, as in the case of employment and the fight against social exclusion. It relies on regular monitoring of progress to meet those common targets, thus allowing Member States to compare their own efforts and initiatives and learn from the experience of others."

Today, we cannot not move in the direction of openness and organization at different levels of government; but this process can hardly be achieved without a relationship of collaboration and trust among all of the actors involved: national institutions; local entities; civil society organizations; representatives of numerous social, economic and cultural categories; and responsible citizens.

Furthermore, civil society should strengthen a process already *in fieri* of responsibility and co-project management, with the certainty that one must take a consistent qualitative step which demonstrates a predisposition in favour of constructive proposals and dialogue, as so desired by the EU, to germinate *socialization and cohesion while respecting diversity and democracy.*

This will be a cultural and political project that extends to an international level.

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4.
The European Dimension of Education

Maria Angeles Marín

Research Group on Intercultural Education
University of Barcelona, Spain

Introduction

The necessity of building a European Union which would not only be based on an economic and/or a political union but also on the social and cultural, favoured the granting of a relevant role to education. Another of the elements that has influenced the role granted to education has been to verify the lack of awareness of belonging to this new transnational reality on the part of the citizenry of the different countries of the Union[1]. The term, "European Dimension of Education" gushes forth as it did in 1976.

The origins of community politics in relation to this European dimension of Education go back to the 70s.[2] During the 80s the role of education was redefined and boosted by the Committee of European Nations, headed by Pietro Adonino. In the second of Adonino's reports, the committee includes propositions of action in the fields of education and culture to promote the European identity. Education for citizenship and identity receives a great impulse during that time through two

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[1] The younger generation has difficulties in identifying itself with the reality and potential of a unified Europe seen from its own country. For these youngsters the nation itself is much more important than Europe or any other nation (DuBois-Reymond, 1997).

[2] In 1974 the Ministers Council made public a declaration in which were shown four priority areas for community politics: foreign language education; promotion and study of Europe as a part of the ordinary curriculum; the cooperation in higher education, and support of European schools. Nonetheless, community action in education has outweighed the cooperation more than the harmonization of the different politics of the member states regarding the education systems.

resolutions, one by the European Council (1983) and another by the Council of Ministers of Education (1988).

During the decade of the 90s, efforts were intensified to create a European Community Identity based on a sense of belonging to the European culture, making the European dimension a central point of reference for the efforts of Brussels to recover the popular help for the European project. The Maastrich Treaty ratified the European dimension of education by granting it a specific mention in the first article of the treaty. In 1993 the Green Paper of the European Dimension of Education emerged. According to this document, the principal objective of the European Dimension is to stimulate the awareness of what is conceived as a European culture and common heritage, and to encourage the student body to feel inclined to identify itself as European. It was specifically mentioned that particular efforts to introduce the European identity in education could not, by any means, be detrimental to the specific national or regional identities. The main purpose is to respect regional and national diversity as well as to promote a common cultural heritage. Hansen (1998) pointed out that many efforts were made in the European Community to present the issues of national and European identity not as conflicts but as complements. These efforts have to confront a double standard. On the one hand within each of the national states we witness a rebirth of autochthonous or national[3] cultures. On the other hand, the permanent settlement of emigrants within each one of the Union's States entails a change in the internal configuration of their populations.

Does a European Identity Exist?

The construction of a European identity means that people have to incorporate a transnational identity into their national identity. The key element for Flouris (1998) in the achievement of a transnational identity is the necessity of finding essential characteristics of shared identity; people from different nations need to feel security and wish to adhere to a transnational entity without sacrificing their personal or national identities. For this, there should be conditions facilitated that allow reinternalised supranational symbols, and sociocultural values and attitudes which show cohesion and solidarity to build the new identity.

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[3] In Martiniello (1998), different reasons can be consulted for the rebirth of local, regional, and national cultures.

Many authors coincide in affirming that cultural diversity in the European continent is the biggest obstacle to building a European identity. Mariniello (1998) pointed out that the problem is generated by the perception of a homogenising European project seen as a threat to cultures and national identities to which some sectors of the population of state members are attached. Hence, *it is important to develop models of identification which are valid for all people and permit a combination of national and cultural identity with a supranational identity, one that is open, flexible, and evolutionary*. This is the model raised by multilevel nationalisms (Miller, 2000) that emerges when the person owes loyalty to different levels of communities. The key for this multilevel nationalism is that the lowest unity of identity must depend on the approval and recognition of the highest identity.

Morin (1990) points out that as soon as one wants to think about Europe's cultural identity in a clear and distinctive way he fails, since there is nothing unique in its origins and nothing that could be clearly exclusive for today. In the European essence is found only an ephemeral "European Spirit" or contradictory aspects. The search for a specific European cultural identity is a task undertaken in vain. Europe is not a supranational entity, since there is nothing European that is not previously national or regional. Its identity can only be found though and within the national diversities, not outside of them.

If we look for a characteristic of this "European Spirit," this is, without a doubt, precisely its extreme diversity, its contrasting production. Europe is characterised by a surprising diversity and richness of national and regional cultures in a relatively limited space and also by the form it manifests in creating and developing itself.

Models of construction of the European Identity[4]

European culture has developed with a multitude of interactions through debates and contradictions. The core of the European cultural identity resides in the capacity to question and reconsider all the certainties. Nonetheless, as we will see next, the models of construction of European identity and citizenry that are taking place do not correspond with this approach; in fact, they can become a serious obstacle to developing this European identity.

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[4] To enlarge this point consult the chapter of M. A. Marin, "La construcción de la identidad en la época de la mundializacioón y los nacionalismos." In M. Bartolomé (coord.) 2002. Identidad y Ciudadanía.

The Cultural Inheritance Model

From the diverse European instances (Parliament and European Council), it is stated that to construct successfully a European identity students must be proud of the European civilization, the cultural heritage, and the historical achievements.

In 1994, the parliament and the council affirmed that the European dimension of education included subjects related to "cultural heritage", "based in cultural heritage of member states," which should contribute to reinforce a sense of European identity in girls, boys, and students. To build a European identity successfully, students must be proud of European civilization, cultural heritage and historical achievements[5]. This model of constructing a European identity has been denounced as a model of ethno-cultural identity (Hansen, 1998), for insisting on a common heritage and tradition of each one of the nations which constitute Europe, from an essentialist model of identity understood as something organic, fundamental, historically given, and limited (Shore, 1993).

Based on the tradition of a common culture to build the European identity, it is revealed as problematic, since this excludes those cultures and religions perceived as different. As Rea (1998) points out, the European construction has a tendency, from the political, cultural, and institutional viewpoints, to homogenise internal differences creating a separation between Europeans and the rest of the world. This author is very critical of this approach of constructing a European identity and denounces it as a racist process. It is a new racism based on the absolutization of cultural differences.

Identity Construction from Cultural Pluralism

This approach, according to Martiniello (1995) has its starting point in educational and cultural politics which have as an objective the creation of a common cultural space. The European cultural creation has to follow the same model used in the economic construction,

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[5] This opinion is supported by a great majority of people, and it is also manifested in different investigations taking place among European teachers. According to the opinion of those interviewed, this similar culture seems to be democracy, justice, and human rights. The European Identity is seen as complementary to the national identity, since it is a way to extend citizenship to other peoples that we find similar (Richie, 1997).

therefore it is based on voluntary political function in fields such as multilingualism, education, and the university. It is about promoting spaces of exchange between nations which make up the Union, as well as developing common projects in cultural, educational, and media matters, etc. (Domenach, 1990).

From this approach those immigrants already installed in diverse European nations and who do not participate in the common politics are also excluded from the sense of being European. If the construction of a European identity is defined by belonging to one of the nations or by belonging to a European culture of common origin, it excludes immigrant populations settled within it.

In this same sense, Hammer (1998) denounced the differentiation made in the interior of the Union's countries of three categories of people: citizens, denizens[6], and foreigners. This author illustrates the necessity of revising the relationship between nationality and citizenship and exposes an alternative version of citizenship that is not based on the nationality but based on soil rights or blood, rather than the right of legal residence. Legal permanency would define, therefore, the quality of citizenship.

European Identity Construction from Multiple Senses of Belonging

Diverse authors propose a European identity model of construction founded upon multiple belongings, on the base of recognising that a person can hold multiple civic identities and feel subject to multiple loyalties without becoming incompatible (Heater, 1990; Barthelemy, 1999; Ryba, 1999; Leclercq, 1999; Schnapper, 2000). The context of circumstances make the citizen identify with his locality, his state, or the world. For this multiple citizenship to be able to develop, the experience that the citizen has of the state must change, in reference to identity, loyalty, and acceptance of obligations, as well as in regard to the institutional frame which allows the exercise of rights and obligations, participating in public affairs, and the fact of counting with a recognised statute (Martiniello, 1995:239).

This model underlines the necessity of taking into consideration a national and ethnic multiculturalism in the moment of defining the European identity. Along this line go the contributions of Pinxten (1997), who considers Europe as diverse and with a diversity that will

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[6] "Denizens" are those foreign residents of the European Union who hold rights similar to those of nationals without being nationals.

increase as new countries are incorporated. This means the rising of a transnational European unity which surpasses the "we-they" opposition in the formation of identities, and defined as a "community spirit" of intercultural diversity. For this to transpire, strategies of learning and models that promote a notion of emancipated and transcultural personality are needed. In this same sense Heater went on record in 1990, presenting intercultural education as a way to consolidate world's citizenship showing the possibility to live together beyond cultural, ethnic, or religious differences.

The European Dimension of Education

For Barthélémy (1999), the above expression transmits the certainty of dealing with a key concept to define a new epistemological frame which, by itself, can reveal the conditions to build a modern and pacific Europe. If Europe is the point of reference to construct the European identity we need to raise the question: What do we mean by Europe? According to this author, we cannot talk about Europe in terms of civilization (there is not a European consciousness throughout history, even less when the term "European Civilization" was coined, at the end of the 19th Century, which is the epoch of nationalisms). Speaking about "European dimensions" means including within this expression all the panoramas and social phenomena, from the legacy of antiquity to the information highways, passing by all authoritarian alienations, conflicts, etc., which have splashed Europe's history, developing for it a critical attitude and a reasonable judgement.

Europe must confront all the subjects at play that concern it directly, since it is not possible today to find solutions to scientific and technological progress, to the new working ways, to immigration, relations between different parts of the world, etc., only from the national states' frameworks.

Barthelemy (1999) indicates that one of Europe's history lessons is the progressive construction of a series of doctrines, such as human rights, pluralist democracy, etc., which try to locate men and women in the heart of their environment, warranting the responsible exercise of their independence, and providing society itself with sustained and harmonious development. European values are never definitive, but everyday have to be revised and inculcated in the mentality and behaviour of each person. The legacies received for our current societies are many, varied, and contradictory, but it is necessary to remove the

foundations themselves of contemporary Europe to find ourselves with the new European reality and new interests created by it.

For Bîrzéa (1999:73) the simplest way to describe the "European dimension of education" is to say that it is a way to open an additional area of liberty in education (…) it is centred in democracy, in pluralism, and in interculturalism, and it is understood as a specific concept for Europe with direct consequences for political education[7]. For this author the project is in a construction phase, and is a new experience created jointly by the European members. Leclercq (1999:104) defines that the European dimension of education recognises heritage diversity as well as protects shared ideals, and it accepts the differences as well as aims at a mutual understanding.

However, these forms of defining the European dimension of education enclose a new vision of Europe which Peter Leuprecht, Adjunct Secretary General of the European Council, in his 1996 speech outlined in six points.

—If it has to be a solid and lasting construction, Europe has to be first and foremost a *community of shared values*, such as: a certain conception of humans, their inalienable dignity, fundamental rights, and the location of each individual in society; pluralist democracy; law's supremacy. These shared values should constitute a characteristic of Europe's society, Europe's construction, and Europe's action in the world's spheres.

—If this were to be achieved, Europe would be more democratic, closer to its citizens, and it would constitute a frame in which people could be and act as citizens, and execute their civic activities in the European municipal, regional, and state spheres.

—Europe should liberate itself from the pan-economic shackles, the new determinism, and reduce its democratic deficit, solidarity, and justice. Europe should give meaning and content to its liberty. It has to be a responsible liberty. Europe has to have *solidarity*.

—Europe has to be *united and plural* at the same time. A multicultural and tolerant Europe which perceives diversity as something immensely enriching has to be built.

—Finally, I dream of a Europe that makes people dream, to which *citizens can very well have a sense of belonging* and in which they have an authentic opportunity to participate.

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[7] Ryba, R. (1995) Unidad en la diversidad: el enigma de la dimensión europea. Oxford Review of Education, vol 21, 1, 25-26.

The "European dimension of diversity" is more than anything else a question of being interdisciplinary in the global education frame, which takes in consideration each phenomenon studied in all dimensions. Ryba (1991:61) indicates that Europe's interpretation of the educational dimension is fundamentally a question of developing competencies, values, and attitudes to live satisfactorily in Europe.

The education frame, more than anything else, is a question of perspective and focus when it comes to explaining the learning of different disciplines and skills which are not only approached from regional or national focus, but also from a transnational dimension. Leuprecht, in the speech previously cited, points out that it should be a mind's disposition, which develops through existing disciplines: a multiplicity of viewpoints taking in consideration diverse conceptions, in a spirit of tolerance and respect for diversity; a personal sense of judgement and curiosity and an active sense of dialogue and citizenship. Along that same line, Leclercq (1999:21) indicates that incorporating the European dimension in education would favour an opening and enrichment of information and behaviour, making possible the creation of civic, social, and cultural spaces in which knowledge and respect of others would prevail, and a sense of belonging to a larger community could be created.

What did the European education programmes contribute to the development of the European identity?[8]

Beginning in 1995, big programs were put into effect that still have vigour: SOCRATES regarding education, LEONARDO DA VINCI in vocational training, and YOUTH[9]. Regarding these European programmes we question: *To what extent did they contribute to the development of Europe's identity?*

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[8] For an extensión of this section, consult the chapter by Rodríguez Lajo, M, en Bartolomé (coord.) (2002).

[9] Educational programs stop being sectorials and become macroprograms which are subdivided in sectorial programs, enlarging the number of participant countries, length in time, and economic possibilities. More information about these programs can be found in the following electronic addresses:

http://www.mec.es/sgpe/socrates;
http://www.mec.es/sgci/socrates;
http://www.mec.es/fp/leonardo;
http://www.socleoyouth.be;
http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/youth/youthprogram.html.

Kazepov (1997), and Osler (1997), in an evaluation of the European education projects, affirmed that identities and feelings play an essential role in the development of citizenship and the learning of an active citizenship.

Osler (1997) points out that projects oriented to information of rights but ignoring identities and feelings have been proven to be inadequate. Projects as well as training programs need to have an equilibrium between two complementary components of learning: information which acts in the cognitive dimension and feeling for the affective dimension Among the conclusions we highlight:

—It is not expected of the participants in the European projects to develop a concept of Europe, moreover many of the participants in the projects see the European Union as removed and distant from their daily lives.

—The highlighted objective in most of the European projects was *to promote the comprehension and value of other cultures*, which implies an acceptance of different people and different behaviours. The students participating in the European analysed projects had the opportunity to explore and affirm their identities. As a result of the contacts they expanded the comprehension of differences and similarities, criticised their own education, but identity is strongly rooted at the local level, regional, or national.

The lack of a feeling of belonging to Europe shows up in research such as the one developed by Dubois-Reymond (1997) with university students or Ritchie (1997) with teachers. Also, in our context, interviews conducted with secondary students in a public school in Barcelona, confirmed the low development of a sense of European belonging and the predominance of a nationalistic sense (Spanish or Catalan identity) (Donoso and Massat, 1999; Bartolome and others, 2000).

From a global evaluation of these programs, proven contributions include better understandings among people, countries, institutions, and cultures (mutual knowledge is necessary, since it is not possible to stimulate something unknown). They have allowed detection of the necessity of fomenting new values and putting in evidence existent problems and difficulties in the development of European identity which have different persons and groups that cohabit Europe, and highlighting the importance and influence of others in the construction of a feeling of belonging.

Construction of a European Feeling of Belonging: Educational challenges[10]

Bartolomé and others (in press)[11] insist that construction of a feeling of belonging to Europe must be made from a pedagogy of inclusion and social responsibility. The key elements are:

1. Knowledge as foundation.
2. Acceptance as a condition.
3. Value as an impulse.
4. Social cohesion and people's development as a horizon.
5. Intellectual citizenship as a process.

The big majority of authors point out that in order to construct a peaceful Europe, a sense of belonging must be promoted via education:

—That takes into consideration national and ethnic multiculturalism and does not detriment national and regional identities.
—That favours the internalization and appreciation of values and attitudes of cohesion and solidarity; democracy, social justice, and human rights.
—That links to education for intercultural citizenship.
—With an inclusive pedagogic focus surpassing the "we-they" opposition.

For Rodriguez Lajo (2002) the challenge of "*Fomenting the development of European identity,*" would imply teaching and learning to:

1. *Know or have an updated view of Europe.* This should be done from a new paradigm which, without distorting history, shows its most humanistic face and its different perspectives, which could be about:

   —*Knowing dynamics of the European construction.* That is, to analyse its construction from a historical viewpoint and from different orientations (geopolitical, cultural, social, etc.)

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[10] A better development of these educational challenges about identity and their educational implications can be seen in Rodriguez Lajo (2002), Berthelemy (1999), Ryba (1999), Bartolomá and others (in press).

[11] Taking into consideration all these elements, they have created a series of pedagogical marerials to work in the European dimension within secondary education. From this viewpoint a program has been created to develop ethnic-cultural identity in students of the first cycle of Sandin secondary schools (1998).

—*Knowing and understanding the present European reality.* A reality characterised by its plural society, by trying to hold and defend some principles (democracy, social justice, human rights) and some values (such as solidarity, tolerance, respect, interculturalism, or diversity), but full of contradictions. Knowing the European Union and international institutions, and their functions, that have been created. Knowing their current achievements and problems.

—*Knowing future projections for today's Europe*, which is in a period of creation, and comprehending the singularity and transcendence of historical process living in Europe today.

2. *Educating citizens about the existing difficulties or obstacles in order to build that united and peaceful Europe.*

—*Knowing and understanding existing difficulties.* Social movements that become obstacles, such as excluding nationalisms, unbalanced situations, or social and political exclusion of particular groups of population (women, youngsters, those who don't belong to the European community, etc.).

—*Knowing the necessity of international solidarity and value.* Without this, it would be difficult to create a feeling of identity which allows a feeling of equality.

—*Raising public awareness of existent influences in Europe itself* and their states of double standards, created in part by globalization (the difficult reconciliation between promoting possessive individualism in the accumulation of capital and the suggestion that citizenry should have public responsibilities). To critically analyse the effects (pros and cons) of globalization.

3. *Understanding that Europe has to be built on the basis of inclusion not exclusion. Appreciating the value of inclusion.*

—Understanding that in that Europe of conflicts, the biggest cultural value could focus on the manner in which differences wish to be articulated and combined using dialogue and negotiation as a starting point, from which controversial subjects could be revealed to build a more just world.

—Developing social abilities such as empathy and certainty that help facilitate understanding between people.

—Understanding diversity in European society to provoke attitudes of respect and appreciation of diversity.

—Empowering a constructive attitude towards a process of European integration.

4. *To educate citizens in their role in that European construction.*

—Fomenting the active and responsible participation in that future construction and understanding this includes effort, that will not be given to us, but an effort that implies an attitude to struggle for these goals in our daily lives.
—Understanding that European identity is built from knowledge and affection. European identity is a feeling of belonging.
—Making them feel active parts of that construction.

5. *Appreciate the axiological elenchus (syllogistic refutation) and culture common to the citizens who freely wish to become part of Europe.*

—Fomenting and knowing how to appreciate principles and values, from which Europe will be constructed and, as we have mentioned, do this in the context of global responsibility.
—Harmonising the empowerment of national traditions with the development of the European identity.
—Internalising the positive view regarding the integration of peoples with an open and cooperating attitude in such construction.

It is perceived, therefore, the urgency and necessity from education, *to build a new concept of Europe,* with an updated view, as well as *to develop in citizens a sense of belonging to that new Europe.*

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5.
What Underlies European Policies? Institutional Objectives in the Construction of a European Identity

Julia González

Rector's Delegate for International Relations
Deusto University, Spain

Introduction

The enlargement and the construction of "the new Europe" require a debate on European identity in the face of the present challenges. Can the future identity of the European Union (European Communities or European United States) of 25 or 28 or 30 associates "become blurred"? Is there such a thing as a European identity? Even from an open ended and dynamic conceptual framework where construction is at the core, where does lie this identity for the citizen? Are there any frontiers in Europe or limits to the European countries, which wish to join forces, sharing the ideals? If there are frontiers or limits, which ones are they?

If history tells us that this topic of identity emerges at every critical moment of birth or growth, it is normal that it would appear strongly now, pushed forward by the challenge of the greatest enlargement that has ever taken place in the history of the Union.

Besides, at the present moment, the construction of the new Europe needs to face the challenge of integrating the richness of migration. Is the European citizen prepared for diversity? And, which level of diversity? How can Europe's experience of managing diversity best be developed to face up the challenge of a "new European citizenship"?

Parallel to this, in the current context of globalization, a growing development of regional groups can be witnessed. These may feel that their local identities are threatened and search for a place in the global framework. The European Union who has constructed the most

developed example of integration faces unprecedented processes of change. It is crucial that European identity will not be perceived as a threat to other identities but a meeting point, a space where they all find their place.

Simultaneously, in March 2002 (and obviously against the background of the events of September 11th), the Commission launched a major conference on the topic of "dialogue between cultures and peoples". In the words of Romano Prodi, it was not only an idea but an agenda for action for peoples on the Mediterranean shores to develop harmonious relations as neighbours, based on mutual understanding, respect and fairness.

Identity and intercultural dialogue are mutually related and, when they are regarded from the perspective of education, they make us focus on what is transmitted in relation to concepts, values and styles of life. These can have a strong impact on the root of the social fabric and its future.

Enlargement, migration, awareness of local identities, need for intercultural dialogue outside Europe. These are not the only challenges for European identity but they certainly are significant challenges. What are the policies that relate to these crucial challenges? And, which are the institutional objectives in trying to create a strong European identity while the frontiers move further and further? How could migrants become full European citizens through policies of integration and social cohesion that could respect diversity and make the richness of variety emerge? How to create a European identity and keep at the same time multiple belongings including country, region, religion or cultural groups? And, fourthly, how to develop the sense of belonging and reinforce at the same time intercultural dialogue with other regions in a search for world harmony and understanding?

Institutional objectives in European policies

We were asked for a reflection on policies —the constructed set of actions designed to make shared visions into common strategy: a common strategy that takes them forward to concrete, tangible and historic accomplishments[1].

This reflection is not only of current importance but is vital in order to transmit the idea that identities are constructed and deconstructed,

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[1] E. Durkheim, E. (1982) Las Formas Elementales de la Vida Religiosa, Madrid, p. 394.

and that each epoch has to play its role in history: we must play ours, and the future generations will be responsible for theirs. They will have to "produce" the "we", for, in Durkheim's words, a society is constructed not only by the mass of individuals that compose it, by the territory that they occupy, by the things that they use, by the actions that they do, but, above all, by the idea that they have of themselves.

Another of the framing points of this discussion is the analysis of the institutional objectives. In the analysis of policies, the objectives do not only indicate the direction. But the programmes, the strategies and their success will be evaluated, measured by the degree of accomplishment of these objectives, framed always in an environment that gives their degree of possibility.

In this case, the reference is made to institutional objectives; and the institutions are created and developed precisely to carry out commonly designed objectives. They are responsible for maintaining and reconstructing them throughout time. It is to them, to the Institutions, that the citizen entrusts an important task, the task of forming the codes of identity, the content of transmission in the processes, the symbolisation of the common image. Fundamentally, it is these institutions which face the need to interrelate the objectives, to prioritise them, to create a hierarchy, to find a balance between them, particularly in times of limited resources.

Focusing the discussion on the objectives of policies brings us back again to the essence, the fundamentals, what classically policy analysts[2] call "the centrality of the objectives", since their clear fixation and their transmission towards the future is a key and must be actively pursued with a minimum of deviations.

This supposes, on the other hand, an analysis either of the processes or of the results, which, fortunately, we have not been asked to carry out.

The topic of the processes would have been extremely interesting and clearly relates to joint development of identity. With regard to the European Union, this would relate to topics such as processes of joint decision making, of negotiation and of creation of consensus. It would be very interesting and illuminating to talk about processes in relation to identity creation in the Union.

It is clearly relaxing not to have to speak about analysis of results, not because the evaluation and the study of impacts are not mechanisms

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[2] Hogwood, B. W. and L.A. Gunn, L.A. (1988) *Policy Analysis for the Real World.* Oxford University Press; Maychrzak, A. (1984) Methods for Policy Research, Sage Publications, London.

clearly present in community practice, but because many of these results are difficult to measure and need long term studies.

Referring to Institutions, it is not our intention to give here an exhaustive overview of the institutions: the Economic and Social Committee, the Court of Justice, the European Central or Investment Bank, the Committee of the Regions, the Council of the European Union... It is not our intention, as not even a very superficial view would have been possible.

It is rather an attempt to give a series of sketches and means for tackling the later production of references and materials. We will only refer to two examples and only to two of the possible levels: at the European level, the Parliament and the Commission. We also include a perspective from a member state.

Certainly, the institutions themselves are a symbol of «Europeanness». The European Parliament, chosen every five years by direct universal suffrage, is the expression of the political will of 374 million —soon there will be many more— citizens of the Union with the power to legislate, together with the Council, with budgetary authority, the democratic control and political supervision over all the institutions.

The European Commission represents the driving force of the institutional system of the Union. It has the capacity to initiate legislation, to represent the Union and to guarantee the development of treaties, negotiate agreements and take them forward to implementation.

In this context and using some examples at the European level, this first part of the reflection centres on the question: does the European Union have some institutional objectives that underlie its identity? If so, then, what are they?

We have concentrated on two areas that seem to us particularly significant. One is co-operation with Third Countries, specifically in relation to the Development Unit. The other is Higher Education, specifically in relation to the Unit of Education and Culture. In both fields, the debate about impact of policies on identity and the European dimension is going on at this moment. Perhaps, the fact that both are sensitive topics for which competences have rested with member states make them particularly interesting. Perhaps it is also this fact that has made the way long and enriched the reflection.

International co-operation

Europe has, during recent years, revised its co-operation with third countries. It has signed new international co-operation treaties and

agreements, particularly the Cotonou Agreement (June 2000) with countries of Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific; the Asian European agreement (21st October 2000), the agreements for the Mediterranean Countries (27 November 2000) and the agreements reached at the Madrid Summit (May 2002) with the Latin American countries.

In the case of co-operation with third countries and referring to the new agreements, does the European policy bear a distinctive stamp? Is there a mark of identity of Europe in relation to third countries in comparison to USA or Japan, for example? We have reviewed these recent agreements of the European Union in order to compare them with the objectives of the policies that are deduced by an analysis at the same level of other international actors in the same field.

What are the new dimensions of the Cotonou Agreement[3] signed on 23 June 2000 in the capital of Benin, Cotonou? In the words of EU Commissioner Poul Nielson,

> Dialogue plays a key role in the success of development co-operation activities. It is at the heart of the relationship between the ACP group and the European Union. We will have to make all possible efforts to ensure that we tackle the real issues and potential difficulties at an advanced stage. Partnership goes hand in hand with ownership and mutual confidence. In a constructive and positive spirit we have decided to define good governance as a fundamental element of the new Agreement.

Other important elements include the emphasis on the fact that each country must own and be accountable for its policies, and on the association of civil society and the promotion of a more direct involvement of all stakeholders. These are also major components as well as the upholding of democratic principles and proven respect of human rights.

If we compare the agreement with the ACP countries with those signed for the zone ASEM or the Mediterranean zone, even if we analyse the Madrid Summit held in May 2002, with Latin America countries, particularly the document on common values and positions, Latin America-Europe, certain elements become a significant pattern.

Concentrating specifically not so much on the economic, but on the political, cultural and educational nuclei, there are a few constant lines that seem to correspond to convictions:

—Societies are strengthened or weakened according to whether human rights are respected and developed.

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[3] ACP-EU Partnership Agreement, Directorate General for Development, European Commission, Brussels (Belgium) September, 2000, p. 3.

—Important topics are the construction of peace and the prevention of conflict, due attention to emigration, democratic principles and good governance.

—Civil society gets a participative role. The new trends of co-operation try to promote the commitment of civil society and social and economic actors. This requires information, support, institutional strengthening. This also demands a spirit of consultation of different agents, the implementation of programmes and the development of networks between associated countries and the European Union. In the treaties, there is also a reinforcement of previous institutions and agreements taking place at world level and a desire to strengthen particularly the role of the United Nations.

They also include strategies of poverty reduction and its eventual eradication, sustainable development and gradual integration in a global society. They also demand fostering the economic, social, cultural and environmental perspectives that make up development along with liberalisation, decentralisation and rationalisation of the instruments.

These treaties outline a new form of co-operation for Europe: a co-operation which has a distinctive mark when compared with other international actors and which can be identified by analysing the constant features in the objectives declared:

—Need to contribute to world's good governance and, consequently, emphasis in underlining the need for the partners to respect international treaties and active participation in UN's joint actions.

—Commitment to the construction of peace, prevention of conflict, democracy; and the eradication of poverty.

—Conviction that societies get weaker or stronger according to the level of practice of human rights.

The combination of these elements gives the identity mark to European institutional objectives in relation to third countries. These are elements, which are clearly identifiable, together with an emphasis on structured dialogue on these issues and, specifically, on Human Rights. The inclusion of dialogue in the agreements could be understood as a means for monitoring progress in some cases or as a position of moving away from ethnocentric views of the past to a position of dialogue. This means mutual consideration, understanding and learning of important issues such as human rights, in a framework whereby partners are regarded as partners from the development of

the concept, taking into consideration the different cultural environments in the attempt to build together a fairer world.

Will Europe have left behind, in this context, and, at least, in relation to institutional objectives, the colonial past for ever? Will Europe's policies towards other initiatives mark a new and clearly identifiable approach? If this were the case, European policies would have created a balance and an identity mark, but more importantly, these policies would have made a significant contribution to world harmony.

In any case, only two further steps are still requested: the voice of Europe, institutional objectives in policies, its proclaimed style of behaving needs to grow stronger and clearer. Secondly, actions should be planned and acted upon, guided by the objectives, as they indeed do in good policy making.

Higher Education

The second line of analysis is that of Higher Education. Education, what is transmitted and passed on to future generations, is obviously a crucial issue in relation to identity.

In the context of Higher Education, one of the most remarkable observations is that the actors of these policies are clearly coming together to produce a significant impact on European Higher Education and also on European identity. Education is one of the areas where the responsibility rests with member states; the subsidiary role of Directorate General (former DG XXII), now Education and Culture, has always been recognised. However, what was set in motion by the actions and programmes fostered by this Directorate General went beyond the million of ERASMUS students acquiring the experience of studying part of their degree in universities of at least two member states.

These joint actions include developing joint curricula and joint degrees: sharing teaching staff, ideas and financial resources; creating and writing projects together in the Thematic Networks; and develop-<ing joint intensive programmes. Teaching staff, administrators and students involved in these joint programmes and activities learned how much they have a common goal across the European countries and how very diverse they were. They learned to bear this diversity sometimes and to respect and enjoy it as richness. Particularly, they experienced Europe, its people, its changing cultures, its reality.

It would be impossible to find a place in this short, introductory analysis to relate to all that is going on in the context of Higher

Education in Europe at present not only from Directorate General Education and Culture (Tempus and Tempus Meda Programmes[4], Programmes with USA[5], Canada[6], Japan, for example), wee will not even refer to other units like Europaid with programmes such as the ALFA[7], ALBAN[8] and @lis programmes with Latin America or Asian-Link[9] with Philippines, China and India.

Due to its specific reference to European identity, it is necessary to refer to the latest Education and Culture (EAC) announced programme: ERASMUS world[10]. This has a clear positioning in the context of globalisation and interdependence. The response of the member states and of the European Union to the needs of Higher Education can not remain limited to the geographical borders of Europe.

EAC considers that there is a need to guarantee the attractive capacity of the European system of higher education throughout the world based on its great cultural tradition but, furthermore, on the quality built up by joint co-operation. EAC also considers that there is a further need to take advantage of the potential and the synergies between centres of higher education and research in Europe in order to advance the society of knowledge.

Opening the borders of Europe would be particularly relevant in relation to intercultural dialogue between peoples and cultures. This is seen as a strategic priority to promote understanding and tolerance in the world.

ERASMUS WORLD is an example of a measure with clear objectives in order to bring about a higher degree of the European dimension. Whatever the programme achieves, the search for a European Higher Education with a quality mark and able to attract people from all over the world relates clearly to the issue of European identity. The needs that the programme points out relate to:

Lack of a European profile: a lack of identity in European Higher Education with an absence of emblematic projects, and a risk of increasing the lack of understanding, which calls for more co-ordinated actions.

As a consequence, the specific objectives also relate to the need for more visibility:

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[4] http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/tempus/home.html
[5] http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/ec-usa/usa.html
[6] http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/canada/canada.html
[7] http://europa.eu.int/comm/europeaid/projects/alfa/index_en.htm
[8] http://europa.eu.int/comm/europeaid/projects/alban/index_en.htm
[9] http://europa.eu.int/comm/europeaid/projects/asia-link/index_en.htm
[10] http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/erasmus.html

Availability of specifically European education, that is, an education with a higher profile, more visible and able to create greater interest at a world scale. It follows that strategies to build closer co-operation among the Higher Education Institutions and the member states are needed to produce this profile with a good management of diversity as richness.

It is interesting to note that it is in the recent communication of the Commission —"A project for the European Union"— that, for the first time and in a general contribution to the debate on the future of Europe, education is mentioned as one of the policies to reinforce the Europe of knowledge and employment and growth.

A second set of actors comes into the scene around 1998 with the Sorbone Declaration, followed by the Bologna Declaration 1999. The process Bologna-Prague-Berlin was also set in motion and, this time, by the Ministers of Education of the member states. The objective of the creation of a common area of Higher Education was as logical as revolutionary, and it initiated a process of Reforms in Higher Education in all the signatory countries. This development of a common area of Higher Education in Europe, matched by a parallel common area of research launched by Directorate General for Research, is a powerful weapon to advance towards a European identity.

Important measures were agreed upon:

—The development of a system of easily readable and compatible degrees based on two cycles.
—The adoption of a common system such as the European credit system to measure outcomes and student workload.
—The generalized introduction of the Diploma Supplement to bring understanding and transparency to the degrees from all over the world.
—The promotion of mobility.

These measures were to be followed up by the promotion of European co-operation in quality assurance; the development of both specific joint curricula and modules and units fostering the European Dimension. The creation of European Higher Education Area should also be relevant to learning throughout the whole life of the person since knowledge needs continuous up-dating, and changes in employment may require the development of a different set of competences. An important objective in these developments and in the whole process is the Promotion of the Attractiveness of the European Higher Education Area. The impact of this creation of a common area of Higher Education is difficult to measure at this point; but it is clearly transforming the

educational structures of European Higher Institutions and the legislation on Higher Education in the majority of member states.

Despite the variety of approaches and ways of addressing this challenge, experience of identity could be that of reforming together or, at least, at the same time, and driven by the same objectives, the policies on Higher Education in the different Bologna signatory communities. What is particularly relevant, in this respect, is that the Bologna Declaration and the Prague Communiqué set in motion and organised processes with objectives and means, studies, regular meetings of Ministers, indicators, and calendars. In particular, these documents articulated follow up groups with fixed periodical meetings and conferences on crucial issues.

The third set of actors concerns the higher education institutions and universities. They were there from the beginning, as constant actors in the process. Yet their institutional role has become more cohesive in terms of internationalisation inside the institution as well as their joint voice has become more and more articulated in the Conference of Rectors. The Salamanca Convention, and the soon to come Graz Convention, mark important moments of joint declarations; while thematic meetings like the Zurich meeting on the European credit (October 2002) show the capacity to reach significant consensus. Particularly, the emergence of the European University Association (EUA) is in itself a symbol and a development of European identity. The EUA, which has already launched a number of significant projects, is called upon to play an important role in the development of joint university action, quality levels and measures to further develop the common European Area of Higher Education.

The Universities have invested enormously in the process. They have also learned from it. They have indeed shown their capacity to take initiatives and to develop projects such as the Tuning Higher Education Structures in Europe project as a response from the Universities to the Bologna process and the Bologna challenge.

They have been and still remain together with the Commission and the member states very much at the core of developing objectives, of fostering the European dimension of Higher Education. The recognition of their potential underscores the latest development in relation to the European Parliament. The European Parliament has always been a supportive actor of the *Europeanisation* of Higher Education but it is only recently that a new initiative has shown a particular emphasis and a possible road forward in the place and role of Universities and Higher Education and their impact on European development. The document report on the Universities and Higher Education in the European

knowledge space from the Commission of Culture, Youth, Education, Media and Sport has been presented by Cristina Gutiérrez Cortines[11].

Conclusion

Looking internally and externally into the objectives in the institutional policies in relation to co-operation with Third Countries and Higher Education, we could conclude by considering that there is evidence that the European identity underlies institutional objectives in, at least, some of the policies even in fields where responsibility used to rest with the member states.

However, several challenges can also be identified. Firstly, the European identity is being developed at different speeds and needs to reach an even growing number of citizens. Secondly, the voice of Europe, which is emerging sometimes still hesitant in the global context needs to become clearer to bring alternative visions and new ways of moving ahead. Thirdly, in a world context where diversity is not always respected and is often a source of conflict, Europe may be called upon to contribute with a vision of diversity as richness and with an experience of how to handle it. Fourthly, an important challenge to European identity is that it goes beyond its frontiers and is open to real co-operation with third countries: a co-operation based on a new style, as it is a new Europe which is being constructed with 'dialogue' as an identity mark. This requires understanding, listening, giving adequate answers and, above all, basic equality from the root in the consideration of partners. Finally, possibly the greatest challenge for European identity, in this respect, is to go beyond institutional objectives to produce the outcomes that are sought by the designed policies.

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[11] (2001/2174 (INI)) Report from Parliament. Commission of Culture, Youth, Education, Media and Sport. Brussels, 24 May 2002.

6.
European Programmes from Spain

Encarnación Herrero
Subdirección General de Programas Europeos
Ministry of Education, Science and Sport, Spain

Latest guidelines from the European Council and Commission in the field of Education

The prospect of a united Europe on the various fronts is the decisive factor of the whole European educational movement: since the culmination of the integration process of the 15 member States into the EU, it is widely accepted that EDUCATION is indeed the key for the realization of the notion of European identity. According to the European Commission for Education: «In order to build tomorrow´s Europe, we need to invest in education today».

In recent years, the fact that the EU considers education and training to be one of the fundamental pillars in the construction of Europe has been welcomed in educational spheres. "To make the knowledge-based economy of the European Union the most competitive and dynamic in the world", to be achieved by 2010, was an strategic goal established at the Lisbon Summit in March 2000. This decision grants education and training a very important role. In the Summit itself, a memorandum on lifelong learning was drafted. It has been further developed in order to reduce normative and administrative obstacles to professional recognition of both formal and informal education. Ensuring that all citizens obtain basic qualifications becomes a priority. On the other hand, the Action Plan adopted in Nice created the necessary practical conditions to guarantee mobility to all the participants in the fields of education, research and innovation. During her term of office as European Commissioner for Education and Culture, Viviane Reading said in relation to Nice´s agreement on mobility: "The challenge is ambitious and all those that play a role in the fields of

education, training and youth must take action alongside their respective political leaders so as to accept it and ensure that the Europe of knowledge we are dreaming of becomes an everyday reality for our citizens".

Political cooperation in the fields of education and training is receiving increasing support in the European Union. On 14 February, 2002, during Spain´s presidency, a working agenda on goals to be achieved in educational and training systems was approved. The agenda was based on three important pillars:

—To enhance the quality and efficiency of educational and training systems in the European Union.
—To facilitate access to education and training to everyone.
—To open educational and training systems to the outside world.

Both the Commission and the Council are determined to meet the challenges that the society of knowledge, globalization and EU enlargement entail, and they have established a number of ambitious yet realist goals. In the interest of citizens and the EU as a whole, the following objectives related to education and training should be met by the year 2010:

—To reach the highest possible quality in education and training, so that Europe is considered a world reference for quality education and training in its Institutions.
—To succeed in making Educational Systems compatible enough to allow citizens to move from one to the other, benefiting from their diversity .
—To ensure that all diplomas and qualifications awarded in any EU country get full validation in the rest of the EU.
—To facilitate access to lifelong learning to all European citizens of all ages.
—To succeed in opening Europe to cooperation in mutual interest and in the interest of all the other regions and, consequently, become the favourite destination for students, scholars and researchers from other parts of the world.

The European Council, in cooperation with the Commission, has the responsibility of co-ordinating and monitoring the necessary strategies for the accomplishment of such goals. The Commission is due to send a report to the European Council in the year 2004 with the results obtained.

Up until now, policies promoting the accomplishment of goals related to basic skills —such as Information and Communication Technology

(ICT), competence in language acquisition, enhance Science knowledge, with special reference to Maths— have been implemented in all member States.

European Programmes: Spain´s Contribution

In this context, the Commission´s promotion of a great number of programmes aimed at enhancing the quality of education can be explained. Amongst the most important are *Socrates*, *Leonardo da Vinci* and *Youth*.

The European Commission for Education is responsible for the implementation of the policies approved by the European Council in this field. It makes official announcements and sponsors projects on different subjects. In the case of decentralised projects and actions, it distributes funds destined to educational programmes amongst the different States, establishes management regulations and monitors their development.

The *Leonardo da Vinci* Programme is geared towards employment and vocational training. The *Youth* Programme is aimed at volunteers, principally among the youth.

Due to time constraints, only the *Socrates* Programme will be dealt with, since it covers all of the stages in a person's life.

Socrates Programme

It is a European Community Action Programme in the field of education which was approved by the Parliament and the Council on 24 January, 2000. It will be implemented from 1 January, 2000 to 31 December, 2006.

Aims

—To strengthen the European dimension of education at all levels.
—To improve the knowledge of European languages.
—To promote cooperation and mobility throughout education.
—To encourage innovation in education.
—To promote equal opportunities in all sectors of education.

Actions

Comenius: School education (Institutions, teachers and students).
Erasmus: Higher education (Departments, teachers and students).

Grundtvig: Adult education and other educational pathways (lifelong learning).

Lingua: Foreign language teaching and learning.

Minerva: Information and Communication Technologies in education.

Observation and innovation of educational systems and policies.

Joint Actions with other Community programmes.

Accompanying measures to finance other activities which are not envisaged within the frameworks of the previously described actions.

In the second article of the decision of the European Parliament and Council which establishes the 2nd phase of the *Socrates* Programme, it is indicated that its goals are geared towards the accomplishment of the following aims: to contribute to quality education and to promote lifelong learning.

The European prospect in the field of education aims not as much at the elaboration of lab designs as at the promotion of transnational projects capable of producing significant changes in students, teachers and centres alike, participating in the Comenius and Erasmus Actions, as well as important changes in the remaining sectors of society, if participating in Grundtvig.

Furthermore, the *Socrates* Programme contains Actions which are considered transversal because they are in some way present in the other programmes, although they can be said to have their own identity and, in fact, they are officially announced on a yearly basis. These Actions are: Lingua, geared towards the acquisition of languages and Minerva, directed to the enhancement of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) in education.

The *Socrates* Programme also bears in mind technicians and managers in charge of the correct and efficient running of educational systems. To contribute to this achievement, the so-called Arion Action was established. It is important to highlight the official announcement of Common or Joint Actions. In the projects related to this Action, the aspects or institutions belonging to the three programmes (*Socrates*, *Leonardo da Vinci* and *Youth*) must be taken into consideration.

The signing of bilateral agreements between the European Commission´s DG for Education and Culture and member States (through National Agencies) becomes absolutely necessary for the development and administration of such programmes.

The funds destined to education are distributed to States by the Commission according to the population each of the Actions addresses.

Spain follows the same policy with regards to its seventeen Autonomous Regions, given the existing decentralization of responsibilities regarding educational issues.

Spain, as a EU State, is an active member of all the programmes promoted by the European Commission in the field of education and teacher training. In general, Spain ranks amongst the first, and in some Actions it comes out top both in number of participants and, consequently, in funds allocation, since it is the Commission´s policy to send the remaining funds to the States with the highest demand once funds have been allocated according to the population of each country.

The participation of Spanish citizens in European programmes is highly satisfactory. with regards to *Socrates* the funds received from the European Commission can only sponsor 51 % of all the project applications submitted.

With regard to other programmes, the amount of interest is similar, and demand is always far above offer.

There are other programmes which depend on the Commission that are also developed in educational institutions, such as:

—European Youth Parliament.
—European Young Customer Competition.
—Sea and River Culture Youth Competition.
—Euroescola.
—*Convivir es vivir*, etc.

European programmes contribute to the improvement of education and promote the necessary ethical values for any society, while creating citizens´ awareness of being a part of Europe.

As it has been previously mentioned, students, teachers and educational institutions constitute the fundamental terms of reference for quality of education. As such, it is necessary to focus our attention on each of them and analyse the ways in which each of the Actions contained within the *Socrates* Programme directly or indirectly affects them.

Institutions

Action One of *Comenius* affects the running of schools more directly, by supporting the establishment of transnational partnerships and developing any of the following three kinds of projects:

—School Projects in collaboration with schools in other European countries.

—Language projects between groups of students from either EU countries or associate countries.
—School Development Projects in which at least three European countries are involved.

1. *The contribution to the quality of education of these projects is reflected on procedures or patterns of institutional behaviour that are likely to have a positive impact on school environment.*

   —They promote the exchange of experiences in educational issues —which are important for their current relevance and interest, from both educational and methodological viewpoints— between different institutions.
   —The project´s philosophy requires close monitoring of all programmed activities, thus contributing to the establishment of a serious and rigorous work dynamics involving administrators, teachers and students alike.
   —The requirements for funding are the acceptance of the project by the School council and staff and the interdisciplinary nature of the project. This way, various departments are affected and the highest possible number of teachers and students are involved.
   —Likewise, for a project to be funded, its multiplying effect and its ability to make a positive impact on other school have to be fully justified.
   —The European Commission recognizes each school that has developed a project as a Research Centre and awards an accrediting plaque.

2. *All of the projects deriving from a partnership contribute to enhancing the quality of the participating institutions due to the dynamics they transmit to their main agents.*

Furthermore, school development projects deal directly with aspects such as the enhancement of the school´s organization, planning of cultural and extracurricular activities, prevention of under-achievement, school violence and conflict, evaluation systems, strategies for the educational integration of ethnic minorities, special needs programmes, programmed learning support, etc.

It is possible to develop a project on any of the aforementioned topics with educational institutions in other European countries in order to introduce elements which enhance the running of schools.

School educational projects are enhanced by the participation in *Arion* Field Visits of directors, career guidance departments, inspection

services and consulting teams from Teacher´s Centres, whose mission is to offer support to the whole educational system and, fundamentally, to the running of schools.

All professionals, with their respective responsibilities, contribute to promoting, complementing or reinforcing more specific goals dealt with by the projects carried out in some of the centres within their administrative, educational or jurisdictional area.

Teachers

The *Socrates* Programme focuses on the three educational terms of reference around which this reflection specially deals with while trying to establish a balance between each of them and the unity of action in the framework of the Programme´s educational guidelines and the principles that inspire it.

In the process of accomplishment of goals through which the guidelines are materialised, institutions and educational organizations hold a prominent position. Within them, and without underestimating the importance of other social agents, the role of the teacher stands out.

The intervention of the teacher as a qualified professional in the realm of education is a especially determining and relevant factor in the process of enhancement of teaching quality.

One of the main current responsibilities of the teacher is to act as a driving force for educational updating and innovation.

The exercise of such an important role is directly linked to motivation levels, which means, in short, inner conviction of the relevance and importance of the role of teachers in society in order to promote profound changes and generate positive attitudes and habits towards teaching improvement.

Deep motivation on the part of the teacher is essential for real quality education. Consequently, all efforts and measures channelled into the promotion of such motivation represent the best quality guarantee.

In this sense, *Socrates*, one of the EU Action Programmes for education, can contribute to increased teacher motivation which, in short, means a quality boost.

The above contribution will focus on two essential areas, namely European cooperation projects and individual teacher development support.

With regards to European cooperation projects, their research nature should be highlighted and they should be valued and recognised

by governments as such. Teacher at pre-University levels must be aware of the fact that Primary and Secondary schools must be not only teaching but also research institutions. More so, research is intrinsic to education.

Absence of research in educational institutions should be regarded as a symptom of quality loss and, for this reason, it should be regarded as a call of attention for educational administrators as well as a clear and precise sign to intervene in the right direction.

However, it must be indicated that research requires time and peace. Consequently, the concept of lesson schedule needs to be restructured and reinterpreted, allowing time for both individual and team research applied to classroom situations.

Such research projects do not only promote reflection upon present-day topics of common educational interest. Their development also involves the work of a large number of professionals from different levels and countries who contribute to promoting the European dimension of education as well as intercultural enrichment, language learning, information and communication technology (ICT) use, access to lifelong learning as well as adhesion to values such as tolerance, respect and solidarity, which constitute the basis of convivial citizenship.

In the new millennium, the above aspects should be considered essential for quality education, not only as a means but also as one of its major goals.

Generally speaking, it should be underscored that priority projects are those which contribute significantly to teacher development innovation, highlighting the renewal and recovery of the teacher´s role which also means recovery of his or her social and professional identity.

More specifically, in order for a 21st century teacher to efficiently meet the challenges he is faced with whilst carrying out his duties, he must contribute to the following goals:

—To help students to rethink and restructure part of the learning acquired outside the classroom and to develop skills based on it.
—To design strategies for the application of his educational research projects.
—To develop methods in order to adapt structures and school´s forms of organization to the needs, problems and demands of today´s society.
—To improve the systems which facilitate and make the transition from school to the labour market possible, with special emphasis on career guidance and specialised counselling.

Additionally, the major goal of projects among institutions, specially those orientated towards teacher training and development is to create programmes, courses, strategies or teaching materials aimed at the formation of teachers. Apart from improving the quality of training at European level, their main contribution is the establishment of links among professionals in education from various European countries.

Students

Every activity and educational project generated by the *Socrates* programme points at its main target: students, with the mediation of teachers and institutions.

Students should play an active role in their learning process through their participation in the dynamics of innovation and renewal of the Europe of knowledge. The *Socrates* Programme plays a prominent role in the construction of European awareness and, simultaneously, in the formation of responsible citizens in today´s society.

Students are, thus, the main beneficiaries of the joint action of educational institutions and teachers. This does not mean, however, that their role is confined to being mere recipients of such action.

The observations and remarks made in the previous sections are meaningful so long as the maturity process of the students´ personalities is, individually and collectively, taken into consideration.

Throughout the *Socrates* Programme, a hierarchy of priorities may be established in relation to educational goals and learning content directed to students.

It is impossible to anticipate tomorrow´s education without previously assimilating the progress that the current technological revolution has brought about. This means that ignorance or inadequate usage of technology is not compatible with an understanding of today´s world, that is, with innovation and development.

Language learning is necessary not as a goal in itself but as inner need for understanding differences and as a means of intercultural communication.

Furthermore, the content and meaning of values which should be an essential part of education anywhere and any time —above linguistic, ethnic and cultural differences— are also radically presented. Every action within the *Socrates* Programme considers solidarity, convivial citizenship, respect and motivation (in short, all the values which make the society that possesses them different to the rest) priority objectives.

We should never forget that students are citizens undergoing a process of maturity and transition. For this reason, they constitute the

most fragile and defenceless element in the educational sphere, amongst the three that have been referred to. Their life path in its deepest sense is determined by many opposing forces. One of the most important tasks of the teacher, who is also an educator, is to approach those forces, discover their impact and reorientate them in the right direction.

For the European Commission, the carrying out of the activities and the accomplishment of the goals referred to in this paper represent a step forward, a guarantee and condition for quality improvement in all European countries.

7.
Is the European Model Being Rejected? Repercussions in the Field of Education

Lurdes Figueiral
Asociação Luso-Espanhola de Pedagogía, Portugal

A minha aldeia	**My village**
Minha aldeia é todo o mundo.	My village is the whole world.
Todo o mundo me pertence.	The whole world belongs to me.
Aqui me encontro e confundo	Here I meet and mix
com gente de todo o mundo	with people from the whole world
que a todo o mundo pertence.	that belong to the whole world.
Bate o sol na minha aldeia	The sun shines in my village
com várias inclinações.	with various inclinations.
Ângulo novo, nova ideia;	New angle, new idea;
outros graus, outras razões.	other degrees, other reasons.
Que os homens da minha aldeia	Men in my village
são centenas de milhões.	there are hundreds of millions.
Os homens da minha aldeia	Men in my village
divergem por natureza.	differ by nature.
…	…
Longas raízes que imergem,	Long roots which immerse,
todos os homens convergem	all men converge
no centro da minha aldeia.	in the center of my village.
António Gedeão[1]	*António Gedeão*

I would like to begin with a section of a poem by a Portuguese poet —who, apart from being a great poet, was also a great teacher of

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[1] Gedeão, A. (1956) *Movimento Perpétuo*, Lisboa.

Physics and Chemistry as well as a historian. The poem was written when the idea of the *global village* was still far away. I also noticed the mention of two movements, divergence and convergence. The former could be understood from the standpoint of *nature* (what differentiates us and often separates us) and the latter from the standpoint of *citizenship* (the shaping that makes us responsible and generous citizens of the same city).

We acknowledge ourselves in an effort to shape an identity that can transmit the best each individual, each unique man and woman, carries within oneself and contributes to the group and to society. We are convinced that this construction is the great educational challenge of our time.

Paradoxes of our time and place

We live in an epoch which is full of meanings, including the turn of the century and the millennium. We have also been a part of the 20th century, which inherited the optimism that characterised the Industrial Revolution and scientific positivism and which, however, witnessed the known (and yet to be known) global horrors, bequeathing the new century a generalised feeling of scepticism and mistrust. We inhabit a place —spatial, cultural and symbolic— which is a part of the so-called Western World: Europe, upon which we are now reflecting from the standpoint of its identity.

In this time and place we continually come up against the most disconcerting paradoxes. Here are just some of them:

—We live in a welfare state model a great part of humanity aspires to. However, this model is ferocious, not only for those who live outside of it but also for those of us who suffer from its inhumane pace and for the increasing number of socially excluded groups it generates.

—We have access to fast and global information and we are witnessing a scientific and technological development process that had never been previously experienced. However, solitude is a growing phenomenon in our cities and very often we feel incapable of solving the problems of our daily lives.

—We define ourselves as a «community of values»[2] and we declare that «freedom, peace, the dignity of mankind, equality and social

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   [2] *Charter of European Identity*. October 1995.

justice are our greatest goods»[3] and, at the same time, we look at immigrants and individuals from other cultures with suspicion.

—We strive to achieve political unity and social convergence but we have constant negative reactions from groups and nations which do not feel that their identity is being acknowledged and respected.

I could continue but there is no need. Each and everyone of us can add, from their own perceptions and sensitivities, more items from the list of paradoxes that we carry within ourselves and within the structures we belong to.

Identity and identities

> «*In the age of globalization, with its accelerated and vertiginous process of mixture and amalgam that surrounds us all, it is necessary —and urgent!—to come up with a new concept of identity. We cannot just compel thousands of millions of disconcerted people to choose between out-and-out defence of their identity and its complete loss, between fundamentalism and disintegration. (...) If our contemporaries are not encouraged to assume their multiples feelings of belonging, if they cannot combine their need to own an identity with an open attitude, (...) if they feel obliged to choose between denying themselves and denying others, we will be creating legions of disorientated beings.*» Amin Maalouf[4].

Very often it is said *our identity must be examined in detail*. It would be good to clarify what we mean by this. I believe that if by saying so we mean embarking on a journey of social and personal introspection, searching in the past for our deepest and truest initial identity, we run the risk of stressing what distinguishes and separates us from the rest. Our conception of identity can become rather fixed and unchangeable.

If our aim is *to build our identity*, a future-oriented intention of permanent development and inclusion of what is new and different is emphasised, searching for the areas in which we can share identity features with individuals, groups and societies that acknowledge an identity different from ours.

Both approaches have pros and cons. Nothing can be built if there are no bases, no foundations, no roots. The reason for roots is to enable the tree to grow and foundations are laid so that houses can be built.

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[3] *Idem*.
[4] Maalouf, A. (1999*) Identidades asesinas*. Alianza Editorial.

On the other hand, a constructivist conception of identity could lead to an incoherent amalgam in which specific elements are diluted in a "broth" in which we all dress alike, eat the same and listen to the same music (tending, furthermore, to consume light/soft versions, the sole type of protest being the creation of hard/heavy versions of the former).

However, in my opinion, we need to focus on the constructivist standpoint, without lapsing into the mediocrity that results from permanent concession to all type of economic, social, consumer-related and *politically correct* pressures.

It is here where I would place an aspect that has to do with regional and national identities as opposed to a supranational identity such as the European Union o even Europe or as some plurinational states. Constructing a larger, more global identity cannot be made at the expense of what groups, peoples, regions and nations regard as specific to their own identity. At the same time, a reverse movement is necessary: as we integrate into a different or larger reality, we should be able to criticise our own values and traditions and distinguish what is essential for the preservation of our own identity from what is superfluous and prevents us from making progress.

Xabier Etxeberría´s chapter focuses on this issue.

The following aspects related to the construction of an identity are to be highlighted:

The richness of diversity

Throughout this Seminar we have referred to the colloquy on European Identity that the Council of Europe carried out in three occasions (between April 2001 and April 2002). At present, I would only like to focus on the metaphor for Europe that was devised there: «a constantly shifting kaleidoscope»[5]. The truth is a kaleidoscope with one single lens is not very effective. A singularity imprisoned around a prism of mirrors only looks at and reflects itself. On the other hand, the effect of the final image is likely to be often repeated. However, the more pieces we have and the more varied they are, will create a unique and, of course, much more dazzling effect.

I believe that the metaphor of the kaleidoscope can be inspiring in relation to the point I want to make here: the more we integrate diversity into the construction of our own identity, the more we are capable of welcoming differences, the richer our reality and our life will be.

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[5] «European identity: a constantly-shifting kaleidoscope». Council of Europe. The Notion of Identity. Coloquy: 17-18 April, 2001.

The complement of the other

The *other* is not a threat. The person who is different from me —who thinks differently, who has other likes, who speaks another language, who acknowledges other symbols, who adheres to another creed, the believer or the agnostic— is not better or worse than me. We are just different and this distinction complements us. We are nor rivals, we are complementary. Consequently, I do not need to attack the other nor to defend myself from him.

Managing to live and value this alterity is not easy. Most of the times, prejudices are stronger than us. However, knowing what the ultimate goal of identity construction is, is indispensable.

Overcoming fear

Until we can look at the *other* as potential completeness, it will be perceived as a threat. We will be fearful, both when rejecting and when being rejected.

The fear on the part of the individual who rejects can become manifest in non-appreciation for the other and scorn for his beliefs. Two forms of the greatest aggressiveness are ignorance and humiliation. Fear in the rejected individual can lead to either him wearing a mask so as to resemble the «other» or to break-outs of various types of violence.

Identity is a sphere for acknowledgement and recognition. We all have the duty and the right to acknowledge and be acknowledged, of appreciating and being appreciated, of welcoming and being welcomed.

There is yet another fear that all of us, and specially European, have to overcome. At the beginning of this presentation I said that we had entered the twentieth century with scepticism. Alongside it, we might have also inherited some fear of the future. We want to insure everything, and we defend ourselves. However, we are called to live with hope in a future for all. A hope which its not mistaken for the naïve optimism of the early twentieth century but which is based on the trust that construction efforts will always bear their fruit.

Margarita Usano´s reflection will focus on this challenging aspect.

Challenges in the field of Education

The educational task that is currently challenging us is the construction of an identity with the wealth of a kaleidoscope, the ability to integrate different models and the capacity to communicate with *others*.

Throughout this Seminar we are examining the issues of European identity and education and teaching in and about Europe. I will not

repeat what others will say with greater authority and knowledge. However, I think that educating from this perspective implies a revision of our attitude towards change, as far as Schools are concerned.

In many of our countries successive reforms have taken place throughout the past years. It is true that many things have changed with regards to curricula, disciplinary programmes, methodologies and the influence of the *hidden curriculum.* However, and at least as far as I know, there are aspects which are still hindering and subverting the ends and goals at the various educational levels. One of them is the student assessment system; others have to do with the identity and the social recognition of teachers and schools. It is convenient to identify and define these obstacles in their respective contexts.

Alistair Ross will contribute his experience on these topics and specially the work that the CE Thematic Network is carrying out.

To conclude, I would like to briefly refer to teachers. Their role in the educational process and in front of the students is highly relevant. However, many teachers, in the midst of so many swift changes and reforms, are experiencing the uncertainty of *not knowing what to do*, oscillating between the still common approach of that who «knows everything that needs to be taught» and that who encourages students and jointly does research and looks for solutions.

There is a *not knowing* which constitutes knowledge. We just need to be daring. We cannot remain motionless in the thick of things, in the heart of change, there where tomorrow´s men and women are being forged.

The influence of a teacher in the formation of his students is very significant. I truly believe that one good teacher has more influence in the educational process of a young person and in the development of his personality than ten grey teachers. Congratulations!

It only remains to be said that I truly hope that all of us who are educators, one way or another, look up to this task with love and hope. I would like to express this wish echoing another poet and teacher from my country, Sebastião da Gama, who wrote the following in his diary, in 1948:

> *«... e já agora, para fechar este parágrafo, deixo aquí aquela encantadora confissão da Lurdinhas, tão boa indicação do que, em última palabra, debe ser o Professor: «Então a gente anda aquí tão feliz e no fim do mês ainda nos dão dinheiro?»*[6].

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[6] «... and now, to conclude this chapter, I will quote Lurdinhas´ charming confession, which so rightly reveals what Teachers should ultimately be: « We are so happy here and we even get money at the end of the month?»» in Gama, S., *Diario*, Lisbon.

8.
Boderline Europeans:
Nationalisms and Fundamentalisms

Xabier Etxeberría Mauleón
Human Rights Institute
University of Deusto, Spain

The title that I was proposed for my presentation, included in the session entitled "Does a rejection of the European model exist?", explicitly prejudges that nationalisms and fundamentalisms are rather against the process of European construction or are at least incessantly hindering it, feeling foreign to it. Matching both notions might also be prejudging that they are similar concepts, sharing the same fanatical, intolerant and domineering negativism. In order to know to what extent these prejudgements are actually consistent, I deem it appropriate to divide this paper into two parts, one for each phenomenon. Both sections will begin with a definition of the notion in question. Next, the role each of the notions is playing in the construction of European identity will be analysed. To conclude, some guidelines to react against the results of the previous analysis will be suggested.

Nationalisms and European Identity

Clarifications to the notion of Nationalism

There is a manifest plurality of opinions amongst scholars trying to come up with definitions for the interrelated notions of nation and nationalism. Whilst acknowledging that my proposal might arouse controversy, yet believing that without a definition of both terms we cannot advance, I shall view nationalism as the political option which sustains that nations —amongst which is, obviously, one´s own— have the right to external self-determination —to relate to other nations on

an equal footing— even if such right is not necessarily exercised pro-posing the creation of an independent State (there are other solutions, such as a federation). Nationalism assumes this principle and focuses on the project of construction or survival of one´s nation. The notion of nation is linked to at least four fundamental issues: a land considered one´s own (which must be claimed if others occupy it), political sovereignty exercised within it (or which one aspires to exercise, if there is external domination), a feeling of common belonging as co-nationals (which nationalism promotes, and of which it is nourished, furthermore defining the criteria of belonging) and a history through which the national community becomes a collective subject assuming its heritage and projecting itself into the future.

These traits with which nationalism can be defined may be lived in different ways, giving rise to different modes of nationalism. The following are highlighted:

First of all, we may distinguish between culturalist nationalism and biologicist nationalism. According to the former, what defines co-natio-nals is their participation in a national culture. Thus, common ancestry is secondary: it is believed that a nation can have diverse biological origins and that both the integration of individuals with different origins (immigrants) and the exit from the nation of everyone wishing to (which emphasizes the role of choice: an initial membership condition, such as birth, is *not* a deterministic factor) are possible. Biologicist nationalism also refers to a national culture, but according to it, birth is indeed the definite and permanent membership condition (reinforcedly so when it refers back to the *ius sanguinis*; and more flexibly so when it refers back to the *ius soli*).

Secondly, and focusing on national culture, we can speak about dense or faint nationalisms. The former advocate a dense national culture, inserting in it views of the world, ways of life and religious beliefs which are required of co-nationals as an expression of loyalty, thus severely reducing their autonomy. The latter integrates the principles and values inherent to human rights into the national culture and defines what is specific about it with elements which do not hinder the fundamental dynamics of personal autonomy (language, history, certain non-coercive institutions and traditions, etc.).

Thirdly, we can distinguish between open and closed nationalisms. Closed nationalism is defined as such from two points of view: because it has rigid membership criteria preventing access to the nation, but also sometimes the exit from it, based on personal choice; and because in the area of distribution of goods, it defends closed solidarity, i.e. a solidarity focusing exclusively on co-nationals (if it focuses on other

nations it is in order to exploit them). Open nationalism has opposite approaches to these two points of view: on the one hand, it assumes that personal choice, even if subordinated to certain conditions, makes accessing and leaving one´s nationality possible; and on the other hand, even though it practices a specific intra-national solidarity —especially in order to protect what it defines as nation— it is indeed open to an international solidarity which aims at guaranteeing all human beings the goods with which they can meet their needs with dignity[1].

Fourthly, remembering the nature of national sovereignty, there are nationalisms which only advocate *ad extra* self-determination in front of the other nations making it compatible with diverse forms of internal absolutism of political power. Others, however, believe that *ad extra* self-determination is only ethically justified when it is accompanied by *ad intra* self-determination, that is, when co-nationals enjoy personal autonomy and, from it, decide democratically.

If we group together all the preceding distinctions into two columns, one expressing the positive dimension and the other the negative or dangerous one, we have, on the one hand, a type of nationalism that is defined as culturalist, faint, open, which assumes *ad intra* as well as *ad extra* self-determination. This is a democratic, liberal and social kind of nationalism, which domineering violence hates. On the other hand, we have the biologicist type of nationalism: dense, closed, claimant for *ad extra* self-determination whilst it ignores or even represses *ad intra* self-determination. The tendency towards fanaticism, exclusion and domi-neering violence in this type of nationalism is extremely high. The real existing nationalisms stand between these two extremes that have just been described. Variety —depending on how the different aspects that have been mentioned are combined— is immense. Let us think, for example, on the nationalism in Quebec, ETA's, Catalonia´s, the one led by Bush or Milosevic, the Norwegian, Le Pen´s, the nationalism of the Spanish or French socialists, the one of certain indigenous peoples, Scotland's... This means that one cannot make generalised value judgements about nationalism, because in it dwell both constructive and destructive forces. Value judgements, thus, should only be made on each specific instance of nationalism. This is something which will have to be greatly taken into consideration when we refer to nationalisms and European construction.

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[1] I have explained the meaning of being open to international justice —something I consider especially relevant when it comes to defining European identity— in "International Distributive Justice", in Etxeberría, X, Martínez Navarro, E & Teitelbaum, A (2000), *Etica y derechos humanos en la cooperación internacional.* Bilbao: Deusto University, 13-32.

However, these clarifications do not presuppose that it is a question of choosing between good nationalism and bad nationalism —obviously opting for the former. Every acceptance of the nation, every nationalism, signals frontiers, separating nationals from foreigners and, thus, opening the door to exclusion possibilities. From the sensitiveness in favour of the union of all human beings, any frontier is repugnant. We may, thus, advocate going beyond nationalism —and the nation, from a political point of view— and advancing towards cosmopolitan post-nationalism. This is an issue we will also have to bring up when we face European construction. We will have to see, specifically, whether such post-nationalism (which must not be mistaken for faint nationalism) is not only preferable to other modes of nationalism but also whether it is feasible; we will also have to see whether frontiers are in themselves necessarily bad, or whether they are inevitable for the constitution of identities – for instance, the European one – which we legitimately desire or even need, in which case it would be more a question of building up good frontiers than of getting rid of all of them.

The protagonists of some of the aforementioned specific examples of nationalism would probably protest, asserting that they cannot be placed within any of the given categories. In order to clarify this issue, I ought to make a new distinction between what I would call peaceful and combative nationalism. The first type of nationalism is the one experienced in situations where there is national established stability: citizens and institutions move within it like fish moving in the ocean "ignoring" that they are in the ocean. The fact that there is a nationalistic feeling despite all becomes obvious when a conflict affecting the nation arises. It is then when it becomes clear that, as it has been said, national communities are "batteries which engender popular power". Sometimes they are asleep but they are ready to get moving when it is necessary. In any case, leaving the issue of feelings aside, and by way of testing, I would say that there *is* nationalism when we see immigrant control as "natural" and fully acceptable on the grounds that "he or she is foreign"; when we think that it is normal that an Andalusian citizen should migrate to Madrid without any control and at the same time believe that controlling the immigrant coming from Morocco is indeed legitimate (this same test shows that something is occurring within European nationalisms which make intra-European migration more flexible). Compared to this peaceful type of nationalism, combative nationalism is, of course, explicit nationalism, and it insists on the construction or the defence of the nation because, seeing it as something clearly valuable, regarding it as the fundamental reference for the exercise of sovereignty and justice and even identity, it deems it

as something that is still in the making and/or threatened. Its temptation is, of course, to exercise violence and exclusion, and it is for this reason that it should pay special attention to the self-affirmation means that it employs, so that they do not violate human rights.

One last distinction should be made before we close this series of preliminary clarifications. Nationalism fights for the construction and survival of one´s own nation. However, this leads to a delicate problem. In case of political conflict resulting from the demarcation of the nation, in case of conflict between nationalisms, who decides and how which peoples and with what characteristics and settled in what territories actually constitute nations? International Law acknowledges nation states which model the States that emerged out of the French and North American revolutions, as full nations as such —that is, nations with a right to self-determination. From the point of view of this criterion, agreed by the States themselves, all existing States are nations, unless some of them internally agree to be considered plurinational States (federation of nations). However, International Law also speaks about national minorities in the States, and in any case, there are minorities concentrated in specific areas within various States which consider themselves nations (frequently so, against the opinion of the national majority within that State) and which try to build themselves as a nation precisely through their nationalist parties. This is not infrequent in the European Union. Should the recognition and the corresponding exercise of sovereignty be granted to them? I will not delve into this issue which I have discussed on other occasions[2], but for the purposes of my presentation, and in order to analyse the role that nationalisms are playing in Europe´s construction, I shall take into consideration nationalisms which refer to European nation States and minority nationalisms within those States.

Nationalisms: Borderline Europeans?

It is obvious that the leading roles in the construction of the European Union are falling on the States within the Union. These States, in turn, generally consider themselves sovereign nation-States. They are, thus, States that are nourished by the nationalist ideology. They use their sovereignty precisely in order to reach agreements between

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[2] Specially in "El debate sobre el derecho de autodeterminación en la teoría política actual y su aplicación al caso vasco", in AA.VV. *Derecho de autodeterminación y realidad vasca*, which will be published shortly.

equals on a union between them that they design and carry out with effort. From this perspective, one cannot say that nationalisms are on the borderline of European construction; they are rather decisive participants in it.

However, we are speaking about nationalisms with certain traits. Firstly, they are liberal-democratic, as it was indicated beforehand, although with significant deficits regarding their openness towards international solidarity and immigrants. In principle, this implies a positive guarantee vis-à-vis the goal that can be reached. Secondly, they are nationalisms that use their sovereignty in order to create a joint sovereignty in which to delegate part of their power. This aspect is more complicated. Its positive side is that —in view of efficiency— the new sovereignty is being built by those who presently ultimately enjoy sovereign status. Its ambiguous side is that the scope of this partial self-denial has never been specified. Is it all about firmly maintaining sovereignty whilst making power delegations that are never above it? Or is it about maintaining sovereignty as a last resort, without renouncing the "right to exit" with regards to what was agreed on, yet building a strong plurinational federal State? Are we dreaming about reconstructing national identity in such a way that an authentic national European identity emerges, transforming all present-day national identities into regional ones? Or are we aiming at a more radical self-denial, searching for the construction of a post-national Europe in which nations stop being references for political and territorial sovereignty and become mere cultural communities of civil society?

Both the present-day feelings of belonging of Europeans, much more linked to their Nation-State (or nation without State) than to Europe as a whole and the fact that we find it hard to relinquish the power that we have —even in order to share it—, do not yet allow us to anticipate any progress towards the last two alternatives (European nations with regions and post-national Europe, unitarian or federal). It seems as if only the first alternative (a politically weak Europe with strong States) and the second one (a multinational federation) are at steak. Later on I shall indicate which is, in my opinion, the most convincing option, combining the principle-related and prudent criteria.

As it can be seen, there are at least some nationalisms which are not on the borderline of European construction; instead, they are rather in charge of it, using the sovereignty that they exert in a new direction: not as much to become independent and establish a State, but to unite and share sovereignty. However, when we speak about "borderline nationalisms", as in the title suggested for this presentation, I imagine we are thinking about other nationalisms, especially about

those which also take present-day nation-States as reference points but that —with regards to the typology that was outlined beforehand— distance themselves from the ethically positive spectrum and markedly move towards the negative one (biologist, closed, with dense culture, authoritarian). The French nationalism led by Le Pen can be regarded as the initiator of this path, but unfortunately it is not the only one.

This type of nationalism can be associated with the other notion that will be developed in this presentation. Indeed, we might define it as fundamentalist insofar as the orthodox interpretation of the essence of the nation is dogmatically assumed, thus deriving into general authoritarianism and the exclusion of those who are not considered nationals. Furthermore, this is a explicit and combative type of nationalism, vis-à-vis the peaceful official nationalism of traditional parties. It has become combative in front of two phenomena that are perceived as threats to the identity and the survival of the nation: immigration and the delegation of power to a superior entity. It is not the aim of this presentation to formerly analyse and denounce its exclusive and racist drifting attitude towards foreigners. However, there is something that we should highlight here: the fact that if its xenophobia is not conveniently cut short by institutions and civil society and through political, social and educational measures (amongst others), it will not only produce victims but also negatively corrupt the European identity that we are building, even if they never get to govern as political parties as such (in fact, they subtly tend to corrupt other parties). With regards to its obsession with a harsh State sovereignty (a nation = a fully independent State) from which the idea of a political "Europeanness" is strongly distrusted, what ought to be said is that, in the present-day conditions of globalization and universal sensitiveness towards human right, this "nationality principle" is old-fashioned, to say the least. Even if we defended sovereignty as a last resort for the nations, such circumstances call for it to be exercised in flexible ways —delegations, creation of diverse networks, etc.— which must be explored. The construction of the European Union is precisely an experience in this sense; an experience which needs to be carefully accomplished, and in the light of which these fundamentalist nationalisms constitute an obvious obstacle.

The third bloc of nationalisms we ought to bear in mind is that of minority nationalisms within States. Amongst them, differences are obvious, because there are some which are clearly liberal-democratic, such as the Catalonian or the Scottish, and others which have degenerated into terrorism, such as ETA's version of Basque nationalism. Regarding the latter, it is obvious that what has been previously said

about fundamentalist nationalism is taken to the extreme: it generates victims, thus violating fundamental human rights (which makes its claim to the right to self-determination illegal); its authoritarianism is of a fascist kind and often mafia-like and its monopolization of the authentic experiencing and interpretation of nationality is fanatical. In general, supporters are radically pro-independence and, thus, little enthusiastic about projects such as the European Union. Even if they were supporters of such Union, those of us who want to make it social and democratic inside and out must consider them its enemies, since they are head-on against what must be its "ethical soul". To confront them, the work we spoke of when we referred to fundamentalist state nationalisms becomes an even greater imperative.

However, amongst minority nationalisms there are also those which comply with democratic principles, those which lean —more or less fully— towards the positive side of the spectrum that I outlined at the beginning of this presentation; these constitute, in fact, a clear majority. With regards to their attitude towards Europe, there are differences between them, but even though I acknowledge that I have limited knowledge of this and that, consequently, what I say might not be strictly true, I believe that generally speaking they *are* markedly pro-European. One could hardly consider them "borderline Europeans". However, the fact that they are in political conflict with majority nationalisms in their respective States also entails a conflict vis-à-vis the construction of the European Union that the latter lead.

These minority nationalisms can foster at least two types of strategies: to try to become an independent State in the Union and be jointly in charge of its construction, on equal terms with the other States (this is the radical version); or to expect the Union to acknowledge their fair and autonomous contribution to the construction of the Union in relation to everything that is significantly related to their region´s characteristics and development (this is the moderated version). These plans entail two problems. The first one has to do with principles: from the point of view of human rights, should we advance or not towards the recognition of the right to self-determination for nations, including minority ones? This is a problem which exceeds the European Union, but that undoubtedly affects it. I mentioned beforehand that I will not go into this topic since its complexity is such that it goes far beyond the aims of this presentation. The second problem has a prudent nature: given that there are majority and minority nationalisms strained not only within States but also within the European construction framework, should we reach an agreement, an intermediate path between everyone´s plans, or should we keep on strengthening the strict sovereignty prominence of nation States?

I believe that if we moved forward sensibly along the first option, we would be able to aspire to make the European Union the framework where the existing problems between democratic nationalisms would be resolved, or at least creatively managed; and from there, we would see the principle debate on self-determination on a different light. All these nationalisms (state and minority) would play their own roles according to their characteristics and within specific sovereignty networks: state networks in some cases and for certain issues, national networks in other cases and for other issues, and all that in the framework of a complex multinational European federalism. I believe we are technically prepared to design this type of society but it seems as if we are not politically speaking, because there are minority nationalisms unsatisfied with this option because they, purely and simply, want to equal present-day States, and because majority nationalisms are jealous of their own power and their own identity in front of minority nationalisms, to the extent that they threaten the latter saying they will not be admitted into the Union if they achieve the sovereignty they claim. Despite these difficulties, I believe it is worthwhile fighting for the proposal I have just suggested, fighting for the political conditions and social awareness that make it possible.

All the previous considerations should not lead us to conclude that only certain nationalisms are building European identity with a political charge. Alongside them, and in an atmosphere of creative tension, there are other forces that cannot be described as nationalist, such as the more cosmopolitan tendencies stressing that nationalism should moderate its traditional rigid attachment to the state, and the social pro-international tendencies aiming at the construction of a Europe firmly open to solidarity in the global context, vis-à-vis the temptation of closed solidarity. Partly, such tendencies affect existing nationalisms, making them more open; and partly, they express themselves through organizations in civil society. Tackling this issue, however, is not one of the goals of this presentation.

Nationalisms and European identity

European construction cannot only revolve around the creation of economic and political structures. It should also revolve around the construction of a shared pro-European identity both politically relevant and collectively lived. However, nationalisms are based precisely on an awareness of a national identity that, at a political level, is presented as the predominant one. Does this entail problems for the creation of

European identity; do national identities and European identity enter into conflict? It depends on the type of Europe that we are looking for and, consequently, on the identity that we are looking for. Let us explore, in this regard, the four options that I previously mentioned.

The first option, a Europe with very markedly sovereign states, really calls for a very weak political and even cultural European identity in which national identities maintain their political pre-eminence without giving any trouble. However, it seems as if this is not the final horizon that us, the majority, want.

In the extreme opposite is the attempt to create an authentic national European identity, which would transform present-day national identities into regional ones. Given the strength of present-day national identities, this looks like an inappropriate short-term goal. Should we aspire it in the long-term, developing a European nationalism? Obviously, it is the identity offering more cohesion. However, considering how linked national identities are to issues such as language, land, shared history, tradition, etc. in order to maintain the richness of such diversity, it indeed seems convenient to maintain national plurality, its best guarantor, as long as its democratic, weak and open. This would mean pledging our commitment to a European identity defined, on certain occasions, by its diversity.

If we considered this orientation valid, we would then have to aim at the third option, i.e. at a European identity corresponding to the wish of a complex multinational federalism (that trying to integrate the various nationalisms). In such case, European identity must also be an identity within the framework of complexity: we feel European, and that identity is politically relevant because it refers to the federation, but at the same time we coordinate the identity which unites us all with others, that are also significant, which differentiate us: our national and regional identities, each identity having its own realm and expressions.

We could well think that although democratic nationalism has done many significant services to human beings in areas such as the exercise of popular sovereignty and national justice, it is high time we overcame it since its benefits have been accompanied by exclusion and domination dynamics in some way inherent to it. Consequently, we should —following suggestions such as Habermas[3]— commit ourselves to a post-national identity for Europe. In this case, the only public identity —with an explicit and direct political impact— that should exist and that all Europeans

[3] See J. Habermas, *La inclusión del otro*, Barcelona, Paidós, 1999; and *La Constelación Posnacional*, Barcelona, Paidós, 2000.

must share, is that referring to the common political culture (human rights), the principles of which must be expressed in the European constitution, and to which we all owe fundamental loyalty (Constitution patriotism). This common political culture guarantees the equal coexistence of different ways of life linked to the diverse subcultures existing in Europe, as long as they respect the common political culture and knowing that their subsistence depends solely on the citizens´ free support or rejection. Amongst these subcultures, we should include present-day national cultures, including immigrants´, which should relinquish their public plans (especially territoriality and sovereignty) and become private group cultures.

Leaving aside the rather relevant fact that this transformation of what is national seems quite unfeasible in the short and medium term future, the proposal of a post-national identity looks initially attractive, because it is guided by the great values of equality and freedom, which ought to be central to European identity. However, as such, it is a formal identity defined by its acceptance of justice´s procedures. If we speak about a *European* identity, we will have to introduce material elements which fill the adjective with content, and that way we will distance ourselves from pure post-nationalism. This is something that Habermas recognizes when he says that constitutional patriotism is inevitably presented to us in an ethically (ethnically) modelled way —in this case, modelled by the best of European tradition. However, the moment we give this modelling the slightest importance, the moment that conditions policies such as immigration's, we will have to speak more about weak nationalisms than about post-nationalism. Furthermore, it seems unfeasible to create a political organization that does not involve explicit support to the cultural dimensions which we nowadays associate with national culture: the public European administration will have to use specific languages; in state schools one will learn certain historical episodes built in a specific way using a specific language, etc. All of these are issues which have to do with specific national cultures. If this were like this, it would be a question of generating a weak and open, yet European, plurinationality; this is, defined by traits belonging to the various European nations; and this takes us back to the previous option.

Collective identities do not emerge from thin air —they need "basic ground materials"; similarly, they do not emerge on their own— they are promoted and shaped with initiatives in diverse fields such as politics and education. If we want a certain kind of Europe —here we have suggested a complex and open plurinational federalism— we need to work, using the materials from our respective traditions, to

build a European identity that can be attractively integrated into the personal identities of Europeans. It will partly be the identity of diversity (of languages, traditions, etc.). However, diversity only unites when it is linked to common bonds. The feeling of sharing common roots (Greco-Roman, Christian —according to the way that will be specified later on—, human rights, etc.) will have to be promoted. We will also need to rework on the collective historical subject without distorting it so that a European narrative identity emerges assembling all our national histories (so bloodstained by fights yet open to a future of cooperation) together . A narrative critically aware of the scope of our intervention in the world so that we can jointly promote a future of international justice, etc. Nationalisms ambiguously contribute certain materials to achieve all this. The task consists on considering them with flexibility, partly intertwining those nationalisms and partly exceeding them in their tendency towards exclusion and in some manifestations of their singularity. All in all, the construction of European identity is no so much a question of overcoming nationalisms as of integrating them through their transformation.

Fundamentalisms and European Identity

Fundamentalism is a phenomenon characterised by its reaction to modernity. A modernity that tries to separate politics and religion, to push the latter into the private corner; a modernity which asserts that personal freedom takes priority over the truth coming from any authority and that the common minimal normative referent must have a secular foundation. Some specific sectors of society, especially in Catholic contexts, have responded to this modernity with the fundamentalist approach. Such approach proposes maintaining the integrity of tradition. What this means is the following: 1) a return to the symbiosis of politics and religion: the ecclesiastical authority offers the real view of the world; it indicates what should be done —in the personal and public spheres— and the State demands it domineeringly obtaining legitimacy in return; 2) the truthful representation of national religious tradition —which is seen more as a deposit that has to be preserved and transmitted, than as a process (*fanaticism*)— is dogmatically self-assumed; 3) belief that one has the right to impose that tradition in an authoritarian way, even through the use of violence, since there is no right to make mistakes and the only mistake is distancing oneself from it ("holy intolerance").

If there are fundamentalist forces in Europe, they will all go against the European identity proposal that has just been defined, because at

its heart and as a critical point of reference for everything else are human rights, which is precisely what fundamentalism attacked. The type of Europe that is being suggested here is a Europe which improves the modern orientation that grows in its bosom and fundamentalism aims at fighting that orientation.

Do we have any instances of this up-to-date fundamentalism amongst us and what role is it playing vis-à-vis the construction of European identity? I mentioned in the previous section that certain nationalisms may be regarded as secularised forms of fundamentalism[4]. However, if fundamentalism is a phenomenon that unites politics and religion to the detriment of individual autonomy, we ought to see specifically to what extent it survives in the self-affirmation of Europe's most significant religions. Obviously, the most relevant one is Christianity, but the presence of Islam is also important, initially as the other symbol of evil and error fought against, and presently as that which is already amongst us, which is also us[5].

With regards to Christianity, diverse observations would have to be made according to its various branches and historical epochs. Here I will just make some remarks about Roman Catholicism. One ought to acknowledge that the reaction of the Catholic authority to the success of the French Revolution was deeply fundamentalist. It was not until the 1960′s, with John XIII′s *Pacem in Terris* and the second Vatican Council that this orientation was officially discarded. The fact that this took place recently explains why, now and then, explicitly or implicitly, outbreaks of fundamentalism still occur; for example, when Christianity for Europe or some of its nations is desired. The thought of the word "Christianity", which takes us back to the Middle Ages, suggests, in any case, that Catholic fundamentalism does not necessarily want to be "on the borderline" of European construction: it may have a national-state version, mixing Catholic and national traditions, and from there aim solely at the construction of the national-Catholic identity; but it may

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[4] We would also have to qualify this statement. Some of them —for example, the Basque nationalism led by Sabino Arana— emerged as fundamentalist ideologies with all the religious implications of the term, even though they later on abandoned that nationalism. In others —think of the Balkans area— the connections between nationalism and religious fundamentalism are still there. Of course, Franco′s nationalism was also fully fundamentalist.

[5] Of course, there is also Judaism, but because it was historically persecuted in Europe —Nazism carried this persecution to its highest point— its influence on the secular world was more indirect. However, the fact that the three great book religions have a tendency towards fundamentalism has been manifest in the consequences that a certain type of Judaism is presently having in the State of Israel.

also have a European version and strive for the renewal of the Europe of Christianity. Although if we bear in mind the identity that we have suggested promoting, this fundamentalism would be "on the borderline of it", or even more so outside of it and in opposition. Whilst being aware of the lack of realism of such plans given the present-day situation of Christianity in Europe, it is still important —in the political, religious and educational spheres— to be ready to detect and stop those outbreaks dreaming of overbearing situations of privilege where human rights are violated. Furthermore, we should remember that a religious denomination stops being fundamentalist when it willingly reinterprets its own tradition incorporating human rights, not when it resigns itself —as the lesser of two evils or because it cannot— to the non-imposition of certain beliefs which would be imposed if that were possible, since they are still thought to be carriers of truth.

Christianity's clear and necessary renunciation of its fundamentalist version leaves us with the question of whether this must entail fully dropping the idea of it somehow being a reference for European identity. This is a delicate and important issue which will not be dealt with here. I will confine myself to a few brief remarks. If the assumptions of collective identity that were previously mentioned are accepted, it is normal that European identity should have a specific connection with Christian culture. If that identity is founded on history, it is undeniable that European History cannot be understood without Christianity. If that identity is founded on the products that the reference culture has generated, it is undeniable that a large number of those products (think of Art) are intrinsically connected to Christianity. The issue of regulations is more delicate: expecting to impose the specific Christian rules in Europe is fundamentalism; but on the other hand, and I would like to corroborate this with an author who could qualify as post-modern, "there is no doubt that egalitarian rational law [the one we can impose on ourselves] also has religious roots"[6]. That is, there are rules that can have their roots in Christian tradition, but they can only proceed to be references for collective identity if they manifest themselves as secularly and rationally universal; if their acceptability does not rely on faith. The Christian view of the world —in its strict sense— and the experience of faith, must remain personal options and realities linked to Churches, with a degree of vitality and strength in civil society that will depend on themselves. If all of these premises are considered correct, they become orientation criteria for political action (what can Public Administrations

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6 J. Habermas, *El futuro de la naturaleza humana*, Barcelona, Paidós, 2002, 138.

support?) —and educational action (what generalised identity socialization should be promoted?).

The other religion I previously mentioned is Islam. Whilst one tends to think that Christian fundamentalism has significantly decreased, people tend to believe that, on the contrary, Muslim fundamentalism is strong and even becoming stronger. It is true that Muslim cultures, as opposed to European Christian culture, have not experienced secularization from within; that they might see it as something external that is subtly imposed, so the fundamentalist reaction can be linked to defence mechanisms against the enemy lived with greater intensity. In any case, given that at least in the present-day European Union there are no Muslim States, Muslim fundamentalism is basically present through immigrants of this creed and their descendants. What incidence might this have with regards to the construction of European identity? I will also confine myself to a few remarks on this issue.

The possible Muslim fundamentalism in the European Union do not have the reference of a State with this denomination and, thus, it will initially be an intra-cultural type of fundamentalism: a version of the dogmatic and domineering religion imposed on its members. It may see, in the modern cultural Christian context surrounding it, an enemy that needs to be fought, and from there degenerate —setting aside the legitimate questions of civil society— into dangerous confrontations. When both *ad intra* and *ad extra* fundamentalism violate human rights, public authorities must intervene, although it must be acknowledged that there are hazy areas in which things are not quite clear and which, consequently, ought to be jointly debated.

We should never fall into the temptation of associating Islam with fundamentalism. As Christianity, Islam is lived and can be lived in a non-fundamentalist, and thus, perfectly acceptable way. The non-fundamentalist Muslim option has various possibilities within the European context. One of them is multiculturalism. Obtaining inspiration from authors like Kymlicka[7] we could define it in the following way: these immigrant groups with specific ethnic identities are asked to integrate socially and politically into liberal democratic values and their institutions (coherence in this must lead to recognition of full citizenship) and they are offered respect and even protection of significant aspects of their ethnocultural diversity (if necessary with public support, which ought to be discerned so that promotion of social equality does not

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[7] Of course, every person as such —no matter his or her cultural origin: Christian, Muslim or other— must have the right to leave and join cultural groups. Here I am rather describing collective options.

entail violation of basic neutrality). The other option is rather intercultural. In principle, European culture, European identity, has —as we have mentioned— Greco-Roman, Christian and Modern contexts which might seem strange for immigrants of Muslim origin. Strict multiculturalism insists on mutual respect and, in this sense, leaves Muslim culture on the borderline in the construction of European identity. Going far beyond this, an intercultural dialogue could be promoted, which could result in an evolved European identity with inserted aspects from the various immigrant cultures. The latter would, in turn, feel part of the construction process of European identity and not on the borderline of it[8].

I will now conclude. Nationalisms and fundamentalisms can be on the borderline: hard adversaries of a European identity we all have to pledge our commitment to. However, there are versions of both the national and the religious which are not only compatible with the construction of such identity but which can also positively help to carry it out.

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[8] See, in particular, his work *Ciudadanía multicultural*, Barcelona, Paidós, 1997.

9.
Difference as Destabilizing Factor

Margarita Usano Martínez
President of the Co-ordinating Office for Development NGOs, Spain

First of all, I would like to thank the organizers for their invitation to participate in this Seminar as representative of the Co-ordinating Agency for Development NGOs in Spain. A Seminar on European Identity in this precise moment in history when we are all witnessing events of great economic and political impact, is very significant. What is European identity when the inflow of immigrants is increasing and the European Union is becoming enlarged with nation States with diverse historical backgrounds?

Throughout the presentations and colloquies of this Seminar, we will undoubtedly have an opportunity to search for answers that will not only allow us to face the challenges and threats of a supranational integration model such as Europe´s but also to reflect upon how to convert the globalization process into specific realities affecting all citizens and their vital security: more job opportunities, better quality of life, more participation, more equality between men and women, more openness and, in short, more quotas of personal fulfilment and justice for everyone.

The title I was suggested for this presentation puzzled me, and I was even more perplexed when I got down to it. To be honest, if I am good at anything it is on topics related to international co-operation, financing for development and other similar issues, which are the greatest concerns of the realm of Development NGOs to which I belong.

The title states that difference constitutes a destabilizing factor, and I believe this is true, but as I reflected upon the issue I thought that I could not conceive the term "different" as a neutral adjective, but rather as HE or SHE who is different and, even more so, as THEY who are different.

Alterity ("The Others")

Openness to difference has never been easy. It always entails difficulties and generates some type of exclusion. Non-inclusion starts when an individual or a group perceives a difference in others and has the power to decide whether to exclude them or not, regardless of all justifications and of the nature of the difference in question. Political, linguistic and spatial boundaries are then established. All differences are seen as inferior, dependent and submissive with respect to the hegemonic culture established by the "standards".

The history of the different "Other" is woven with acceptance, rejection, limitation, recognition, etc. The Others are represented as barbarians, pagans, foreigners, non-citizens, immigrants, indigenous people, women, gays, etc. Acknowledging the problem allows us to open ourselves to a reality we have always experienced in complex societies but that we have always avoided, homogenising what was different. Everything that, despite all, emerged as distinct, was either discriminated or excluded. It is the instinctive fearful reaction to difference. The idea that we are all different and that the centres from which we emerge could lead to other new and different centres, should make us leave aside our prejudice and apprehension regarding sociocultural heterogeneity and acknowledge that societies are organised according to their diversity to achieve unity in difference.

In European societies, especially due to immigration, there is a wide spread tendency to emphasise differences among people and to establish boundaries and to create gaps between those who are different, who are regarded as strangers (= foreigners). In extreme cases, they are even regarded as enemies, disrupters, invaders and competitors, and they are even made responsible for any daily life dysfunction. They are attacked and they are even expelled from one´s territory. If they are welcomed, they are asked to give up their own culture and to integrate into ours, to abandon their habits and adopt ours. It is the opposite of interculturalism.

When they are welcomed it is because they are needed, useful, they produce wealth, they carry out tasks that nationals do not want or they earn less than them. Some immigration laws are more territory control laws than welcome laws. The logic underlying alterity ("the other cannot be considered a means to an end") is very different. It implies respect towards he or she who is different, practising crossbreeding, a welcoming attitude, inter-ethnic communication, inter-cultural dialogue and, most of all, the recognition of denied, silenced, crushed and humiliated alterities. It entails valuing difference as wealth.

Human life does not evolve in a harmonious and reconciled atmosphere but in a plural and conflictive society. We cannot flee from conflict, but rather assume it or even sometimes provoke it since it is a source of transformation.

Generally speaking (and without forgetting other groups) immigrants are the current "Others". Immigrants are undoubtedly changing European society and, at an accelerated pace in the past years, they are also greatly changing Spanish society[1]. The statistics speak for themselves and I think they do not require much explanation[2]. Spain´s population is expected to decrease by 25 %.

European population in declive
(en cifras número de habitantes)

	1998	2050*		1998	2050*
Alemania	82.133.000	73.303.000	Italia	57.369.000	41.197.000
Austria	8.140.000	7.094.000	Holanda	15.678.000	14.146.000
Bélgica	10,141.000	8.918.000	Noruega	4.419.000	4.758.000
Dinamarca	5.2770.000	4.793.000	Portugal	9.869.000	8.137.000
España	39.628.000	30.226.000	Reino Unido	58.649.000	56.667.000
Francia	58.683.000	59.883.000	Suecia	8.875.000	8.661.000
Grecia	10.600.000	8.233.000	Suiza	7.299.000	6.745.000

* Previsión.
Fuente: ONU.

Regarding immigration figures, from 1995 to the year 2000 the number of immigrants has doubled and the number of non-Community immigrants has more than doubled.

The EU meeting held in Seville last June launched immigration as one of the priorities for the forthcoming months. The debate focused on police-related aspects and repressive measures. However, in the realm of migration management, the only solution possible is a global political approach, tackling the issues of entry and stay, integration, joint development and movement policies and fight against mafia networks and illegal work. NGOs devoted to these topics have often condemned these responses which do not solve anything.

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[1] Reports from the Spanish newspapers *El País* (Supplement) and *La Vanguardia* (Temas de Fondo): Sunday, June 16th, 2002.

[2] Ministry of Interior, Spain. *Anuario estatístico de Extranjería 2001.*

Evolution of foreigners living in Spain
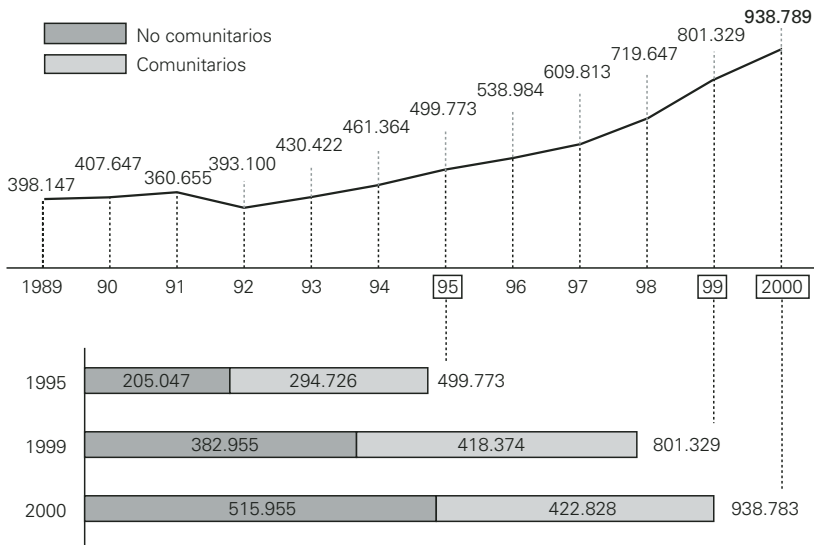
Fuente: Ministerio del Interior. *El País.*

There are false, deeply-rooted prejudices which make immigration the ideal scapegoat, and in Spain we have much less historical experience than in other EU countries. Five false ideas (which I cannot presently justify, given the time constraints) are often aired[3]:

1. Spain is threatened by a migratory "invasion".
2. Immigrants compete with national labour and cause salaries to go down.
3. Immigrants wrongfully benefit from favourable social legislation and they even cause social benefits for Spaniards to diminish.
4. Spain´s wealth provokes a "calling effect" in poor countries.
5. Immigration "threatens" to alter Spanish identity.

These false ideas nourish a vicious cycle. Marginalization of the propitiatory victim is justified through the continuos creation of the scapegoat. At the bottom of it all, there is fear, and repressive and police measures which do not deal with the origin and the cause of these conflicts are, thus, still further justified. Exclusion (economic, political,

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[3] Five false ideas about immigration in Spain. Sami Naïr. Newspaper *El País*, May 16th, 2002.

social and personal) should be the central theme of our reflections, debates and, especially so, of our work.

Human Security ("Fear")

The world currently discusses, more than ever before, the meaning of security, the policies which can make a world with safer societies and the factors causing people (and States) to feel worried, fearful and insecure. In this constant, inevitable and necessary reflection upon security, the presence of the new concept of "Human Security" can greatly help us to adapt this debate to the requirements and needs of the whole of mankind, and not only to the interests of a few States[4].

The international divulgation of the concept of "Human Security" began in 1994, when the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) centred its annual report on Human Development with respect to such notion. According to this organization, at the heart of human insecurity there is *vulnerability,* and the issue that must be brought into question is how should individuals be protected, insisting on the direct implication of people and on the tight links between development and security. This concept is evolutionary and not closed, and it will be so for a long time. Its discussion constitutes an excellent excuse to redefine our old security mechanisms centred on military aspects and to detect the needs of the planet as a whole, with all its inherent variety. In 1984, the UNDP already referred to eight security (or insecurity) dimensions: economic-financial, food, health, environmental, personal, gender, community and political

Its merit was compiling and systematising the existing range of "global insecurities" (demographic growth, differences between countries, uncontrolled migrations, environmental deterioration, drug trafficking, international terrorism...) in order to equally synthesise the global instruments needed to tackle such problems. The goal of human security is to safeguard the vital centre of all human beings against all critical threats beyond its control (financial crisis, violent conflicts, AIDS, pollution, terrorism...). By vital centres we mean certain human rights and basic capacities and needs that all individuals and institutions are compelled to offer, protect and respect, because they are related to survival, sustenance and dignity. Human Development is, thus, a concept centred on individuals and communities, not on States.

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[4] Fisas, Vicenç. *Repensar Seguridad*. Escuela de Cultura de la Paz. Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona.

There is a clear differentiation between "national security" policies, focused on the territorial integrity of a State and its freedom to determine its type of government, and the concept of "human security" which, I repeat, puts special emphasis on individuals and communities and specially on civilians who find themselves in situations of extreme vulnerability, be it in contexts of war or marginalization.

Globalization ("Anti-globalization" movements)

It has settled amongst us and it is bound to be permanent. Liberal globalization defends the market and combats the State. It is a merciless fight which brings the private sector face to face with the public sector, what is individual versus what is collective, selfishness versus solidarity and personal enrichment versus general common good. Globalisation is mainly a financial phenomenon[5]. Speculative capital is what circulates the most around the world with no obstacles whatsoever.

Globalization could not have developed as it did without a neoliberal ideological context and an economic model like capitalism. It has found the adequate ideology to legitimise itself socially; and with it, it has equipped itself with rhetoric[6] and speeches, guidelines and assessments which conceal or distort reality. Likewise, we find ourselves in a stage of capitalism characterised by:

—Absolute freedom of money and capital.
—Relative freedom of goods and services.
—Very restricted freedom of movement for people and workers.

We cannot obviate "anti-globalization movements" (the term is criticised because it is defined using the negative) which reject this globalization and claim another type of globalization. They do not constitute a party; they are a galaxy bringing together diverse, sometimes opposite, associations that share this denunciation. They do not have headquarters nor common managers. They hit the headlines in Seattle (USA) in 1999, replying to the Assembly of the World Bank and the IMF. Since then, their history is linked to great international summits: Nice, Prague, Genoa or Barcelona. They meet every year at the end of January in Porto Alegre

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[5] Ramonet, Ignacio. *Le Monde Diplomatique*.
[6] García Roca, Joaquín. "El siglo que convirtió el mundo en una aldea global". Sal Terrae.

(Brasil), not to protest but to suggest reactionary measures and propose solutions in order to make, at last, another world possible.

The violence associated with some —indeed a minority— of these groups (breaking of shop windows, etc.) is criticised and their delegitimization is aimed at, but they are not terrorists (shots in the back of the neck, savage attacks).

They have great weaknesses and challenges to overcome, but they also have some virtues:

—Their central goal is that society should recover its leading role.
—They are not a leap into the void. They maintain multiple and varied relationships with left-wing parties and with sectors of the workers´movement.
—The movements have transnational networks in which both the North and the South are represented. The rights of the South and those of future generations are their most central claims.
—They contribute a perspective of global responsibility vis-à-vis partial responsibilities.

In this first bloc of the Seminar (“Europe Seen from the Perspective of Education”) and even more so in the third session on implications in the educational spheres, we cannot obviate some of the educational challenges deriving from globalization. They are synthetically the following, alongside some of their characteristics[7]:

—*Population changes.* Education for senior citizens, and Education for Citizenship and Multiculturalism.
—*Assertion of nationalisms.* To advance in multiple identities, feelings of belonging and education for inclusion.
—*USA´s hegemonic situation.* Interculturalism, acknowledgement and Peace and Non-violence Education.
—*Expansion of supranational entities.* Student exchanges. Recognition of qualifications. Citizenship. Co-operative learning. Competence in communication and interrelation. Solidarity.
—*No states but institutions: IMF, WB, WTO.* Active and responsible citizenship. Conscious consumers.
—*Increase of inequalities.* Education as a priority. Fight against inequality and exclusion through social citizenship and non-sexist education.

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[7] Massot, Inés. Professor at Barcelona University. Jornadas sobre Multiculturalidad de Fundación Intered. Santiago de Compostela, 2002.

—*Technological changes*. Technological training. Incorporation of the virtual dimension. Distance learning.
—*New generation of human rights.* Human Rights education and education for values. Social and economic rights.

Citizenship

There is a traditional conception that links citizenship to a geographical conception and that emphasizes exclusion more than inclusion. This is a passive conception that aims at homogeneity.

Vis-à-vis this conception, citizenship can currently be understood as a legal status ("being a citizen of") which attributes an ensemble of civic, social and political rights and duties to a number of people who own it either by birth or by later acquisition.

However, citizenship is also a practice ("feeling a citizen of") and implies a process of social construction whereby citizens interact and share values and rules that allow them to live together and provide them with a collective identity. Thus, citizenship does not only depend on the recognition of a status but also demands a feeling of belonging that is built collectively and through participation until "empowerment" is achieved.

Social and Political Context

(Organizations, political groups, etc.)

Closer context family, friends ...

Citizenship as a status

Citizen competence
- Understanding of democracy
- Ringhts and responsibilities
- Intercultural

Autonomy

↓

Citizenship as a process ←→ Feeling of Belonging ←→ Critical judgement

Legal recognition of citizenship

↑

Cultural identity

Citizen participatin in public spaces
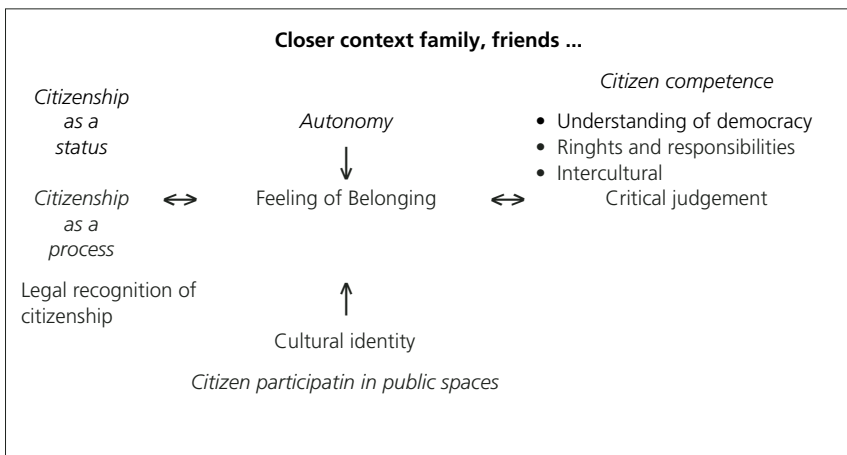
The feeling of belonging entails integrating multiculturalism and the identity conflict: avoiding the association between the feeling of belonging and a specific cultural identity. In order to build an intercultural identity, the following ought to be taken into consideration:

—The recognition and acknowledgement of the different cultural forms.
—Development of a an inclusive feeling of solidarity.
—Discovery of the artificiality of frontiers.
—Search for common identification elements.

The process of citizenship construction may follow various models:

—Citizenship transmission: It is the eldest tradition. It aims at instilling a nation´s life style to successive generations.
—Knowledge of Politics: Constitution and public policies. Requirement for political participation.
—Reflexive search: Decision-making skills. Ethical dilemmas and critical thinking development.
—Personal self-development and human interaction: Autonomy to lead one´s future. Increase of social responsibility. Critical judgement to face social challenges and work co-operatively.

The right to citizenship has evolved and now it is considered a real universal right. This is so at least in theory, since not everyone can actually exercise it with equal dignity. We are presently undergoing a transitory period in which we ought to move from a primarily representational exercise of citizenship to an exercise of citizenship based on participation[8]. NGOs have managed to play a very important role in this process, although at their early stages the protagonists of political and social dialogue regarded them as a foreign body in the democratic game.

Parity

Democracy will not be characterised by participation if the effectiveness of the political rights of women are not guaranteed and if parity is not systematically required in the spaces consecrated to the exercise and assertion of citizenship. Parity not only as a tool for the

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[8] Coucello, Ana. "Democracia participativa: la paridad en primer lugar" in *Ciudadano, Género y Participación*. Forum de Política Feminista, Madrid 2002.

arithmetic division of power between men and women but also as a programme for the civic intervention of organizations, groups, etc. The concept of Parity supports the formulation of new rights for which more consistent argumentation is provided and proposes a new paradigm to structure society. Parity is, thus, an operative concept for a real structural removal. In fact, it offers society as a whole, mean and women, what we could call a "removal" social ideology, and this is currently a major contribution of parity.

We will not be able to advance towards a democracy characterised by participation on the basis of an untruthful interpretation of reality; the human being is not an abstraction: individuals are either male or female, men or women. The working class is dual, mankind can only be fully represented by the pair, and our re-description of democratic systems and the construction of an active democracy have to be based on this undeniable evidence.

Access to knowledge and its development is becoming central to this new construction. Knowledge is more than information. Nowadays, information is power; knowledge exchange is wealth that is shared because it is cost-less. In front of the information avalanche (which we cannot process), critical judgement provides us with central guidelines or themes to search for information, to be informed, to share knowledge and to develop the dialogue that will allow us to create a common non-standard way of thinking ("unique way of thinking").

Skills for the development of critical judgement become indispensable, and work on the following areas becomes an urgent priority:

—The emergence of citizenship values such as *justice, parity, participation, equity, dialogue.*
—Strategies for education on Values, case studies, role games, moral dilemmas...
—The group formulation of judgements, bearing in mind the interests of the community, which increments social responsibility.

Civil society can become a Citizenship school if it implements actions which contribute to create awareness of the Power of Collective Action:

—To promote the capacity to participate: learn and have access to community resources, and create processes in which the capacity to decide and control can be exercised.
—Stimulate the awareness of citizens, moving from delegation and dependence to new commitments and risks.
—Foster bonds between community individuals and groups in order to develop: effective communication, the recognition of

shared interests and the creation of common values favouring participation and implication.

All the above should be framed within the creation of multicultural citizenship that is aware of:

—The links between the life of the planet and our own life.
—Interdependency and interconnection.
—Justice and equal opportunities as moral responsibilities.

We can identify the key elements in this process. Development NGOs work on the following three central themes in the programmes geared at Pro-Development Education:

Knowledge and comprehension:	Abilities:	Values and attitudes:
Diversity	Critical thinking	Sense of identity and self-esteem
Globalization and interdependence	Argumentative skills	Commitment with social justice and equity
Sustainable development	Ability to chang unfair situations	Acknowledgement and respect and diversity
Peace and conflict	Respect for individuals and belongings	Responsability towards the environment
Social justice and equity	Conflict resolution and cooperation	

From Development NGOs, how can we work on these issues and how should we orient the processes (Pro-Development Education)?

—Working on global and transversal perspectives.
—Facilitating global processes for global problems and issues: critical understanding, questioning of situations from the standpoint of human rights and the development of a shared commitment.
—Working on key components: knowledge, skills, attitudes and values (which we have previously seen).
—Working on intercultural competence and on critical access to new technologies as indispensable tools.

Development NGOs disseminate new proposals and foster information campaigns. They also promote signature collection, card sending, etc. on issues such as:

—*Trade*: "Comercio con Justicia" ("Trade with Justice").

—*Consumption*: "Agua y Luz para el Desarrollo"("Water and light for Development").
—*Industrial activity*: "Una Responsabilidad de todos" ("A common responsibility").
—*Development and the Environment*: "Combate la pobreza" ("Combat poverty").
—*Peace*: "Adios a las armas" "Por la paz: no a la investigación militar". ("Farewell to arms". "Pro-Peace: say no to military research").
—*Official Aid for Development*: "Saber donar" ("Knowing how to donate").

In a world where religious fundamentalism, ethnic cleansing, discrimination against women and social and racial prejudice are parts of our every-day life, the key is knowing how to replace fear and hate, which engender violence, with positive respect for other people and cultures. Accepting diversity, accepting he and she who is different, demands experiences from which we can all learn; it is not only about tolerating but about building social peace, indispensable for human development.

Since I left Lebanon in 1976 to settle in France, I wonder how many times I was asked, with the best of intentions, whether I felt "more French" or "more Lebanese". My response is always the same: "Both!". Not because I want to be balanced or fair, but rather because I would be lying if I said something different. What makes me be me, and not someone else, is the fact that I am in-between two countries, two or three languages and various cultural traditions. This is precisely what defines my identity. Would I be more honest if I got rid of one part of myself?[9]

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10.
Dilemmas and Tasks in the Formation of Education-based Professionals in the Context of European Citizenship and European Identity

Alistair Ross

Children's Identity and Citizenship in Europe Thematic Network
Institute for Policy Studies in Education
London Metropolitan University, United Kingdom

This paper will consider the tensions and issues that are created in contemporary Europe around the idea of identity – individual identity and group identity (or "citizenship"). It will in particular examine the challenges that these present to the education-based professionals: the people who are responsible for the development of children's and young people's sense of individuality and their skills and understanding of participation in society.

To begin with the concept of individual identity. Identity can be seen as a combination of unique qualities and identification with groups with whom the individual perceives that they have attributes and values in common. Thus the fact that individuals have an identity means that they have acted to discriminate. They have distinguished themselves from others. Because in very many cases —the great majority of cases— the identity is with a group: they have identified as a member of a group that defines itself, at least in part, from "the other". Identity formation that attaches individuals to particular groups necessitates the identification of the other, of the non-group. Citizenship is in part about duties and obligations to others, but generally to others in "the group" (which may be defined as a community, a nation or to humanity at large).

There are particular tasks for professional educators in establishing and championing a child's or young person's individual unique identity. The teacher, for example, helps them assert their individual rights. The educator also must stress that stresses with these rights there are obliga-

tions and duties that are part of lining in society. Individuals do not have absolute freedom, or anything like it: we are all limited by social obligations. It used to be held that the role of education was simply and only to transmit existing social structures: to reproduce social patterns, structures and relationships. Thus a century ago, Durkheim characterised education as "the image and reflection of society. It imitates and reproduces the latter in an abbreviated form; it does not create it" (1897, p 372). Education was held to hold a mirror to society, reproducing social behaviour, distinctions and patterns. But current thinking gives education an additional and a more sensitive transfomative role. Education can change and transform society, rather than simply reproduce it. It can open new opportunities to individuals and groups, enhancing their ability to participate in the community —economically, politically and socially. Social exclusion can be lessened, inequalities reduced, and access to power, influence and involvement increased. Much of this is achieved by ensuring that the structures that provide education distribute knowledge, ideas, skills and attitudes in ways that all groups and classes of people can achieve. But social and civic education develops particular abilities and attitudes that are especially important for the development of a civic culture amongst young people.

This paper considers the challenges that are set for schools in the development of citizenship education. This analysis has been reached by the combined efforts of members of the Network Children's Identity and Citizenship in Europe: there follows a brief outline of our scope and activities, to give the context of this analysis. CiCe is a Thematic Network Project supported by the European Commission's ERASMUS programme, designed to further cooperation between universities in the various countries of the European union and the Associate states. Thematic Networks link Departments in Universities and Colleges across Europe to co-operate around a particular discipline or theme, and to define and develop a European dimension within this. The Network links 29 European states and 90 University and College Departments which educate students about how children and young people learn about and understand their society, their identity and citizenship. It is a cross-disciplinary group, with interests in social psychology, pedagogy, psychology, sociology and curriculum studies, who educate various professions such as teachers, social pedagogues, psychologists, early childhood workers and youth workers, as well as students on academic pathways (see also Ross, 2001a).

CiCe members are working in an important policy area for the European Union. The Commission's priorities for European education

for the period 2000 - 2006 identified —in *Towards a Europe of knowledge* (COM (97) 563) (December 1997)— three major areas, the second of which was citizenship. The Commission wished to emphasise

> «the enhancement of citizenship through the sharing of common values, and the development of a sense of belonging to a common social and cultural area. [This] ... must encourage a broader-based understanding of citizenship, founded on active solidarity and on mutual understanding of the cultural diversities that constitute Europe's originality and richness».

Many professional and academic courses in Higher Education are directly concerned with educating students who will work with children and young people, and which consider

—how children and young people are socialised and become citizens;
—how they learn about and understand the social, political, economic and cultural environment; and
—how they can be encouraged to construct identities that recognise the complexities of this environment.

Thus CiCe directly addresses this Commission priority in an inter-disciplinary manner through the agency of the Universities and Colleges of Europe, to build shared educational approaches to learning and teaching about social, economic and political similarities and differences across Europe, enhancing the quality of the relevant academic and professional courses in all participating states. This will contribute to the development of an active and participating democratic citizenry. These concerns need to be addressed in the early years of learning and to continue through the period of formal education. Research suggests that children's thinking on such issues is best developed before prejudices have become entrenched (Osler and Starkey, 2002).

Thus we address both what children and young people know and how they learn. Our concern is not just with *what* they can understand, but with *how* they can be enabled to *participate and act*. Our knowledge of this can inform and develop higher education students' learning and practice, and channel students' understanding within a European context (Tourney-Purta, 2002).

The development of civic or social education is of particular significance *now*, because of the current nature and direction of change in our societies. Societies have always been changing, sometimes at such a slow pace that —*pace* Durkheim— the next generation does appear to be more or less the image and reflection of the one that

went before. What is important here and now is not just the speed of social change, but its particular characteristics, and the changes in value systems, both of which impinge on the nature of citizenship and of identity.

Firstly, Europe is transforming itself. Recent and continuing developments in the integration of the European Union have brought increasing social and economic changes that will greatly affect children, now and in their future adult lives. The European Union has increased substantially in size over the past two decades, and is set to increase further over the decade to come, as a dozen more nations prepare to join. Much of the existing Union now has a common currency. The EU has taken on the responsibility, in Article 8 of the Maastricht Treaty, of helping the population of Europe —including its children and young people— adjust to and take full advantage of the opportunities that citizenship in the Union will make possible. To develop shared understandings and patterns in our teaching will inform the development of practices to make citizenship with a European dimension a practical reality. This is outlined in the European Union's publication *Achieving Europe through Education and Training* (Study Group on Education and Training: Report, 1997). This is not about some new supra-nationalism that will replace the nation-state with membership of a chauvinistic "fortress Europe", but about how children and young people will develop a new form of citizenship, an identity that aligns them as citizens of Europe and of the world, members of a common shared humanity.

Secondly, there are a set of sweeping social changes that seem to be characteristic of our times. All of these can be seen as changing the individual's sense of identity. We have seen an erosion of the old national certainties. Political boundaries at the national level have weakened —the idea of Europe itself is also linked to the re-affirmation of the regional characteristics that had been subdued in the nation-state phase. There has been much greater social mobility than was found in the past as the old certainties of class have weakened, as employment opportunities have moved from physical production to mental and electronic creativity and interconnectivity, as class loyalties have become less distinctive, and educational opportunities have burgeoned. There have been population movements on a scale hitherto unimagined —migration, tourism, refugees— that have defied national borders and frontiers. Ethnic distinctions have changed enormously: there is evidence in some places of increasing racism and xenophobia, and in others of their decline, with increasing numbers of marriages between members of different ethnic groups changing perceptions. There has been a weakening of gender roles across

European society, and stereotypes of masculinity and femininity no longer closely define our own behavioural expectations —or those that are imposed on us by others. The end of the European overseas empires has resulted in a new set of roles, less certain than before, between the former colonial powers and the former colonies, and between the peoples of both. Globalisation and the growth of multinational business has left national states less able to defend their own social and economic interests, and enmeshed more and more firmly in the economic world system —and this internationalisation of trade, commerce and culture makes for further imprecision about how we define ourselves. Finally, and not least, the advent of the new information communication technologies mean that the individual no longer need subscribe to either local or to mass cultures in the same way as was necessary in the past: we can personalise our own individual cultural references. The rise of a pervasive consumer culture has led to a greater focus on individualism. Identity now becomes multiple, and more contingent and situational.

Because of these changes, children and young people who are currently being educated, and those in the future, are likely to have a very different civic relationship between themselves as individuals and their society. This will not be the same citizenship, or the same kind of identity, as that of their parents or teachers —or politicians. Those responsible for the social education of the young will need to reflect on, but not simply reflect, the social relationships of earlier ages. This has implications, challenges and problems for educators. Teaching children to be ready for new and changing social structures, groupings and identities will be difficult enough, but educators may also be working in tension with some of the beliefs, values and wishes of children's parents and other members of the older generations. The task for educators is one of transformation, not reproduction, of creating the new, not filling children up with the old. This is, in a very real sense, a political task.

Harold Lasswell, the American political psychologists, defined politics as «Who gets what, when, how» (Lasswell, 1936). Who should get citizenship education? Who should give it? When should it be given? What should it consist of? How should it be given?

Who should get it is clear: this is a political decision —it is for everyone. Any form of democracy requires an informed and participating citizenry. Any form of citizenship education must be for *all* children and young people (and, indeed, for all adults). This also implies, incidentally, that it is an area in which we also desire all to be successful in their learning. We do not want courses of study that result in failure —this

would be giving young people the stigma of starting adulthood with the label «Failed in Life Skills».

But who should develop citizenship? This is less straightforward. The members of CiCe, representing those university and college tutors who will be preparing the new professionals to work in these area, were asked who they thought best placed to influence the way that children and young people develop social ideas and behaviour (Ross, 1999). Parents were seen as significantly more influential than any other possible factor. Television, teachers and friends were next most influential, followed by other family members and the school curriculum.

What are the factors that have most influence on how children young people develop their views about their nation?

Factor	Score
Parents	105
Television	53
Teachers	52
Friends	49
Family	44
School Curriculum	40

Education is *not* the major player. Parents are far more important. Television appears to be of the same order of importance as teachers. The opinion of the network's members was that teachers were somewhat more influential than the school curriculum in developing ideas about identity. Teacher educator's views thus have a particular interest: the formation of future teachers will have a long-term influence on the development of identity and nationality with the youth of Europe —but will not be solely responsible for this. The responsibility for preparing children to take their part in society— participating in social institutions, contributing to political democracy, and playing a part in economic activity —is shared between parents, those professional workers who have a role in educating and caring for children and young people, and members of society at large. Higher education institutions have a particular duty in the education and training of the professionals who will work with children: teachers, early childhood workers, social pedagogues, youth workers. Nevertheless, education has an important part to play: indeed, it is pivotal in the development of the understanding of society.

To turn to Lasswell's second question. When should we attempt to educate and influence children in their social development? CiCe members were asked at what ages they considered children begin to define various alternative identities. There was a fairly large measure of consensus about this: the average ages of the responses were as follows:

Identification	as a family member	2.4 years
	male or female	2.9 years
	with local area	7.0 years
	nation	7.5 years
	local region	8.6 years
	social class	8.8 years
	Europe	11.4 years

These finding are important in terms of when citizenship education should begin: if ideas of belonging to a nation occur when 7, and they see themselves as European soon after the age of 11, citizenship education should perhaps begin at a fairly early age (Ross, 1999). Just as important are the developments in identity in the pre-school period: this is when ideas of self and other start, and when groups become defined - gender groups, age-sets, family and friendship groups. These are essential developments: defining the individual identity means at the same time learning to discriminate, to identify the other, and to start categorising the people with whom they come into social contact as members and non-members of their groups. This social discrimination, an essential element of identity formation, is now very much more complex than it used to be in some «simpler» societies in the past: today's children are in contact with a far more cosmopolitan and heterogeneous society than was true for most people in the past. This is one of the areas of tension and dichotomy referred to earlier: the individual and society —identifying oneself as a member of various groups, and identifying "other" groups, without developing prejudice and xenophobia.

It is an error to believe either that social education "just happens", and will become evident when young people become adult and "join society", or that it is an activity that can be left until young people are about to finish their formal education. Social education starts from birth and continues through life. Children and young people make sense of their social world as they encounter different groups of people and different forms of social behaviour —at home, with friends, in

schools, in the shops and banks, as they encounter people working and at leisure, and through the mass media. The professionals and other adults who are responsible for children and young people's development and learning in these spheres are many and varied. Parents play a particular role, as do teachers. But there are also many other significant professional workers —early childhood workers, social pedagogues, youth workers, social workers. All of these professions need to be prepared to work with children and young people to develop social, economic and political understanding within the new and developing social relationships of Europe.

How should educators develop identity and civic behaviour? Children and young people need to be helped acquire the skills and values that will be needed for he new persons, groups and societies that will be he future of Europe. These values are going to be different from the old values. They are going to be values that can address and perhaps resolve the multiple values and identities that will be inevitable in the Europe that is developing. This is both a controversial issue in its own right, and also is about teaching how to deal with controversy. Values and opinions, viewpoints and argument, conflict and resolution are at the very heart of this. But these are areas that our educational traditions are singularly ill equipped to tackle. A great many people —parents, politicians, and mot least pupils— see education as being about the transmission of knowledge. The teacher "knows", the pupil does not know. Therefore pupil's ideas are, by definition, not relevant to the educational process.

Take as an example the notion of a question. Normally, a question is used to find something out. "Can you tell me the way to the University?" usually means that the person asking the question doesn't know where this is located, and hopes that the person asked will be able to give directions on how to get there.

Classroom discourse is dominated by teachers asking questions. Questions asked by teachers are also used to "find something out', but the something is rather different. If a teacher in a classroom asked exactly the same question, many pupils would interpret the question as follows:

> "The teacher knows the way there. What she or he wants to know is 'Which pupils have this information?' The teacher is testing us —she/he knows the correct answer, and is trying to match my answer against ours, to see if we are correct".

This is a very widespread characteristic of teaching:

—it is the teacher who asks the questions

—the teacher already knows the answers

—repeated questions by the teacher mean the wrong answer has been given. (Edwards and Mercer, 1987).

This process of Socratic questioning, of the "drawing out" of know-ledge from the child, is a reversal of the "normal" mode of questioning. And it can interestingly lead to a reversal in children's behaviour in class. There is a phenomena known in children's culture in parts of England known as "faking it", which extends the syllogism of the teacher asking a question to which she already knows the answer to its logical conclusion.

If the teacher is seeking to identify the children in a class who "know" the "correct" answer, then she can look at those children with their hands up, and discount them as being in the group of those who "know". Her attention therefore focuses on those who have *not* raised their hands.

Therefore the logical behaviour of a child who does *not* know the answer is to put their hand up in response to the question (and even better, gesticulate and urge the teacher to select them to respond!). There is a very good chance that such a child will not be asked to give an answer. On the other hand, if you *do* know the answer, you won't gain particular or special credit from the teacher unless you are given a chance to show off. So you keep your hand down (perhaps looking puzzled, trying to recall something). If you are then directly asked, you pretend to rack your memory before coming up with the right answer, thus getting double points both for being right and for trying very hard (Crawford, 1991).

This kind of exchange reveals a great deal about children's (and adults') expectations of learning and pedagogy. Adults and teachers possess knowledge and wisdom. Children and learners do not. The knowledge and wisdom must be transferred, by the filling up of empty vessels.

Unfortunately, much social and cultural learning isn't like this. There are not always "right" answers, and questions about social experiences, attitudes, beliefs and opinions may often be genuine enquiries seeking information and views. "Should the United States invade Iraq?" is a question that invites opinion, viewpoint and argument. There may indeed be a *morally* "correct" answer to the question, but it not one where the teacher would have the "right" answer that children should try and guess. The difficulty is that while we, as discerning adults, may know this, the learner is not necessarily equipped to distinguish fake "teacherly" questions from real questions asked by teachers - at least,

there is very little in their experience of schooling to help them make such discrimination.

So in "citizenship education" we have a problem, if schools are to develop lively and enquiring minds, that look to and respect other people's opinions and views. Schools are *not* where pupils expect to answer questions and put forward their own ideas. They are *not* places where teachers' do not know the answers. They are *not* places where other pupils' information or views matter, because other pupils are by definition as ignorant or irrelevant as they are.

What should be taught? What do teacher-educators think "citizenship" actually is? CiCe members were asked to put a series of six possible aspects of citizenship teaching into order of importance (Ross, 2001b).

Views of what constitutes "citizenship"

Element	Score					
	Isles	South	East	Scandi-navia	Core	All
Rights before duties	59	59	83	106	71	75
Duties before rights	90	71	79	79	39	71
Participation in democracy	98	134	75	106	197	118
Awareness of issues/events	51	67	71	51	31	59
Actively helping others	51	55	51	35	47	47
Supporting law and order	43	12	35	16	8	24

Of significance here is the great stress made by members from the core European states on participation in democratic institutions, particularly when compared to the responses from the accession states in eastern Europe. The Isles (UK and Ireland) (see Davies, 1999), and to a lesser extent eastern Europe, stressed the duties of citizenship (rather than the rights afforded), and that citizenship should be supportive of law and order. The Scandinavians were particular emphatic that citizenship concerned rights.

What should it consist of? How should it be given? These are more difficult questions. The example of questioning in classrooms shows that the "how" question demands rather more subtle approaches that some traditional pedagogies. We are concerned with teaching in areas that are themselves controversial, matters of discussion, argument and dispute; and with ensuring that our pupils are confident and able to

develop and put forward their own views and opinions, not simply to learn what is in their teachers (or parents, or politician's) mind, and to reproduce this. We are concerned with developing the sense that opinions and viewpoints matter, that they are indeed vastly important. This means that we have to conduct the work of education in institutions that are themselves democratic, sensitive to viewpoints and opinions, respectful of the rights of their members. This implies, for many educational institutions, a reversal of current hierarchies of "knowledge" and power. I referred much earlier to the tensions and dichotomies in this area: here we see tensions between the roles of teachers and learners, between knowledge and empowerment.

Benedict Anderson (1991) argued that our national communities are imaginary. By this he meant the reality of a modern nation-state existed primarily in the shared imagination of its members, that we construct ourselves as good members of our national community through holding a shared picture that represents a linked history, language, culture and identity. "Europe" is as much a mutual imaginary icon as are each of our individual nations. Norman Davies' history of Europe (1996) emphasises this: Europe in any objective description is no more that the extreme end of the great Eurasian landmass. Hobsbawm points out that much contemporary "history" is pure invented tradition: manufactured by political-historians to «make the punters feel good» (2002, also Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1986). But what we mean when we use the term Europe is some sense of collective bond, some shared culture, history, set of values. However, when it comes to definition, we can no more define what is shared than we can delimit the geography. Europe for many years was used to mean what we now call Western Europe, with a fragile and indeterminate eastern boundary —this might be the Vistula, or the Dneiper, or the Don, or the Volga, or the Urals. Robert Stradling (2001) points to the divergence between those who define Europe by its shared cultural heritage, and those who emphasise its diversity. The former stress Graeco-Roman philosophy and Judaeo-Christian ethics and beliefs, and focus on shared historical experiences (the Crusades, feudalism, the Enlightenment), while the later highlight the variety of ethnic and linguistic groups, the shared loyalties, conflicts, nationalism and the political a and economic dynamics that arise from fragmented, rather than centralised power. There are horizontal, transnational bonds that unite the continent run concurrent with vertical particularist nationalisms. Today, Europe is often used as a synonym for the European Community: one of us recently heard a Latvian complain that when arrived at immigration in Brussels or Paris he was often "And how long do you intend to stay in Europe?" To

which he tried to answer "I hope I'll carry on doing so for the rest of my life." Various parts of Europe detach themselves: Boystov observes that Russians simultaneously conceive of themselves as mainly Europeans, but also include Europe as the other.

The implications of this are that we will have civic and social relationships that are rather different from the older, simpler loyalties of nation, class and family. Tolerance of differences and empathy, and recognition of underlying similarities and solidarity, will become key elements of social life.

I will now try to bring together some of these points together in an agenda of challenges for schools:

1. allowing individual identity to develop in a way that allows the child to define other groups in a way that is not alienating, intolerant or xenophobic,
2. allowing individual identity to develop in a way that allows the child to identify with the needs and requirements of others in the society,
3. allowing individual identity to develop in a way that allows the child to see themselves as a member of a variety of different groups, which may have needs that are sometimes complementary, sometimes contradictory,
4. allowing citizenship skills and understanding to develop in a way that allows for rapid changes in social structures, in group identities and memberships,
5. allowing citizenship skills and understanding to be respectful of the needs of other groups, including those with other ethnic origins, cultural roots, languages and faiths,
6. developing both identity and citizenship in a way that allows mutual respect between teacher and pupil, where different pupils' views are valued and respected,
7. developing both identity and citizenship in a way that allows teachers to respect children's rights,
8. developing both identity and citizenship in a way that allows teachers to protect children's rights from encroachment by the state,
9. developing both identity and citizenship in a way that develops parents' skills and abilities to protect and value the rights of their children,
10. teaching identity and citizenship in a democratic schools, that recognises the limitations of conventional knowledge and recognises the potential power of the hidden curriculum,
11. teaching identity and citizenship in a manner that allows the

open discussion of controversial issues —for example, racism, xenophobia and minority rights.

How will it be different? The tendency for identities to be multiple will become even greater and more evident than it is today: people will select, from a wide range of possibilities, whom they will be in relation to the various groups amongst which they move. Being a citizen of state X will still be an identity, but so will being a citizen of region Y, and of Europe, and of the world. Which citizenship is expressed at any moment of time will be contingent on the location, the time and the reference group. The heterogeneity of social life in contemporary and developing Europe will mean that movement between these identities occurs more often. We encounter different groups of people more often —different languages, cultures, religious beliefs, national affiliations, ethnic groups— and different social locations more often, such as multinational shops and employers, and international web-sites.

We do not suggest that any single approach be used across all countries or all universities and colleges, but we do wish to see more coherent approaches to citizenship education. There is a wide range of practice and variety in the levels of activity across Europe in the ways that higher education institutions prepare students to work with children and young people in this area. There have been changes in practice, matching the rapid changes in European society and economy, but there is also inertia. The process should be one of continuous reflection, change and flexibility. The maintenance of diversity is critical: we do not think that there is a single "best way" to train social educators, and local needs and imperatives must always be recognised. However we do wish to see many more systematic attempts to share experience and practice between university and college departments, and a much wider dialogue between practitioners in higher education and the various school systems about the meaning, purposes and practices of citizenship education and the development of social understanding.

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Block 2

European Identity:
New Challenges for Schools

11.
What Makes us European? Identity Construction in the School Framework

Inés M.ª Gómez-Chacón

International Programmes´ Manager
Education for an Interdependent World, Belgium

European identity has been recently defined as a constantly shifting kaleidoscope, mixing perceptions of the past with the search for a coherent future..., as a multiform and complex ensemble which first of all includes a sense of belonging to a common legal space[1].

One component of identities is denominations, i.e. the names used to designate things or individuals. Both may have proper names (names, surnames, but also names of countries, places...) or can also be equally defined in terms of matter, technique, profession, group... Saying "who I am" or "who the other is" constitutes an act of social categorization. Very often it also implies describing the subject, ascribing a value to it. Identities are not only categories themselves, but also their properties and the values transmitted through judgements. For instance, saying that someone is Arabian does not currently have the same connotations as saying that the same person is a lawyer. In modern societies, adults have various identities insofar as they belong to different local, cultural, professional and political groups, many of which are strictly associated with status. One often has a "main status": for example, one´s profession or ethnic origin. This social identity is not innate but the consequence of the socialization of the individual. It is not entirely personal but rather depends on the judgement from others.

Schools constitute an important arena for socialization (such as the internalization of the world) where the identity of the other becomes

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[1] "European identity; a kaleidoscope undergoing constant development". Council of Europe. "The notion of Identity". Discussion April 17-18, 2001.

more conscious and visible. How is European identity shaped in the realm of education? This is the main question we will try to answer here, specially through the discussion of other issues which can serve as tools to advance in this search. Guida de Abreu´s chapter will also discuss this topic through the thorough analysis of various case studies of Portuguese citizens living in England.

In this presentation, concepts which are currently in use about culture and European identity will be first of all examined. Secondly, some of the aspects which young people identify with being European will be introduced. Afterwards, certain issues related to the problems involved in the construction of a European identity in the educational fields will be highlighted. Finally, some strategies for schools and teacher and student training as well as certain guidelines for educator development from the viewpoint of identity will be pointed at.

On culture and european identity

Identities are built in specific contexts and cultural frameworks. The question we asked ourselves is: what is the minimal cultural content necessary for the construction of European identity? Let us briefly focus on the current representations and characterizations of European culture.

Firstly, European culture is sometimes characterised as the contrary to what it should not be. Thus, for instance, we talk about a notion of Europe inspired by the ideas of the Enlightenment, i.e. fundamentally by values such as cosmopolitanism, universalism and pluralism, which flourish in a secular, liberal and progressive social and political context, as opposed to a totalitarian, imperialistic, monolithic and, most of all, counterrevolutionary conception which makes culture into an instrument for standardization and domination[2].

Secondly, European culture is also identified with the search for common values in discussions or arguments, based on intangible principles such as respect to democratic rules, human rights, specific forms of development... Let us take the example of the Preamble to the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights:

> "The peoples of Europe, in creating an ever closer union among them, are resolved to share a peaceful feature based on common

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[2] Tapia, C. (1997) "L'Europe: thème de reflexion et de controverses. *Les jeunes face à l'Europe*. Col. Psychologie Sociale: Presses Universitaires de France.

values. Conscious of its spiritual and moral heritage, the Union is founded on the indivisible, universal values of human dignity, freedom, equality and solidarity; it is based on the principles of democracy and the rule of law. It places the individual at the heart of its activities, by establishing the citizenship of the Union and by creating an area of freedom, security and justice."

It should be noted that this last concept of European culture differs from many of the current realizations. A third characterization of European culture lies at the heart of the very notion of culture as the combination or confluence of many different heritages crystallised around the original Judeo-Christian and Greek-Roman sources. This view of European culture establishes a compact network of points of reference and convergence which oscillates between the notion of melting pot (cultural crossbreeding acquired after the origin of the world, with Greek culture being a later example of crossbreeding) and the more or less conflicting coexistence of a multiplicity of components unlikely to combine if not unable to merge together.

Ricoeur[3] has presented a more complex and dialectical characterization of European culture likely to integrate the contradictions, ruptures and unions inherent to the historic making of Europe. For example, both the Judeo-Christian and the Greek-Roman messages promote the dignity of man. Judeo-Christianity regards men as children of God subject to divine transcendence and the Greek-Roman tradition conceives them as rational beings, who find the truths and values of the others within their own evidence (Camilleri, 1997[4]). E. Morin[5] rebukes the above statement asserting that the unity of European culture does not lie in the Judeo-Greek-Roman-Christian synthesis but rather, according to the dialogical principle, in the complementary and converging dynamics taking place between these traditions which carry their own individual logic —"different logics that come together as one in which duality is not lost". It is through these perspectives where the search for the minimum content of European culture is to be conducted. This content should not be searched for in a memory nor in the totality of relatively stable disparate elements, but in "a form" underlying every part, in an attitude central to the legacy of history: a tendency to problematization which endlessly recovers and resumes the

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[3] See *Le Monde* (October 29, 1991).
[4] Camilleri, C. (1997) Problematique de la construction d´une appartenance européenne, in Tapia, C. (Dir.) Dynamiques et transitions en Europe. Approche pluridisciplinaire, Berne, P. Lang, Euroclio, pp. 161-176.
[5] Morin, E. (1987) *Penser l´Europe*. Gallimard. Paris.

possession of European culture and that constantly leads to the reconsideration of acquired ideas, values or principles; the assertion of a difference that will consist precisely in not rejecting one´s own difference; a nucleus of general values or a second level cultural nucleus, or a structure of meaning capable of incorporating the cultural configurations which appeal to dynamics contrary to standardization. It is not a message made of Europe but the very fact of transmitting this message.

Most of the analyses I have previously referred to threaten to consider the content and unity of European culture as the result of an abstract intellectual process, and not as a comprehensible reality within sight or within the perception of the owners of that culture. If the idea of Europe remains abstract, the adhesion and identification of individuals is impossible. I believe that Europe cannot exist if it does not subjectively exist for individuals and that Jean Monnet´s conceptualization ("Our union is not made of States but of people"[6]) should be made much more operative. I would like to go back to the definition with which I began this presentation, which compares European identity to a constantly shifting kaleidoscope, a kaleidoscope that can be built in many ways, with one single flat lens or with numerous pieces of glass, which allow other types of images.

Authors such as Camilleri have written that in order to found European identity it is necessary to reverse the ordinary way of reasoning about what matters in culture. This will only occur and produce results if a subjective mutation leading individuals to foster their basic feeling of belonging to the "Europe" group and to reorganise their current affiliations is produced in such a way that it becomes an active trend capable of consolidating the group and finally creating the "us" perception.

This idea has compelled us to wonder how the feeling of belonging to Europe can actually emerge, beyond political co-operation, bureaucracy and language learning. This question has forced us to enter the realms of Social Psychology and Sociology and to search for their theoretical frameworks, their methodologies, etc. ... concerning the primary and secondary types of belonging to Europe, the factors that facilitate or hinder the process of joining the "supranation" and the mechanisms thanks to which the representations of the potential reality called Europe or European Union determine specific behaviours and attitudes.

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[6] Speech. Washington, April 30, 1952.

Consequently, in this project, the *Europe* object will be defined as "the field of representations and attitudes emanating from the population and enclosed within a geographical space of blurred contours. These representations and attitudes are orientated towards the society they belong to, neighbouring societies and more distant societies which are assigned common characteristics, specific characteristics and a varied and differentiated contribution in the historical, political and economic dynamic and in a perspective of solidarity in the referred space. Finally, the representations and attitudes towards the supranational regulating institutions (specific organizations which create norms and regulations) theoretically resulting from the will of autonomous, independent people and from systematic efforts, i.e. efforts linked to the development of economic and political relationships and to global circuits"[7].

What young people say about their "european nature"

In the transition from institutional referent to personal referent and in order to establish the status of *being* European, *feeling* European, *considering oneself* European, *understanding oneself* as European and *living* European, we deem it important to define some of the aspects which young people identify with being European.

We have used two large reports as the starting point for our analysis: Tapia´s (1997)[8] and the White Paper on European Youth[9], which is based on a survey carried out from May 2000 to March 2001, the targets of which were young people from all backgrounds, youth organizations, the scientific community as well as political leaders and their respective administrations.

With respect to the identification with a "Europe based on values", the analysis of the results has revealed that for young people aged 15 to 25, Europe has many facets, amongst which are those of Tower of

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[7] Tapia, V. (1997a). "La mosaïque continentale européenne dans les représentations collectives des jeunes" in Tapia, C. (Dir.) *Dynamiques et transitions en Europe. Approche pluridisciplinaire*. Berne: p. Lang. Euroclio, pp. 161-167.

[8] Tapia, C. (1997ª) op. Cit. y Tapia, C. (1997) *Les jeunes face à l'Europe*. Col. Psychologie Sociale. Presses Universitaires de France. Specially the following chapters: *La jeunesse française face à l'Europe. Représentations, valeurs, idéologies* (pp. 79-160) & *Jeunesses Européenes face à l'Europe. Comparaisons internationales* (pp. 161-228).

[9] COM (2001) *The White Paper of the European Commission. A New Impetus for European Youth*. Brussels, 21 November, 2001. COM (2001) 681- end. European Communities Commission.

Babel, bureaucracy and "great slot machine", but also those of area of encounter and exchange and champion of democratic values.

The analysis also highlight the idea of a *Europe in the world*: "Both individually and collectively, young people reject the idea of a Europe that is merely a large economic free-trade area competing with North America and South East Asia. The aim of the Community enterprise is not to create a "fortress Europe" built on the positions and creations of the past: Europe´s domination of other continents at certain times of history must not be used as an excuse for continuing along this path. On the contrary, Europe must prove that it is open to the rest of the world and position itself as a *cultural crossroads*, an area of tolerance and mutual exchange" (pp. 56-67)[10].

For the people who participated in the survey, it is obvious that "the clear affirmation of an area of rights and freedoms is much more necessary today than that of an economic Europe. Nor are young people and their associations indifferent to the idea of unity in diversity. The question of fighting discrimination came up in all the discussions. Solidarity, equality and multiculturalism are values which were unanimously endorsed. They are at the heart of European integration but also of cooperation with the rest of the world. All participants thus wished to create a European common policy to protect universal fundamental rights" (p. 57).

The youth and their representatives demand a Europe that listens to their concerns, without exclusion. They see Europe as an enlarged barrier-free area which facilitates study periods, travel, work and daily life, but they highlight the fact that this reality is far from being accomplished.

The associations likely to be more in contact with Community institutions (fund applications, project registration for programmes, etc.) complain about "the complexity of existing structures"[11] (p. 58).

The studies carried out show a gap between Europe and its young generations. There are still many young people who remain profoundly linked to their local milieu and to national perspectives. We still need to "carry out a long and patient task to reinforce European citizenship and awareness" (p. 59). One of the paths that remains before us in order to intensify efforts at citizenship and European identity development is "the harmonization of refugee and immigrant rights and the improvement of their status in all of Europe"[12] (p. 63).

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[10] COM (2001) *Op. Cit.,* pp. 56-57.
[11] COM (2001) *Op. Cit.,* p. 63.
[12] COM (2001) *Op. Cit.,* p. 63.

We believe that prior to the analysis of the task of educators an analytical study to be carried out would be to find out what aspects young people identify with being European and to define the factors by virtue of which the identification as a European could contribute to increasing the quality and scope of young people´s social and political lives. Within the field of education it would also be important to spot the elements that young people want, and which of them can be or should be supported, as well as what other elements do not exist or are being imposed "externally" and "deliberately".

We ought to highlight the various elements of psychological and ideological convergence in young people, the largely shared acceptance of the idea of open citizenship (applied to a supranational context) and the development of a dynamic based on the multiple instances of exchange and cooperation, until we can see what the state of "we Europeans" (type of socialization through partial fusion that, according to sociologists, can have different degrees of intensity) is[13]. Self-identification has evident effects on every population, both external (involving the "visible" behaviour of members; for example, applying for a study bursary) and internal (regarding the reflexive processes in which the person is involved; for example, self-assessment and having certain duties to others).

The path to be followed is long and winding. European awareness might have to be built step by step, searching for possible reciprocal identifications for Spaniards and Germans, for Italians and Belgians, etc.

Problems involved in the construction of european identity in the field of education

European nations struggle to establish a social contract based on everyone's acceptance of a minimum amount of value-representations and a minimum of contracts and rules. This cultural nucleus is to be articulated considering every human being as an end in itself and not as a means.

In my opinion, Camilleri (1997)[14] contributes two ideas about European identity which are essential for the analyses carried out by European experts and schools:

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[13] Quote from Georges Gurvich. *La vocation actuelle de la sociologie*. Paris, PUF, 1957, P. 131: " An 'us' (us the French, us union activists, us students, etc.) which gathers the plurality of its members into an unyielding whole, an indivisible unit where it tends to be immanent in its parts and the parts tend to be immanent in the whole".

[14] Camilleri, C (1997). Problématique de la construction d´une appartenance européenne, in C. Tapia, *Dynamiques et transitions en Europe. Approche pluridisciplinaire*, Berne, P. Lang, Euroclio, pp. 161-167.

1. European culture, which extends to a cluster of numerous national groups, can only be a *voluntary construction*. A construction that cannot be so artificial as to solely rest on tradition present in European history.
2. European culture will emerge if there is a *subjective mutation* that leads individuals to assert their basic adhesion to the "Europe" group. Consequently, a reorganization of their current affiliations that will allow culture to gain consistency and generate a dynamic capable of consolidating the "Europe" group will be necessary.

The emerging question which would be useful in the field of education is: How can this subjective mutation be implemented?

Camilleri (1997) suggests the following answer: due to the effect of this mutation, the differences between the European groups that are nations will suffer a qualitative inversion of their sense. Each of them will not be understood as separate from the cluster-group (the national endogroup of the exogroup) but as "domesticated" differences, because they are relative to the "we" of the new base group, where their main identity would be anchored.

If we consider this last concept, it will be necessary to examine in depth what content should be given to European identity and to reorganise the relationships between national and European identities.

In order to do so, Camilleri redefines the role of identity as that which is not opposed to diversification nor complexification: "on the contrary, they contribute that which creates our authentic uniqueness, not through multiple exclusion but as dialectical unity, as continuous integration of diversity...". Identity appears, thus, as a structure in which what is mine and what is yours is distributed on top of the elements that compose it..., in the same way as belonging is not anchorage to one group excluding of all others but rather the establishment of a hierarchical network of identifications.

Camilleri supports his analysis by a new distinction between what he calls *critical identity* (a free, floating and more or less reflexive identification) and *fusional identity*, involving an emotional dimension and which establishes a closed dynamic, as opposed to the open dynamic of the critical identity. The nation, in paroxystical periods, and for reasons that have to do with its status of belonging, will behave like inter-group relationships (we) and exo-groups. Camilleri asserts that Europe will no longer exist when this condensation operates in its own favour. How will national structures be affected, to the detriment of pre-national ones? But will this be possible? Is it desirable that the "Europe" group or its representation work in a reactive and defensive

manner with respect to extra-European groups? Can it be represented as a current national "we", that is, a closed "we" nourished by the fusional identity?

The undersigned denounces, like the author, this tendency full of dangers and potential conflicts. A tendency that is dysfunctional in relation to the interdependent networks that are built behind our eyes at a global scale. So the question is, what can be done so that the European Community is experienced intensively without resorting to fusional identities?

According to Camilleri, it is necessary to return both to the notion of critical identity linked to global conscience and to the hypothesis of there being a possible systematic organization of the critical march of the members of the community, which would ensure the stability of this voluntary construction.

We are not considering the simple possibility of expressing global opinions periodically through ballots, which would correspond to minimal democratic practice. The essentials of a democratic contract will only be possible if we create the conditions which make the Kantian maxim of considering the subject as an end in itself and not as a means possible.

Strategies for schools and for teacher and student training

The study of the effects of European identity at the educational level and the developments made constitutes a must.

Efforts have been made to improve and systematise methods and applications in the educational field. We would like to emphasise those carried out by the groups present in this Seminar mentioned at the Opening Address.

The analysis of the activities related to Citizenship Education carried out by the groups participating in this Seminar allow us to highlight various strands, such as the following:

1. *Citizenship Education* through *content* in its broad sense. Some of the aspects to be worked at, such as the development of critical spirit, negotiation and debating skills for the resolution of conflicts, etc. may be tackled in numerous ways: integrating them into one or various disciplines and organising content in a disciplinary, interdisciplinary or global manner, or as cross-curricular *abilities*.

2. *Learning Citizenship skills at school* through all the activities that demand the involvement and participation of students and arouse their commitment, be it in the school itself, in the

community or in other contexts. Activities which invite them to solve problems, resolve conflicts, make group decisions through the use of dialogue, discussion and negotiation; which foster the encounter with what is different; which demand the exercise of critical judgement, etc.

3. *The construction of personal and social identity*, which implies getting to know oneself and recognising oneself in one´s relationship with oneself, the other and the others; helping students to assert their identity and to find their places in society; favouring the recognition of others and learning how to live in a plural and changing society in which relationships between individuals, social groups, generations, etc. can generate openness or withdrawal.

All of these efforts in order to make European identity and Citizenship Education operative have been very significant.

However, we would like to stress that working on the subject of European Identity at macro-social and micro-social level implies the implementation of a new social and educational logic. It entails the analysis of the different situations that individuals and groups have to face. Working on education from this perspective does not mean creating an education targeted at specific population groups (native Europeans, immigrants..., for example) but rather tackling educational problems from a viewpoint that integrates all present-day mutations, such as:

—the multiplicity of options (including cultural alternatives);
—the management of multi-category feelings of belonging;
—dynamics of change and the role of marginality as a factor for innovation.

Social situations can act as mirrors or magnifying glasses allowing us to systematise a series of questions and issues that ought to be looked at. The following could be highlighted:

—Education and human rights.
—The fight against racism and xenophobia.
—The schooling of immigrant students.

It should be underscored that the common denominator of these central themes is not immigration but alterity in all its components and in all its levels and forms. The discovery of alterity constitutes a challenge for education: the "Other" should not be absent from socialization and education. The development of social, economic and

political structures has to start considering the issue of the Other from a new perspective, one conceiving intercultural and identity rapprochement as one of the possible modes.

The culture claim that this Seminar wants to make is often motivated by a will to "re-ritualise" practices and social relationships and to strictly redefine each individual´s place with the conscious or unconscious concern with reducing the anguish caused by the simplification of foreigners and the permanent frontier outbursts[15]. Today, the resurgence of culturalism in schools is also risky. It may entail narrow-mindedness and fragmentation of the school system due to the division of the school into multiple impregnable school units according to cultural differences. This risk could be a consequence of absolute cultural relativism far from a global perspective. A firm orthodox doctrine of relativism could be implemented in schools.

Following Camilleri´s line of thought, the answer could lie in the development of our critical identity, but how can this be accomplished?

Some guidelines for the formation of educators from the viewpoint of identity

When teacher development courses reach the conclusion that schools must incorporate new educational goals such as knowledge of other cultures, my firm and outright response is always in the negative. This type of aims run the serious risk of being tackled in the classical way, favouring a deterministic and one-sided approach to cultural behaviour that contrasts with the notion that culture is built in a dynamic and interactive way. I believe that the emphasis should be put on the method, the methodology and on the educational act itself as a form of social communication and interaction.

Following are some items that educators can use as teaching strategies or guidelines:

—To define a more "sociologist" concept of European identity.
—To learn and teach how to appropriate and negotiate multiple feelings of belonging.
—To learn how to be in charge of one´s own socialization and not only a product of it.

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[15] Projects such as those carried out by Andrés Tornos can be very illustrative: Tornos, A. (2000) Profundizar en la Integración. *Documentación Social,* Octubre-Diciembre, 141-155. and Tornos, A. (1994) La identidad del inmigrante y su situación familiar. *Miscelánea Comillas*, 52, pp. 365-379.

—To detect epistemological obstacles: culture diversity and
   disciplinary approaches.

To define a more "sociologist" conception of European Identity

Being an active participant today entails the capacity to build
"myself" and "himself" allowing us to recognise ourselves not as an
atomised component of social systems but as a link between them,
enabling us to establish a theory about who we are ("Europeans").

In view of the construction of European identity, several issues
could be raised: how European identity is subject to recognition; how
collective identity is defined and built; why can we say there is a shared
collective identity and in what sense could we talk about it; how could
we demand the acknowledgement of the existence of numerous
collective identities whilst being in the heart of a "supra-identity" as
the European identity; how should the recognition of European identity
(which must be compatible with equal rights) be made. The temptation
to hide behind abstract universalism is high, and when it comes to the
recognition of differences and its acknowledgement this approach will
always be Pandora´s box.

Speaking of Latin American identity, Tornos (1996)[16] remarks that it
is necessary to analyse issues such as the possible incompatibility
between the recognition of the great diversity and pluralism that exist
among the nations and peoples of Latin America and the very idea of
there being a common cultural Latin American identity. It is also
essential to clarify and make explicit the amount of diversity that groups
with some shared collective identity would be able to cope with;
whether all individuals and groups belonging to a culturally unified
group should share a common culture or whether the fact that a group
has a hegemonic culture is sufficient to ascribe cultural unity to this
group even if not every group member shares the hegemonic culture;
whether the cultural unity of a group implies an acknowledgement of
such unity on the part of group members or whether the interlocutors
from such group confer the group the cultural unity that it actually has,
from the outside, through its interaction with other groups.

In order to work on these issues, the author proposes a «sociologist»
conception of cultural identity as an alternative theoretical framework.

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[16] Tornos, A. (1996) Perspectivas tecnológicas sobre la identidad cultural
latinoamericana. *Persona y sociedad*. Instituto Latinoamericano de Doctrina y Estudios
Sociales. 10, 110-119.

He states: «Personally, I felt compelled to think about these issues in order to find answers for the questions that my relationship with Latin American immigrants in the US and Spain raised. Working on these questions has made me consider another theoretical alternative: to choose between a more «mentalist» conception of cultural identity, according to which cultural identity would be ingrained in the conscience, and a more «sociologist» conception, which would conceive cultural identity in a similar way to how Saussure perceived the notion of «language» or to how Luhman understood social systems. By virtue of this last comparison, cultural identity would be similar to an ensemble of more or less coactive structures of meaning somehow capable of surviving outside the affected individuals. Identity would manifest itself through interaction and not through introspection. Our studies should focus on how things are studied and not on how ideas and feelings are studied, just how Durkheim wanted social facts to be studied». Andres Tornos´ chapter will contribute to our understanding of the configuration of social identity from this new perspective.

In view of European Identity education and in order not to reduce «the other» to a cultural abstraction, we deem it pertinent to analyse both the aforementioned structures of meaning and the defensive and offensive strategies devised by groups and individuals so as to accomplish a social and heterogeneous formation. Very often, such strategies are rigid claims for a past or future identity. It is necessary to learn all the mechanisms and consequences of cultural polymorphism. The research carried out by Camilleri[17], Aparicio and Tornos[18], amongst others, lay the foundations of an education centred on the individual, not in the egotistical sense of the term but as an actor.

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[17] Camilleri, C. & Cohen-Emerique, M (Dir.) (1989) Chocs de cultures: concepts et enjeux pratiques de l´interculturel. Col. Espaces interculturels. L´Harmattan, Paris.

Camilleri, C., Kasterstein, J., Lipiansky, E.M., Malewska-Peyre, H.& Taboada-Leonetti y Vasquez, A. (Eds.) *Stratégies identitaires*, Paris, PUF.

Camilleri, C. (Dir.) (1995) *Différencie et cultures en Europe*, Council of Europe Publ., Strasburg.

Costa-Lascoux, J., Hily, M.A. & Vermès, G. (2000) *Pluralité des cultures et dynamiques identitaires. Homâge à Carmel Camilleri*. Col. Espaces interculturels. L´Harmattan, Paris.

[18] Aparicio, R. (2001) *Convivir como tarea. Nuevas demandas de la Sociología de las Migraciones*. Lección inaugural del curso académico 2001-2002. Universidad Pontificia de Comillas, Madrid.

Aparicio, R. & Tornos, A. (2000) *Estrategias y dificultades características en la integración social de los distintos colectivos de inmigrantes en la Comunidad de Madrid*. Cuadernos técnicos de Servicios Sociales. Ed. Consejería de Servicios Sociales. Comunidad de Madrid.

Socialising students from this perspective entails giving them reference (orientation) tools so that they can learn how to recognise themselves and the other in an exchange of identities and how to overcome differences, contradictions and relational conflicts. This will enable them to place themselves in a mobile and constantly changing network and to anticipate forthcoming change.

Learning and teaching how to appropriate and negotiate multiple feelings of belonging

Cultural plurality is not a recent phenomenon. What is new about it is its acknowledgement and its systematic manifestation in our daily lives. Individuals and groups are presented with many different potentialities. It seems appropriate to turn to a method based on normalization and normative categories and to be able to distinguish between the various identity models that are entering schools. Individuals have to learn how to appropriate and negotiate feelings of belonging and certain characteristics of these feelings. Educational models should focus on how collective and individual personalities are structured and on how this plurireferential structure occurs in individuals. In order to do this, educational programmes should refer to the content of European cultural identity, to the subject of that identity (a group made up of all European societies), to the menacing situation in which the identity could find itself and the interpretations of the threats that endanger it.

In Europe, positive social identity may lead to negative manifestations of aggressive ethnocentrism. Identity development within a wider context redefines the non-group. The case of Europe is illustrative: it is obvious that the strengthening of the feeling of «Europeanness» has coincided (as a psychosocial correlate) with the development of the European economic community. This has led to the channelling of feelings of rejection which in the more restricted reference frameworks of previous periods were geared towards non-European groups inside Europe: the racist outbreaks in Germany against the Turks and those against North Africans in France stand out. In Spain, the development of the feeling of being a part of Europe is accompanied by rejection of Dominicans, Ecuadorians and other Latin Americans who, in a previous scenario (when identity was defined from the point of view of the Hispanic world), were considered part of the group.

The varying processes of social comparison highlight the importance of exploring the consequences of placing the same individual in different reference frameworks, be them regional, national or

supranational. We think that, from a stricter and more operative point of view, the following two areas should be worked on in the field of education: the relationship between the formation of schemes that are more related to the social world and the ability to have social identification and, on the other hand, the relationship between the differentiation and distinctiveness between the concepts "I —we— Others" and the willingness to separate oneself from the others to socially reject them and discriminate them.

Learning how to be in charge of one´s own socialization and not only a product of it

From an identity perspective, education offers a model of analysis and appropriation of problems and situations as well as a way of learning about the being, especially on the social and relational fronts. From this standpoint, culture is not defined in terms of an ensemble of qualities attributed to it but as a communication phenomenon. The communicative and relational aspects are not only the object of specific and structured learning. Thus, we regard spontaneous behaviour (which is often overlooked in education) as very relevant.

Socialization is the process through which individuals learn how to perform in their social environment. Socialization agents are people and institutions an individual is related to and from which he or she learns about values and rules of conduct. The socialization process lasts a lifetime, although three types of socialization are usually distinguished:

—Primary socialization, associated with childhood, when the most important elements for living in society, such as language, are internalized.
—Secondary socialization, associated with adolescence and maturity, when more abstract values, such as political ideology, are internalized.
—Tertiary socialization, associated with adulthood, when individuals question what was previously learnt and incorporate new values.

Present-day social dynamics are characterised by their rushed pace and their precariousness. Every individual is led to experience one or more successive and sometimes synchronic processes of culture loss and this does not only happen at the professional and geographical level. Learning how to cope with change and complexity in social reality, in technological deficits, in educational games, etc. constitutes an educational challenge in which culture is only one variable that ought to be taken into consideration.

An approach to identity based on change dynamics rather than one based on categories and nomenclature. Structure comes to be less important than individual and/or collective mechanisms and strategies for action and assertiveness.

Socialization processes are long. Throughout a lifetime, it is necessary to teach and learn how to make changes and how to acquire referents that facilitate change. The process also involves the need for readjustment in each individual, in face of the so-called new attitudes, such as intellectuality, cultural mobility, open-mindedness, the ability to survive throughout changes... Professor Yves Beernaert will develop this idea in his chapter entitled "The Construction of European Identity in the School as a Learning Communities".

The flow of everyday life and the complexity of everyday situations cause disagreement, disruption and dysfunction. Everyone ought to be a part of social and cultural production through objectivation to avoid traumatised individuals and societies.

Social, political and historical contexts are determining patterns: «I» as subject responsible for social relationships and identities. The introduction of the personal point of view in the appropriation of what is human and constitutes a basic choice, specially in the cultural experience. It is a response to three imperatives:

—To avoid and elude the categorization and simplification of procedures.
—To introduce discourse flexibility, caution and relativism, through multiple perspectives and points of view.
—To acknowledge that in every act, the cognitive, the relational, the emotional, the practical or the symbolic have their own place within a network of subjective elements.

Detecting some epistemological obstacles: culture diversity and disciplinary approaches

Nowadays, it could be said that the reorganization of knowledge and processes in educational contexts leads us to necessary questioning of many of the ideas that have always accompanied us about who we are, where we are going to, our origin, our ethics, our social institutions, our "imagery", our ways of contesting and, why not, about the very sense of our life.

For all this, it seems convenient to transform questions into instruments. The idea that cultural tools are not only used to organise

reality but also to grant us action processes taking place in the corresponding historical moments, is gaining strength. This is an exercise of creativity since many of the things that we considered unchangeable are to be questioned and reorganised.

Some epistemological obstacles may be found when developing the various disciplines in the educational fields. The first obstacle that the teacher may find in the classroom is a group of students with diverse cultural backgrounds. To avoid this (in some cases it can be a nuisance) students are taught in a class of cultural amnesia, which leads to universalisms through the denial of denial or through the denial of themselves as singular individuals. A consequence of this fact, which constitutes a challenge for present day education, is the acknowledgement of singularity and the acknowledgement of other singularities. The act of teaching is only one aspect of education within the wider context of socialization and culturization. Teachers cannot remain ignorant of the philosophical systems they put into practice and on which their practice is based. They cannot deny the existence of the cultural framework they are sharing.

The cultural pluralism which operates in our societies in an invitation for teachers. Intercultural rapprochement in education needs to overcome the dichotomy between what is structural and what is temporary, what is temporary and what is permanent, what is conscious and what is unconscious, what is general and what is marginal. This will imply the rejection of permanent certainties and the acceptance of what is likely as a mode of knowledge. Usually, this methodology is developed when the group of belonging is situated at the centre yet banishes when it refers to another group, when the other is looked at and talked about. What concerns oneself appears as complex and defined, whereas *the other* is more easily identified and categorised. "They" is more easily categorised than «we». Another obstacle to interculturalism is the temptation to find coherence (often artificial and exogenous) in the cultural object, detecting solely specific contradictions, ruptures and discontinuities. Homogeneity is nothing but a bait. Furthermore, incoherent elements within cultural systems are aggravated by the simultaneous presence of different entities from which individuals produce combinations choosing cultural pieces from the various systems.

This said, wanting to learn how to observe and analyse from different or even contradictory standpoints seems a better option than searching at all costs for harmonious entities which are often mere substitutes and myths for lost paradise. It is preferable to learn how to work on facts and phenomena that belong to our daily lives and to

diversified contexts than to focus on abstract units (home, cities, health...). Teachers and individuals work with unique individuals and not with arbitrary representations of any given culture: before being Arabian, African or Asian, each individual has a name and a surname and higher individualising traits. Teachers should, thus, focus on problem situations rather than standard situations.

Conclusion

We assign schools the role of transmission of cultural and cognitive references that are essential for the construction of the identity of children and young people attending them. Citizen education currently requires helping pupils elaborate their own processes of identity construction in a new way. Schools still play a fundamental role in this process and it is their responsibility to offer cultural, cognitive and emotional referents that can become the nucleus that agglutinates all the disperse and unconnected stimuli children and youth are exposed to.

Nowadays, Social Sciences are using the concepts of identity and cultural identity in new ways. I think this should be the starting point for the operative implementation of educational projects. Prior to it, the factors determining the content and the weight of the identification of present-day Europeans as Europeans (amongst them, the current ways of proceeding in European institutions, the presence of "Europeanness" in the media, the socialization and re-socialization processes of individuals) should be discussed. It is also necessary to previously outline existing alternatives and to specify how education could contribute to strengthening them.

These situations require a vast amount of creativity insofar as they compel us to reconsider our certainties. It is the restoration of thought and knowledge under a new statute and a new organization. Dostoievsky had already anticipated this task when he sententiously declared: «I always choose subjects that are beyond my strength».

12.
The Meaning of European Identity: Past, Present or Future Project

Andrés Tornos
University Institute for Migration Studies
Universidad Pontificia Comillas, Spain

This Seminar has focused on the meaning of Europe and on how practical efficiency and democratic legitimacy of the European Union closely depend on the extent to which member State citizens assume their condition of EU citizens. In other words, to what extent citizens actually get to feel European, live European and be European, as expressed at the meeting in Laeken and as Ms Donnarumma has reminded us.

In this perspective, a gradation has been made visible to us with regards to the possible attitudes of member States citizens towards European institutions:

—The attitudes of those who simply know that European institutions exist, but who see them from the outside, unconcerned about their meaning, adopting purely passive attitudes towards the policies promoted by them. This is the predominant attitude amongst European citizens so far.
—The attitudes of those who tend to participate, more or less actively, in the democratic making and implementation of such policies, but are only interested in the advantages they can obtain for their specific national or group interests. These attitudes still seem to be quite widespread amongst economic and political agents linked to sectors such as agriculture, fishing, military equipment, etc.
—The attitudes of those who tend to identify themselves as Europeans and who consequently assume their European social identity to a greater or lesser extent, giving this self-identification

some meaning beyond denoting their abstract belonging to one of the signatories to the Maastricht Treaty. These citizens then take some form of representation of what Europe is and of what concerns Europe as a reference framework for their social and political life.

This presentation aims at considering the aspects of our sociocultural context that are relevant in order to promote the assimilation of this last type of attitudes —the promotion of a *social* European identity— in the school environment. This is our goal when discussing the past, the present and the future of the European Union. I will not intend, then, to come up with some sort of «true history» of the EU, but to simply put into order the key elements of the context the teaching of "Europeanness" should refer to, leaving the task of how to materialise the actual teaching to those who know the educational sphere better.

The past, present and future of the Union will not then be considered here as real history would. The only past, present and future elements that will be dealt with are those which significantly currently determine the assimilation context of European identity. In the first part of this narrative, I will describe how I understand such assimilation and its contextual determinants in order to justify the filters through which I will be looking at these determining factors throughout their history. Next, I will describe the scenario resulting from such screening.

Identity assimilation and its determining factors

We start off in life being "someone", given the physical and psychological features with which we are born: one´s own unique traits intimately merged between themselves. Yet in this early life stage we ignore who we are because we have no differentiated awareness of our characteristics. It is only very soon afterwards (as Evolutionary Psychology has shown) that we begin to distinctly know ourselves through being identified by our surrounding adults and through self-identification and comparison with some of the elementary figures in our environment: child versus adults, a particular gender, a particular position within the family, etc. When we identified ourselves with some of these figures, we did not only apprehend differentiated self-representations enabling us to fill in the self-awareness void with which we began life. These figures also allowed us to start defining ourselves in relation to elementary qualifiers which were also absorbed from our family environment, such as loved/unloved, good/bad, strong/weak, skilful/clumsy, etc.

This was extremely important for us because we were able to start taking ownership of our own reality thanks to our self-discovery in a social environment and to somehow perceiving the advantages of either accepting it or rejecting it according to our own interest.

From childhood, everything has been structurally like this for all human beings. Only by living in certain social environments and learning the social conventions which define them does an individual have mirrors on which to recognise himself, measures against which to measure himself and criteria to organise his self- This obviously means that getting to consciously or unconsciously identify oneself with some form of social identity is greatly important for all individuals. However, in this presentation we are not primarily interested in that —as it was previously stated— but rather in detailing the contextual factors generally affecting the acquisition of social identification before it actually happens, in the course of its realization process and throughout its future consolidation.

We hardly ever realise that before the identification process of certain individuals or groups with a given social identity can start, three conditions ought to be met. Firstly, the figure of the social identity has to be recognisable for the individuals or groups concerned. Secondly, the figure should be inserted within a realm of identity relationships pertinent to those to whom it is proposed. Finally, the features of the identity figure should be anchored to social representations shared by the groups those having to identify with it belong to.

The first condition does not require further clarification, since it is obvious that no one can identify with an undetermined, non-specific figure.

We tend to overlook the second condition, the fact that the sole identifications which can occur are those with identity figures anchored within relationship frameworks pertinent to those who are to identify themselves. This results from the very meaning of social identity, insofar as it represents a way of recognising oneself and of being oneself, not in isolation but within an environment of interconnected relationships. This is what happens to all social identities, from the most basic (one´s identification as a child within a family, for instance, which involves an assemblage of identities: father, mother and adult) to those linked to more socially elaborate relationships such as those established between worker and employer, governor and governed, etc. They are all built according to reciprocal correlations with other identities.

It is not useless to remember that the validity of a system of social identities presupposes processes of social creativity since it is only thanks to this creativity that identities and identity relationships can be structured in a particular way. Sexual identity, for example, is determined

according to one´s way of understanding sex; family identity according to one´s particular family tree, etc.

In this last case, one realizes how complex and arbitrary the map of available identities of a given society can be. However, there are other identity distributions which are even more arbitrary, such as those created according to ethnic identities. In fact, the latter are enough to make us aware of how important identities can be, even those which are arbitrarily structured and built, in order to actually determine the social interaction and the social accomplishments of the individuals concerned.

Another aspect which should be remembered is that social identities are often "role identities", shaped in accordance with the type of activities that an individual normally carries out —for example, the identity of the engineer—, but other times they do not involve a specific role, but rather a "place" within common appreciation. For instance, identifying someone as a coherent person; or, in some religious groups, identifying someone as a saint. The interest of these formal clarifications will become evident later on, when they are applied to educational processes for European identity.

Finally, the implementation of a process of school assimilation of emerging identities, as is the case of European identity, would have to be preceded by a process of identity shaping or definition, with recognisable traits and according to a map of identity relationships and also by the anchoring of the identity —its traits and relationships— to social representations shared by the groups the students belong to. Indeed, an emerging identity figure proposed to some individuals to be assimilated through identification may be outlined within a specific communication context, with features that are understandable within it yet irrelevant and meaningless in the everyday social environment those individuals belong to. So the latter, in the communication context mentioned, will cognitively understand the traits of that identity, yet will perceive them as non pertinent outside of that context and, consequently, they will not personally identify with it. For example: a TV programme may explain the social position and identity of Siberian Shamans, but it would be pointless to expect viewers to really identify with them.

To sum up, before the assimilation processes of an emerging identity takes place, firstly, the figure of the identity should be transmitted with a sufficiently distinct profile; secondly, the identity figure ought to be placed within a realm of identity relationships structured in accordance to variables or characteristics pertinent to those who will be able to identify with it; and thirdly, the perception of

the traits and the social insertion of the identity in question must be anchored to the shared social representations within the social environment of those identifying with it.

This is all to be said about the factors which contextually condition the acquisition process of a social identity since its initial, pre-acquisition stage. With regards to what contextually influences the very process of acquisition we would have to consider, first of all, the type of insertion into the primary groups (or *facie ad faciem*) of the individuals concerned; secondly, the way the new identity integrates with the previous identifications of the same individuals; and thirdly, the events taking place in the wider social environment which are somehow relevant to the social development of the identity in question.

The first conditioning factor, namely the relevance that insertion into *facie ad faciem* groups bears to identification processes, does not constitute a peculiarity of the latter but is rather a common denominator to all processes of attitude change. Someone´s identification with any social identity essentially entails some attitude change.

The fact that the identity to be acquired should integrate with other identities previously assimilated by the individual is easily understandable. With respect to the acquisition of European identity, I will later on express my point of view about the debates that have often taken place in relation to how to make European identity compatible with other national identities existing in EU citizens before the EU was created.

The third contextual condition that has just been mentioned —the current appearance or non-appearance of relevant events expressing the meaning of the proposed identity— does not require further clarification either. It is obvious that whether that meaning comes to light in important life or media events or whether it appears inoperative in such circumstances, is not indifferent for the stimulation of the teaching processes through which it wants to be transmitted.

Finally, and with a view to the educational promotion of social identities, some possible more or less utopian prospective visions associated with those identities could be taken into consideration. The analysis of identification processes indeed shows that they are not only carried out through assimilation of reference images embodying pre-existing attitudes and procedures. Human beings also often identify themselves with ideal figures, especially during childhood and youth.

These formal characteristics of every post-childhood identity acquisition process should also be present throughout this Seminar on European Identity education. We will soon see how these characteristics

are lately limited to the fact that the history of European identity —its past, present and future— becomes present normally whilst promoting it. I will now refer to it.

The past of European Identity and the determining factors of its acquisition

When I referred to the formal conditions for the acquisition of a social identities, I mentioned the processes of cultural creation, prerequisites for the shaping and outlining of identities to be communicable and understandable, as well as to their insertion into an implicit map of identity relationships established according to a particular viewpoint (kinship, profession, power, etc.).

In the case of European identity, these cultural processes that are pre-required for it to be easily understood cannot be considered complete, which would indeed introduce extra difficulties for "Europeanness" education. However, most importantly, the cultural processes have been presided by certain basic interests, intentions or perspectives which hinder, rather than favour, the comprehension of the map of relationships in which European identity is to be located in order for it to be rightfully understood.

Indeed, if we try to come up with some sort of semiotic history of "Europeanness", the first thing we find is the Greek creation of a view of the world which distinguished three areas or regions in it: Asia, to the East of the Aegean sea; Africa, situated on the South; and Europe, on the West. The lack of geographical precision of this division matters little; what is important is the fact that it was made and used as an orientation guide for traders and, soon afterwards, for the military. A partition of the world space is designed in order for it to be dominated. From the semiotic point of view, we would say that the isotopia underlying this partition has to do with ownership of the land.

This did not change with the rise of the Roman Empire and the subsequent process of romanization, even though at this stage the dimensions attributed to Europe were different and larger. When the 15th and 16th centuries brought forth a widening of the vision of the spaces of the world, the perspective of commercial and military domination presided, with much greater effectiveness than in the Greek origins, the way of understanding the partition of the world and Europe´s position within it. Being European surreptitiously meant belonging to the world of the dominant.

The semiotics of Europeanness hardly changed in the 17th century with the emergence of the idea of progress or, slightly later, with the

evolutionary conceptions. There is written evidence that, at the begin-ning of the Enlightenment, the meaning of Europe started evolving towards meaning the most advanced area of the world. Before this period, Europeanness was associated with some form of domination; afterwards it became associated with the idea of belonging to the most advanced continent. In both cases, the other continents are regarded as inferior.

This way of understanding the relationships between European and non-European identities is what undoubtedly gave a meaning to the statement of the 18th century French ambassador who asserted that Europe ended in the Pyrenees, and also to the expression according to which Ortega would have been "Europeic acid on Spain's flesh". Many understood European identity this way, and those who now believe that the average Spaniard who prides himself on identifying himself as European and of being considered European actually associates being European with being a member of the elitist group of advanced countries, is not far from the truth. I timidly confess that, maybe due to my current dedication to research on migrations, I am concerned with the possibility of this being the hidden semiotics of Europeanness that we may be transmitting. This semiotics carries the seeds of unfair and unfounded discrimination against people from other continents.

Let us return to the semiotic or cultural evolution of the meaning of Europeanness. Whilst in Spain we worried about whether others regarded us as advanced or not, in other countries such as France or Italy other concerns with respect to the continent started being felt. Saint Simon, for example, at the beginning of the 19th century, was worried about the injustice created by the industrial revolution in Europe and claimed that the overcoming of such injustice had to be tackled at continental level, thus seeing the geographical partition of the world in terms of task spaces and not of domination or superiority.

However, Saint Simon's approach fell on deaf ears, as did the conferences for "The European Union" (sic) fostered in the last third of the 19th century by the Austrian Richard von Koudenhove, who was mainly concerned with the elimination of the political and military conflicts which had been devastating Europe, more than any other territory, since the 16th century. He also saw Europe mainly as a space for different tasks, not from the standpoint of superiority over other peoples.

Finally, it was after World War II when seeing Europe as a unitary space of problems to be solved became inevitable. A space of problems because war and the world's economic development had violently brought them to light. A unitary space to face those problems because

it become obvious that they required treatment of supranational nature. So the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC, 1948), the Council of Europe (1949) and the European Coal and Steel Community (1951) were created, after which Europe came to mean, for the world elites and the media, an economic agent on a world-wide scale and not only a part of the map. This corresponds with the fact that in that moment, when referring to the promotion of European unity, it meant almost only fostering a unified and healthy management of the continent's economic problems. This was the underlying meaning of Europeanness when the European Economic Community was established in 1957 by the Treaty of Rome.

This implied that the new meaning of Europeanness was born under the sign of the economy and that the new relationship system in which European identity manifested itself was that of the greater global economic processes. In fact, this is how it is still seen by the media, which tends to correlate Europe with the United States and Japan, regarding Europe implicitly as one of the three great economic conglomerates emerging from the mass of nations which are often vaguely referred to as Third World or developing countries. Belonging to Europe meant still being amongst the great, from an economic standpoint.

However, it became increasingly clear that the economic management of the continent could not be efficient in the long run if it was not based on continental political and social management . Europe had to mean an ensemble of societies socially and politically responsible for their common future. This is how the Treaty of Maastricht was reached, which in 1993 changed the name of *European Economic Community* for that of *European Union*. It sealed the on-going yearly attempts to manage to associate being European with a co-operative lifestyle in a unitary space of freedom, security and recognition of human rights, as it was formulated soon afterwards at the meeting of the European Council in Tampere.

This was the path travelled up to now for the reconstruction of the idea of Europe by the elites, always somewhat ahead of its institutional construction. We now fulfil the two first conditions previously defined as essential for the promotion of a social identity: having a well-defined idea of the meaning of that identity and being able to realise the meaning of that identity in a map of relationships established according to some particular criterion.

I would also add that if this idea of Europe were to be made present in classrooms, it would have to be transmitted through social representations familiar to students. I believe this will cause some difficulties. Firstly, because the context of social relationships in which

the idea of Europeanness acquires its true meaning is complex and rather remote to students. Secondly, and even more so, because in Spain the vision of Europe as a especially rich, advanced and superior continent is still very deeply rooted. If this is so, when wanting to foster the consciousness of Europeanness amongst students, we may be promoting the idea that they should consider themselves superior to people from other countries and underestimate them and that they should be able to immediately enjoy the quality of life that is imaginatively attributed to citizens in Scandinavian countries or Germany, etc.

Thus, one should be cautious about the latent meanings of Europeanness, which one should be guarded against in completely different ways according to the age of students since the adequate ways of acquiring the idea of Europeanness varies greatly from Primary to Secondary school. I am not the most suitable person to talk about how to carry out this task but I thought that at least it should be mentioned it in order to explain how important the past of the comprehension of the idea of Europe is for its present transmission.

One important strategic option regarding this transmission in the classroom will be, undoubtedly, how to frame the idea of Europeanness within the relationship systems inside which it becomes meaningful. I mentioned beforehand that, originally, the idea of Europeanness was established within a system of power relationships, then within relationships of superiority and inferiority according to progress standards, and more recently, since the last post-war period, within macroeconomic and high political or diplomatic relationships. However, since Maastricht, the idea of Europeanness needs to be seen as a way of establishing social relationships at continental level. This implies understanding Europeanness as the foundation of our duties to others and not only as belonging to the privileged nations. Everyone realizes how important and difficult this task can be.

The present of European identity and its transmission in the classroom

I have previously listed three aspects of the present of European identity contextually conditioning its transmission in the classroom: the predominant attitudes towards it among the primary groups the students belong to, the way of seeing the compatibility between European identity and the national identities of the individuals concerned, and the events in the wider social environment relevant to the comprehension of the identity.

Regarding the first aspect, I have already mentioned that the attitudes of the primary groups the students belong to is not a conditioning factor specifically characteristic of identity transmission; it is, on the contrary, a phenomenon observed in more general research on attitude change. What this research has demonstrated is that attitudes, being generally rather resistant to change, are even more so since they do not belong to individuals in an isolated ivory tower but are stances of individuals belonging to social groups, whose location within such groups would be disrupted if their attitudes changed.

In this case, the relevant primary groups (or "facie ad faciem") would be those of the students' family environment, and for secondary school students, "peer" groups (or age groups).

What are the current attitudes of those groups with respect to Europeanness?

Unfortunately, the data we have does not inform us about how European membership is actually understood in the studied European countries even though it tells us both about support levels for European membership and also the existing degree of trust in European institutions. If we assume that the press tends to adjust information to what its average readers are interested in or understand, then we can deduce that the Europe citizens would like to belong to is one which really achieves a high and relatively well-balanced standard of living for its members, one whose Member States appear as culturally and technologically advanced within the world scenario, and finally one with real authority and a voice of its own in international forums when it comes to big military and economic controversies. The emphasis of this image would, thus, be on economic prosperity, cultural superiority and power. And if this is so, then the assimilation of Europeanness by students runs the risk of being assumed more as a source of rights and raising self-esteem than as an active commitment to a transnational social experience which also constitutes a source of duties.

This is, then, the current meaning of Europe for groups of adults, who are the ones more directly influencing the way the idea of Europeanness is received by present-day students. I have already referred to the misunderstanding which could cause identity reception to degenerate into discriminatory attitudes of superiority towards natives of other continents or countries.

However, in the present European context there is yet another obstacle to the adequate promotion of European identity in the school framework: the difficulties that students will probably find when wanting to coordinate their feelings of national identity with those associated with European identity. This may go unnoticed in the school

environment but will probably become evident later on, when what students have acquired in the classroom has to come to terms with their self-perception and their perception of the rest of Europeans, through interacting with them and discovering their situations and demands.

This difficulty to coordinate one´s own national identity with the European one emerges from the present-day context in which all of us, adults and students, are immersed into a cultural atmosphere that is still weighed down by four or five centuries of exclusive nationalist and absolutist regimes, during which civil, social and political rights could only be exercised within one´s own national borders, remaining oblivious of nationals of other countries. Losing one´s nationality formerly meant losing all kinds of civil guarantees, and an individual only accepted a nationality change, acquiring the nationality of another country, when that gave him more and better rights or important advantages of another kind. However, because the access to European identity tends to be conceived from the comprehension of national identities, the adoption of European identity is seen, in practice, as access to a new statute of rights and duties.

It is for this reason that in countries such as Denmark or Great Britain where satisfaction with regards to the economic situation and the feeling of national belonging is high, the difficulty to combine national identity and European identity has always arisen amongst adults, and it is obvious that school children are certainly likely to share similar attitudes. It would be a similar attitude to that experienced by many Basque youngsters if Spanish identity were to be promoted amongst them.

However, in countries such as ours, in which satisfaction with regards to European membership is high, the difficulty would be of a different nature. School children would be likely to absorb from the environment both this satisfaction associated with acquiring Euro-peanness and also a way of understanding one´s identification with Europe as a sort of substitute for one´s identification with Spain which is not linked to the type of close solidarity that the latter entails. If this were so, the meaning vitally associated with Europeanness would indeed be contaminated, since it would restrict manifestations of solidarity instead of enlarging the space in which they operate. The fact that in Spain Europeanness is regarded more as a question of social status and closeness to power rather than as a widening of civic commitments would indeed contribute to this form of contamination.

Finally, the great events in the current global context would also affect the transmission of Europeanness in the classroom, in so far as

they presented the relevance of European reality. This is obvious and does not need further explanation. Educators might, however, find difficulties selecting such events, useful for the transmission purpose. They run the risk of finding only macroeconomic events or else events linked to the international balance of military powers or even to artistic or sport superiority, and almost nothing relevant related to intra-European solidarity and to what has been coined "Social Europe". However, this is the essence of European identity that, supposedly, ought to be transmitted through education.

The future of Europe and the pedagogy of the transmission of Europeanness

The previous sections have gone through the elements of the past and the present of Europe which are nowadays inevitably reflected on the idea of Europeanness currently manifesting itself in the daily social and political lives of European adults, which, in turn, affects the student´s assimilation of the same idea. There is a risk that the assimilated idea of Europeanness might be very different to the purified vision of Europe that its thinkers have been outlining since last century. Images of a different Europe in which the governments and citizens of the various European countries see the issues concerning the citizens of the other European nations as their own and which regard the contribution to the management and resolution of such issues as being in their own interest. It is clear that this is not the situation we have today and that reaching that goal would imply a great change in the popular political culture in the entire Continent.

For this reason, it is not pointless to finish this reflection stressing that assimilation of identities is not only carried out through identification with pre-existing identity patterns. On the contrary, the analyses of the processes of identity evolution show that they also often lead to identification with ideal figures, and especially so in childhood and youth.

This is, in my viewpoint, an important aspect to be considered in the pedagogy of europeanization, but only insofar as this pedagogy actually highlights what the Europe of the future should be and mean, in contrast with the Europe of wars and rivalries, the Europe of self-centred countries, the Europe fighting problems that can be tackled at the scale of individual States.

This contrast between the Europe of the future and the more truthful and prosaic image of the continent present in the minds of the

average Europeans carries, at least to a certain extent, a dose of criticism and self-criticism towards what Europe and its countries have been up to now. Probably, the most benign form of criticism would be to highlight that we have entered a different historical era in which the old ways of looking at the world and of searching for solutions to our common problems of standard of living, dignity and peace have become out-dated.

Having said so, I conclude, knowing full well that my discussion, more than contributing anything new to the subject, has somehow reminded us of what all of us, after all, know. If that has been the case, it might be useful as common ground for the exchanges taking place in our Seminar.

13.
The Development of Cultural Identity(ies) of Portuguese Students in English Schools: Some Implications for Teacher Training

Guida de Abreu

Department of Psychology
University of Luton, United Kingdom

The published title for my presentation was «The Portuguese, the identity of the European Union and the training of teachers», but I am very unsure about the meaning of the expression «the identity of the European Union» for Portuguese people[1] living in England. In the two research projects I am currently involved in, the issue of European Identity is rarely mentioned. One of these projects is a three-year ongoing investigation on the experiences of Portuguese students in British schools and includes the perspectives of their parents and teachers (Abreu, Silva and Lambert, 2001a, 2001b). The other project focuses on the life trajectories of Portuguese women in England (Estrela and Abreu, in preparation).

Both projects were framed within a cultural psychology[2] perspective and followed an ethnographic approach, which included in-depth

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[2] For instance Benson (2001) drawing on Cole (1996) and Bruner (1996) defines cultural psychology as a perspective that

—"Examines how people, working together, using a vast range of tools, both physical and symbolic —tools which have been developed over time and which carry with them the intelligence that solved specific problems— make meaningful

semi-structured interviews. We[3] did not question directly about being or feeling European, but explored their sense of who they are and where they feel they belong. In response to this line of inquiry the participants talked about complex issues related to their exposure / experiences with bi-cultural identities (Portuguese and English). But, very few mentioned the European dimension. From a corpus of data that includes in one project 30 Portuguese students, 18 parents, 30 teachers (6 Portuguese and 24 English nationals), and in the other 11 Portuguese women from different social / professional backgrounds, we could only find three participants who talked about being European. They were adult women of Portuguese origin. I'll start my analysis examining what being a European meant for these three women. What types of experiences enabled them to construct a European cultural identity? Following this analysis and in order to be able to discuss some of the implications for teacher training I will focus on how the process of migrating from Portugal to England impacts on the development of the cultural identity of Portuguese children and young people in English schools. I hope that through examining issues related to the development of cultural identities[4] by the end of this presentation I will be able to re-visit the issue of the «European Union» identity and teacher training.

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the world they find, make meaningful worlds and, in the course of doing these things, construct themselves as types of person and self who inhabits these worlds." (p. 11).

—"… explicitly acknowledges that how one is located in one's community, how that community is situated in its wider society, how that society stands in relation to other societies, and how these relationships are placed developmentally and currently in history, all have profound relevance for the kind of mind and self that may be formed. Its stress on acts of meaning-making, on the available tools with which the making is done, and on the constraints endemic to the times in which the meanings are made, are also central to understanding the formation of mind and selfhood. (p. 14)

[3] When I shift from the first person to the plural WE the intention is to emphasise the sharing of a view with the other colleagues, members of the research team involved in the projects.

[4] I am intentionally referring to identities in the plural. This reflects my theoretical position where I conceptualise (i) the development of personal identities in tandem with participation in historically situated socio-cultural practices; (ii) the person as developing and drawing on multiple identities associated with the cultural spaces and practices she or he participates in (iii) cultural identities expressed in situated activities (doings) and symbolic activity (narratives, social memory and cultural resources). This position draws on authors such as Alvarez and del Rio (1999); Duveen (2001), Hermans (2001).

Examples of self-attribution of a european identity among portuguese women living in England

When we look carefully at the accounts of the three women, who described themselves as European we can see that their identification with Europe was constructed on the basis of personal experiences. Moreover these experiences were linked to their participation in historically situated socio-cultural practices. Lina, now a widow and retired secretary, mentioned the European identity as a mechanism to reduce bureaucracy. As a daughter of a French father and a Portuguese mother she was entitled to a French nationality she never claimed. Being European enables her to handle her French identity without a need of official documents recognising her French nationality.

> Podia ter a nacionalidade francesa, mas não vale a pena, agora somos todos europeus. Mas fiz pesquisas e o meu irmão também, mas não vale a pena tanto trabalho, papeis e complicações só pela graça de ter três nacionalidades. Tenho de qualquer maneira… muita gente julga que sou francesa… (original account, Estrela, 2002).

> I could have French nationality, but it is not worth it, now we are all European. But, I did some research and my brother too, but it is not worth the work, papers and complications only to have three nationalities. I have it anyway… many people think I am French… (my translation).

It may be that the legal aspect of identity played an important role in Lina's conception because of her age. She was over fifty years-old while the other two women were in their thirties. At the time she emigrated to Europe, Portugal was not part of the European Union, while a significant part of Maria's and Madalena's adult lives were lived with Portugal being an EU country.

Maria, a teacher of Portuguese language and culture in London, described her feeling of being an «European citizen» as a way of making sense of why she «never feels at home» in England, but at the same time when she goes back to Portugal she does not feel as she used to.

> I never feel at home though, but I do enjoy living here and meeting new people and because London is such a good experience isn't it because you meet people from all over the world. I've improved my English. I have met so many people in so many different situations. So, it's quite rich the experience, but I always feel that I am not at home. When I go back to Portugal, I don't feel as I used to. So…It's a bit difficult to explain because I am no longer a Portuguese citizen. I feel much more like a European citizen right now because I

have met so many people and I have learned so much from living in the UK that when I go back, I become more a critic in…

Being European provides the mechanism for Maria to cope with the process of hybridisation emerging from exposure to differences in the Portuguese and the British cultural identities. By describing herself as a European citizen she is able to transcend the dichotomous "countries" identities. She does not need to choose between one country identity and the other. She can be a critic of the Portuguese way of life without rejecting her Portuguese origin and can enjoy living in London without feeling totally at home[5]. In this way she is able to construct a sense of self that affords multiple cultural identities. She can now establish a dialogue between distinct cultural positions (Hermans, 2001). From the position of European citizen she can position herself in relation to the cultural person she views as the typical "Portuguese citizen", and the cultural person she became with the new learning from living in the UK.

Madalena, a scientist, described her origin as European. Interestingly, she was being interviewed in Portuguese, but she referred to this identity as «I'm European» and expressed this in English language. Being European is an identity that she perceived as inclusive of her Portuguese roots, blood, name, and language. The European identity is a way of both accommodating and transcending her Portuguese identity. Unlike Maria she does not feel the need to negotiate her Portuguese identity in comparison to her other cultural experiences. She accepts that her Portuguese heritage is a very important foundation of the person she is, but that influence happened at a stage when she perceived herself as in development. In her own words she experienced Europe at a stage she was "creating her own concepts".

> Mas quando me perguntam donde é que vem, eu digo, I'm European, instintivamente é a minha reacção, eu sou uma cidadã europeia porque mesmo dentro da Europa claro que as minhas raízes, meu sangue, meu nome, minha língua está tudo em Portugal, eu não vou mexer nisso, isso será sempre. Agora eu não me parece que venha de Portugal, eu não sou fruto de Portugal só, já andei por tantos sítios e tive um leque de amigos em fases tão importantes que uma pessoa está ainda a criar os seus conceitos, os meus amigos foram estrangeiros, são, continuam a ser estrangeiros, que eu não posso reclamar que foi Portugal que me deu esta instrução ou este

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[5] For current psychological theories on the construction of the self in the context of transnational migrations see Hubert Hermans (2001).

posicionamento na vida apenas, eu acho como é evidente há um fruto do que foi a educação lá em casa, há um fruto obviamente por ter passado pelo menos até aos 19 anos em casa dos meus pais, no fundo ainda vivi oficialmente em Portugal, digo oficialmente porque quer dizer a partida definitiva foi em 91 mas quer dizer, era o meu quarto, minhas coisas todas continuavam em Portugal até eu ter saído em 91, portanto como é evidente Portugal tem… deu-me uma injecção de, de, de valores claro que muito grande, é um património enorme que é a minha cultura. (Original account, Estrela, 2002)

But, when they ask, "where are you from?" I answer "I am European". That's my instinctive reaction. I am a European citizen, because even within Europe it is obvious that my roots, my blood, my name, my language are all in Portugal. I am not going "to touch" on that, that would be for ever. It does not seem to me that I come from Portugal. I am not a product of Portugal only. I've been in many places and had a variety of friends at very important stages, when the person is developing her own concepts. My friends were foreigners, so I cannot claim that was only Portugal that gave my instruction or this positioning in life. I believe, as it is obvious, that there is a product of what was my education at home. Obviously, there is a product for living in my parents' house at least till I was 19. Officially I still lived in Portugal, I say officially because my definitive leaving was in 1991. But, I mean, there was my bedroom, all my belongings were in Portugal up to my leave in 1991. Thus, as it is apparent, Portugal … gave me a great injection of values. It is an enormous heritage it is my culture. (My translation)

Madalena sees her Portuguese heritage as one of the layers of the person she is. Her travelling and stays in several European countries are the basis for the other layers that then justify her European identity. She does not feel as a cultural product of a unique country. Her sense of who she is includes living experiences and memories from several European countries. Though these experiences belong to distinct times and places she brings them together under the umbrella of experiences she perceives as marking "who" she is.

Agora o meu posicionamento na vida não é necessariamente só fruto disso, quer dizer, esses anos todos que andei a viajar enquanto ainda vivia em Portugal depois de, uma vez de ter saído, a falta de contacto que tive no dia a dia com portugueses, acho que o fruto que sou, sou um produto cultural, e também não é inglês, tenho aqui passado tão pouco tempo proporcionalmente ao tempo que já estou fora, a Inglaterra acaba por ser apenas mais um país que me marcou, eu tenho recordações tão fortes ou tão vivas do tempo que vivi em Paris …(original account, Estrela, 2002).

> My positioning in life is not necessarily only a product of that (Portuguese heritage). I mean, all those years I've been travelling while living in Portugal and after that, after leaving, the lack of everyday contact with the Portuguese. I believe the product I am, I am a cultural product, and it is not English too. Proportionally I've spent little time here compared with the time I've been abroad. England is just one more country that marked me. I have as strong memories or as alive of the time I lived in Paris… (My translation).

To sum up, the accounts from Lina, Maria and Madalena showed that:

—Their self-identification as European enabled them to accommodate and transcend their identifications with specific cultures, countries and places.
—The European identity was a product of particular life trajectories. They have travelled, lived or studied in Europe and these experiences have, on one hand, reduced the everyday contact with the Portuguese, and on the other hand exposed them to other European people, their culture and languages.

In the process of interviewing these women, we also learned that they have the (intellectual) resources to move between, at least, the Portuguese and the English cultural context. Though living in England they showed in-depth knowledge of the Portuguese language and culture. This enables acceptance in both communities, a key factor in the process of identity development. Cultural identities are not just private and personal feelings of belonging to a community. They also involve public recognition, the process of being identified by the other as member of a particular community.

To conclude these women have the life experiences and the resources that enabled them to construct a European identity. What is not clear is why the other participants in our projects did not refer at all to European identity. However, it was apparent their struggle with the new cultural identities they have to develop in order to adjust to life (and schooling) in England. Thus, in the next part of the chapter I will summarise (i) the problem that originated research with Portuguese students in English schools, their teachers and their parents, (ii) their construction of new identities, and (iii) reflect on why these constructions do not include a European dimension and what are the implications for teaching.

The problem that originated research with the Portuguese students in English schools, their teachers and their parents

As a Portuguese person I wish I could say that the reason I am researching Portuguese students in England emerged from a natural curiosity about my people. As a Psychologist I wish I could say this emerged from my interest in psychological processes related to the development of cultural identities. But neither of these would be totally true. The main reason that generated this project was the «invisibility» of Portuguese students in British schools. Portuguese migrants are well received in England and apparently they manage their lives without being counted in the formal statistics. Their European Union status enables them to enter and leave the country without any need of formal registration. As a Portuguese person I am sure we all highly value this freedom, which is possible on the basis of a legal identity of being a European Union citizen. However, there is a cost for our children. This cost is related to the Portuguese children and young people's (under-) performance in British schools and consequently with future opportunities in career development. Maria, the Portuguese teacher, clearly showed her concern with the conditions of life of the community (and the children) in the following way:

> Just, sometimes I feel we should stop this immigration. I know that people are entitled to travel within the European community, but if we informed people about the life conditions in this country and how hard things can be in this country, maybe they would stop coming… Because the majority of the families I have met. Not the majority, but some of the families I have met, they have good conditions in Portugal. They had a school for their children, they had a job, they had a home. (Interviewer: But they decided they'd come here because they thought it would be better.) Because the pound is so strong and because they could earn in a week what they don't earn in two months, so no we could involve the community more and we could help the community. Like, I suppose there are things that we can't do at school. Things like a centre to help the Portuguese citizens like, what are your rights, what are your duties, you should pay tax, you should, you should vote. You are entitled to have council housing. You are entitled to have this and that if you don't have enough money to support your own family. So, there's a big need in that area.

The problem of the performance of Portuguese children in British schools is not new. In 1976 Ana Santos, the first officer of the Portuguese Education Department in the United Kingdom wrote: "As happens with a number of other minority groups, the school performance of most

Portuguese children now settled in London appears to be below that of their British peers" (cited in Estrela, 2001). Unfortunately, Ana Santos' voice seemed to have been lost for about a quarter of a century. However, it was not totally silenced. In 1999 Paulo Abrantes, Director of the Portuguese Department of Basic Education (Lisbon), decided to commission the current project based on the Portuguese teachers' views that a substantial number of Portuguese children were experiencing difficulties in their mainstream schools. When we started this project in 1999 one of the aspects that astonished us was the lack of research conducted with the Portuguese community in Britain. This absence is in a sharp contrast with the vast amount of research conducted with other migrant groups, even when they are relatively of a similar size. This is an issue that deserves serious reflection. The lack of written documentation on the Portuguese population was not exclusive to academic work. The same situation applied to statistics about education. In these statistics the Portuguese are grouped as White Europeans. In fact, they can be counted in two categories depending upon whether they classify themselves as White or Other Ethnic (Abreu, Silva and Lambert, 2001a).

As one can expect in these situations, the statistical data we analysed did not paint a unique and homogeneous pattern. The gaps between the Portuguese students and other students varied between, between schools in the same area, and within schools (detailed in Abreu, Silva and Lambert, 2001a). So, of course, there were also students achieving the targets for their age group. However, it was clear that the major trend across all areas was one that pointed out underachievement. Nevertheless, the specific socio-cultural conditions which could help us to understand this dominant pattern (and also of those who deviate from it by being successful) were totally unclear. We must confess that we were not prepared to accept the cultural "deficit" explanations often mentioned by teachers in our visits to schools. This was totally against the socio-cultural approach to learning that we have been developing from our previous studies (see for instance Abreu, 2002).

Though educators tend to argue that the problem is temporary and mainly due to lack of language fluency, studies with the Portuguese in Canada seriously question this assumption. The case of Canada is particularly interesting because it provides an insight into the future if the problems of under-achievement that remain invisible and neglected. Similarly to England, the community has been largely invisible. However, they have recognised the need to look at the situation of the Portuguese students more than a decade ago. The reports of the Toronto Board of

education indicated the low performance of the group and high drop out rates. When place of birth was examined it was found that «those who are Canadian-born had slightly higher levels of achievement», but were still below average. The pattern was also the same when socio-economic status was controlled for (Nunes, 1998). This research suggests that the problem is not a simple one that could be explained solely in terms of language competence or social class. More recent studies started exploring issues related to cultural identity development (Nunes, 1998). This is the direction we followed in our investigation and befits current conceptualizations of learning and human development as a process involving the construction of social identities (see Abreu, 2002).

How new cultural identities are developed in the context of schooling and family life in England

Interviewing Portuguese students, their parents and their teachers provided insights into how cultural differences of «being Portuguese» and «being English» are contested in the contexts of family and school life. It is also in these contexts that particular types of cultural identities may be fostered or hindered. Next we examine some of our data illustrating (i) how family needs shape the new cultural identities; (ii) how these needs create identities that are different from the English peers. Then we will explore (iii) the extent to which these new identities are supported in schools and (iv) conclude with some implications for teacher training.

Family needs and their children's construction of new cultural identities

One key finding of our empirical work is that the family's need to engage in specific activities that require competencies a child (or young person) acquires faster than an adult shapes the new identities both of the parents and their children. This particular aspect of identity development was revealed in interviews with six girl students and three parents of a secondary school[6]. The students' place of origin was

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[6] A total of seven students were interviewed in the secondary school. One was excluded from this analysis because of her very distinct background. Though she was Portuguese and lived in Portugal till the age of eleven her mother is English. Her upbringing was bilingual in contrast to the other six girls, who have Portuguese as their first language.

Madeira Island (though one of them was born and lived in Venezuela until she was three years old). Their parents were also from the Island and emigrated to England for economic reasons. All the girls started their formal schooling in Madeira and moved to England in the last years of primary school (year 5 or year 6) or during secondary school. They were between 9 and 14 years of age at arrival in the UK. Thus, their total stay in England varied from less than one year to a maximum of six years.

Talking to the students and their parents, we learnt that the Portuguese community in the area was well networked. When they recounted the emigration process most referred to having a relative or a friend already working or living in the area, who influenced their decision. The informal community networks were claimed to be essential to the family's survival. Within these networks, community language «translators» enabled relationships with employers, banks, schools, housing and health services to be established. This role which initially may have been adopted by a relative or acquaintance, not necessarily living in the household, was eventually replaced by the household member more fluent in English —that is, the school child. As soon as the parents perceived their child as a competent speaker of English and able to negotiate local practices, they required the child to act as their «translator». Not only are they encouraged to adopt this role for their parents, but also for their friends or extended family. The following extract from Gorete's mother illustrates how she saw her child growing competent in this particular role and how important this was in sustaining the independence of the household. It liberates the family from the dependency on outside members, who sometimes are not available due to their own living and working circumstances.

> (Teresa: When your daughter has to go to the doctor, do you need to take someone else because she does not manage yet?) No. Now she is managing to go, because she is already going with people who asked her. Up there, where I live …. She asks «Gorete, would you come with me there?», because she is also Portuguese and she arrived here at the same time as I did. But, she also does not manage very well. But, when I have a doctor appointment or when I have to do something … a paper that is needed … Paper work in English I do not manage. One needs a person … translating so that I can answer. But she is already coming. She goes to the bank, to the shop, to the coffee shop and she manages. When I do banking, she comes and helps me. When I need money, that I cannot take from what I have in cash, she goes in (bank branch) and the people tell her «take from the automatic machine» that she knows. She goes to the doctor with people.(…) She goes because she is managing. That is

> what I actually also like because I also ... People can't always come with us when we need them to."

In short, the family needs require their children to develop bi-cultural identities. The children master English language for social functions very fast, in contrast to adults whom for a variety of reasons develop more slowly (such as their age, their work, and their level of schooling). The children are the ones who can establish bridges between the community of Portuguese adult immigrants and key local institutions (this includes their schools, see Abreu, Silva and Lambert, 2001b).

When being Portuguese becomes being different

Nadia, a 15 year-old girl, articulated how this role she was assuming in relation to her family, contributed to making her different. On one hand, it made her feel important. On the other hand it stressed the difference between her position as a member of a Portuguese family and what she perceived to be the position of most girls of her age in an English family. She viewed her role as opposite to that of her English colleagues and claimed that, "Their parents go with them» and «I go with my parents". There is a clear inversion of the traditional parent versus child's roles.

> (Teresa: How do you feel as a helper?) I feel important! I feel useful because I can speak the languages and so on ... it is also very embarrassing for me because no one, of my age does that with their parents. That is ... I mean, Carmo does. The Portuguese all do but the English don't. (...) It is to the contrary. Very often when they go to the doctor, their parents go with them, but I have to go with my parents. It is different ...

Nadia claimed that being different for her meant being Portuguese. This for her was a source of pride and a cultural identity that she was not ashamed to be associated with. Although, at the same time, being different was perceived as the source of difficulties in being accepted or properly integrated into the English peer group at school. As she said:

> I like being different because I am not ashamed of being Portuguese. And, I like this because I feel lucky to be able to speak three or four languages. I like being this way...however, sometimes, ... If I was more like them, they would not point us out as being different. And, we are different! (Teresa: Do you think that all the

Portuguese students in the school feel the same as you do?). Nearly all except… may be one. Except Joana because when she started school she joined a group… (…) They want us to join their group and Joana let herself be carried away by them just because they are a cool gang. None of the other Portuguese were influenced but she did…

So, as was highlighted in Nadia's comment, maintaining her Portuguese cultural identity created conflict in her relationships with colleagues at school. She knew that when they chose to speak in Portuguese in their peer group at school, it sometimes caused unease among their English colleagues. Carmo, a 15 year-old girl, explained that in her view, this might reveal a lack of empathy for or comprehension of their bilingualism; the English peers were unable to try to step on the Portuguese colleagues' shoes.

Yes, but if they went to Portugal and if they had English colleagues, it would be obvious that they would speak their own language.

These Portuguese girls who cried at arrival are the same girls who in a couple of months took control of vital functions for the survival of their families. Their English proficiency may not be sufficient to achieve high grades at school, but is perceived as sufficient to help their nuclear and extended families. Thus, these children live between two worlds, which are not free of conflict. One is the world of the schools that expects them to behave as teenagers of particular age groups, whose main working responsibility is studying, and, who show a certain degree of dependency from their parents. Another is the world of their homes that expects them to play a substantial contribution in sustaining their family's lives, assuming adult roles, that sometimes may take priority over schooling, such as when there is a need to go to the doctor. At home they are not dependant upon their parents, but control the relationships between their families and the English institutions.

At this point I am already tempted to ask why these girls have not superimposed a European identity above the dichotomous Portuguese versus English identities. Within such a framework, as exemplified in the women's case studies, some of the differences become "normal" instead of a deviation from the norm (for instance, bilinguals and biculturalism becomes an advantage)! But, let me first explore the extent to which the schools supported the development of identities that transcend one of the cultures, which following Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco (2001) require a transcultural style of adaptation.

Do schools support the development of transcultural identities?

In the scenario portrayed above it seems that the lived experiences of these Portuguese students would support the development of transcultural identities. This type of construction would enable them to continue supporting their families and at the same time adjust to life in Britain. When we look closely at our case studies we realise that only a tiny minority seems to «fit» into this style. In this part of the analysis I examine the role of teachers in constraining and enabling the development of transcultural identities.

Nadia's narrative emphasised that when at school she and her Portuguese peer group did not experience their bi-cultural identities as accepted by their peers. It is also clear that they had developed some resistance to this non-acceptance. In the above examples this resistance was expressed by seeing advantages in speaking more than one European language, by seeing the English peers as lacking in an understanding of their biculturalism, and by criticising the Portuguese colleagues who opted for belonging to English peer groups at school. But, Nadia also felt uneasy about «being pointed out as different». This latter aspect was the one stressed in the official discourse of the school and the one which informed the school practices. Sarah, an English as an Additional Language (EAL) coordinator assistant in the school argued that

> Once they are settled, they're fine and they tend to want the support to cease because *they don't want to be seen as different*. Um, so they don't like having help [from Portuguese peers] there all the time. I think it is just a comfort blanket to start with. They are very insecure. They are in a new environment and they don't really understand what is going on around them.

In this teacher's view it is the girls that do not want to be seen as different. This view was further elaborated when she explained the following on being asked whether Portuguese pupils talk often about Portugal.

> Um, the girls from Madeira don't. Um, but the ones who have had… sort of from the mainland, have more. I think they do with their friends more than they do with us… But it's not something that comes up every day. A lot of them seem to feel the need to fit in. So they don't want to highlight that difference.

Sarah uses her experience to justify her view that Portuguese pupils are anxious not to appear different to their peers and thus to 'fit in'. For young people whom have come from a different country, the

process of adaptation to culture in Britain entails alterations to one's social and academic behaviour. It is however important to emphasise that Sarah viewed these changes in identity crucially depending upon the individual students need to fit in. The role that the host school community may have had on the girls feeling the need to behave as if they need to fit in is absent from Sarah's discourse. This view totally legitimates the one-way adaptation. It is the newcomer that needs to adjust to the school. However, the Portuguese girls' narratives suggest that their experiences are a two-way process. As Carmo argued they would like to see a bit more cultural awareness from the colleagues.

Marion one of the school teachers who for some years has received several Portuguese students in her class, recognized this dual-process and used it as a strategy to help them feel accepted in the school. However, as we can see in the following extract she had concerns that her effort could be erased by the attitudes of her colleagues.

> They come in and they are just bombarded with just everything and I think it's er, it's great if they make it each day to school. And I think with teachers you've got to be aware of this as well. You know, that it's one step to have them in full school uniform for instance. And then you don't want other staff members saying, "why haven't you got shoes on today?", "why are you wearing your trainers?". Whereas I know perfectly well that there's a very good reason for that. That perhaps they haven't had time to sort it out. I think everyone has got to be very very … kind.

Marion seemed to be aware that not recognizing the difference and difficulties involved in the transitions between cultures could indeed be the source of resistance for the girls' adaptation. When she refers to apparently banal things like the shoes one wares to go to school, she is in fact showing a deep appreciation of differences in the way different cultural groups organise their practices. Using school uniform is a taken for granted practice in England, but it is not in the country of origin of the children. This level of cultural awareness is just a starting point to enable the children to gradually make sense of their new school without the need to feel that their ways of doing things in their previous community is inadequate.

Development of cultural identities and the implications for teacher training

In sum, it is apparent that the adaptation of the Portuguese students to England significantly impacted on their sense of self and

required them to reconsider their cultural identities. Three main features of the way they accounted for these new identities were:

—Engagement with family practices that required bridging between the Portuguese and the English cultural spaces.
—Feeling empowered by the mastering of cultural tools (e.g. being fluent in Portuguese language) associated with the Portuguese heritage.
—Feeling dis-empowered when the differences linked to their Portuguese identity were not accepted / recognized or treated as lack of competence.

In addition, the interviews with their teachers revealed that there is very little recognition of the process of cultural identity development these children experience as a result of their movement between different European cultural spaces. It is unfortunate that the adaptation of these children to schools is mostly viewed in cognitive and linguistic terms, without a more informed debate of the role school play in shaping their cultural identities[7]. I seriously believe that this area needs to be addressed as a condition to support improvement in their current school achievements. It is not uncommon that in the first stages of schooling these children experience a loss of competencies valued in other cultural spaces they belong (ed). Thus, at school they are not only developing new identities but also sometimes recovering a sense of their selves "lost" in the cultural transitions.

If I look back at the conditions that enabled the three women (Lina, Maria and Madalena) to develop a European identity I can see that like them the students went through life trajectories that challenged a mono-cultural identity. The students experienced this challenge on a bi-cultural dimension. Unlike the women, the students did not seem to have the resources that would enable them to transcend the dichotomous cultural identities. They battled between keeping a bi-cultural identity, abandoning their Portuguese identity and, resisting the British identity.

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[7] This scenario is not unique to schools that receive Portuguese migrants. In a recent report examining the experience of minority children in mainly white schools (Cline, Abreu, Fihosy, Gray, Lambert and Neale, 2002) our research team concluded that "No school in this sample had a fully developed strategy for preparing pupils through the curriculum for life in a diverse society. Presented with alternative ideals of how diversity might be treated, most informants saw their school or class as trying to treat all children equally and playing down ethnic and cultural differences." We also concluded that "There was no evidence that either initial teacher training or in-service training had prepared the staff of the schools for the challenges of diversity that they can expect to meet with increasing frequency in the future".

There was no evidence they had the resources to incorporate these conflicts into a wider framework re-constructing themselves as Europeans. Was this a product of their very concrete experiences? Or, was this a product of European identities not being fostered in the social practices of the schools they attend? These are issues that need to be addressed in further research.

The common assumption that the desire of all the children is to fit in cannot be taken for granted. The cultural models of development underlying this assumption need to be examined. A key question that teachers and curriculum developers need to address is the extent to which this model is a result of mainstream practices (see also Campbell, 2000). The place of Portuguese language and culture in the official curriculum is one of such issues. Why do Portuguese students have very limited opportunities to study the Portuguese language as part of their "normal schooling"? Why do schools that have on roll a substantial proportion of Portuguese students (e.g. 20 %) not provide support in their first language?[8]

One key implication of the above is that teacher-training programmes need to address the impact of cultural diversity in the development of cultural identities in the context of schooling. Both initial and in-service training need to develop multi-cultural competence and awareness in teachers. In addition, for the case of the Portuguese in England, issues related to valorisation and opportunities to develop advanced competencies in their language and culture need to be addressed. This could be addressed in various fronts, such as the curriculum, in-set training for teachers and community-school relationships.

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[8] This support has been provided by the Department of Basic Education Portugal for the last 25 years. However, the programme only runs in certain areas of the country and as an after school option. This creates a sense of separation. Furthermore, the programme faces enormous challenges due to financial constraints.

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14.
The Construction of the European Identity in the School as a Learning Community

Yves Beernaert

Head of the European Projects Consultancy Unit of the KHLeuven
Katholieke Hogeschool Leuven, Belgium

Introduction

Learning communities are powerful elements to contribute to the construction of a European or even global identity if they respond to some basic characteristics. European identity doesn't exist or doesn't exist by itself but it could be said to be an evolutionary concept which is built on the identity of the peoples, countries and regions of which Europe is composed. It is in constant development but has some core elements which have characterized them for centuries. Learning communities are a tool which can help to strengthen the awareness of the richness of the different identities in Europe and can help create links between them.

As identity is a process of constant creation, the contribution of the learning communities to the bringing about of a European identity is also to be embedded into a lifelong learning concept closely linked to active citizenship through which our identity, amongst others, expresses itself.

Lifelong education and training is being encouraged more and more as a way of contributing to the education of active citizenship on the one hand and to the employability of young people in their civic and professional careers on the other. The two elements of active citizenship and employability are closely connected and are complementary. They were mentioned as the key elements in the Memoradum on lifelong learning[1] of the Commission published in 2000 subsequently to the

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[1] Commission of the European communities; *A Memorandum on lifelong learning*, Brussels 2000; SEC (2000) 1832.

Lisbon European Council of March 2000[2] This Memorandum states at page 4 that *"promoting active citizenship and promoting employability are equally important and interrelated aims for lifelong learning"*. If young people are not educated and trained to take part fully and actively in civil society, they will not be full citizens. If they are but their education and professional training are not up to standard, they will probably not be equipped with all the necessary skills to face up to the demands of industries. They will not be employable and will run the risk of being excluded. Exclusion and unemployability are risks that should be prevented at all costs, since they jeopardize active participation in the construction of civil society. It is, therefore, clear to see that both civil citizenship and employability complement each other and must be taken into account in all forms of education and formal training at school. The European Council Presidency Conclusions of Lisbon 23-24 march 2000 state at page 5 to this effect that *"lifelong learning is an essential policy for the development of citizenship, social cohesion and employment"*.

Citizenship and employability are themselves closely connected with the competitiveness of our businesses, which are an important component of welfare in today's modern societies. Businesses are more and more aware of the fact that modern democracies are harmoniously constructed on the basis of increasingly greater co-operation with the educational and social worlds, like social partners and trade unions. Welfare cannot be constructed in a social wasteland as stated in several CSR[3] documents. The harmonious development of our Western societies cannot take place be denying the Third World's chance to develop. So worldwide citizenship must be included in all forms of education and citizenship from now on.

Schools and the compulsory formal education system have a very difficult and complicated task to deal with. Schools and teachers take on several roles. They educate and train youths to gain knowledge and basic skills in order to go on to higher education or to join the labour market more quickly, while giving them a taste of lifelong learning. Educating and training youths to assume responsibilities in a local, regional, national, European or even world-wide context. The integration of the European dimension in education and training is vital as promoted already up from 1988 through the Resolution on the European dimension in education of 1988[4]. For more general information on

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[2] Commission f the European Communities; *European Council Presidency Conclusions, Lisbon 23-24 March 2000*, Brussels 2000.

[3] CSR; Corporate Social Responsibility, NGO, Brussels: http://www.csreurope.org

[4] Council of Ministers of Education meeting within the Council*; Resolution on the European dimension in Education, Brussels*, 1988, 88/c177/02;=a.

co-operation in education readers are advised to consult the publica-tion «Co-operation in education in the EU: 1976-1994[5].

Schools are often called upon to assume some of the educational or pedagogical responsibilities of parents. Schools are expected to provide education on issues such as peace, intercultural understanding, sustainable development, health education (against smoking and drugs), tolerance by preventing racism and xenophobic attitudes, and sex education. They are expected to arouse youths' taste for literature, art, general culture, etc. Schools therefore have a more and more complex task to deal with in a growing world. They are no longer expected to be a sanctuary but rather a place for openings, a window on their close and distant environments encouraging co-operation with local or regional authorities, with businesses and with the surrounding civil societies, such as associations. Associations can therefore open up youths' minds to free commitment, which is a key component of active citizenship. The extended role for the teacher was largely expanded upon already in the OECD 1990[6] publication «The teacher Today». Numerous projects focusing on the different European projects in the areas mentioned above are described in the publication «Towards active citizenship»[7] published in 2001 by the Universal Forum of cultures Barcelona 2004 and the CONNECT project 008[8].

The task that schools have to deal with is inevitably very complex and requires suitable structures and means, which are always too limited. It requires staff that is constantly trained in order to promote lifelong education and training for pupils and themselves. It is a titanic task that requires supermen and superwomen... who are often not particularly well paid or appreciated by society.

All this complexity has to be reflected in the pedagogical project and in the pedagogical plan of every school. The integration of those elements in the project or plan starting from a through discussion and, if possible, based on the agreement of the whole educational community, are key elements for the motivation and the willingness to put into practice learning communities that can be creative and innovative.

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[5] Eurydice; *Co-operation in education in the European Union: 1976-1994*; Brussels, 1994, 84 pages.

[6] OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development*); The teacher Today*, Paris, 1990, 118 pages.

[7] Mireia Montané and Yves Beernaert, Universal Forum of Cultures Barcelona 2004 and CONNECT project 008:; Barcelona, 2001, 264 pages.

[8] Commission of the European Communities; *The connect initiative (1991-2001*): http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/connect/selection.html

The objective of this contribution is to describe the characteristics of a school or a school establishment that tries to face up to all the challenges of society by creating a real learning community within the local community and in the current European and world context. The basic assumption underlying the arguments in favor of the school as or within a learning community is contributing to create real innovating schools as those referred to in the OECD publication "Innovating schools"[9].

The present contribution also builds on the achievements of the pedagogical project launched in 2000 within the framework of the Universal forum on Cultures Barcelona 2004. The pedagogical project of that forum has focused strongly on the development of learning communities build together with and around schools. It has organized several events such as a major international conference on this topic in Barcelona in October 2001.

The present interest for the learning communities is also highlighted in Commission documents such as the Communication from the Commission on Lifelong Learning in November 2001. Which states that *"To promote a culture of learning across Europe, there is a need to develop learning communities, learning cities and regions and to establish local multifunctional learning centers"*[10]. The present text sees the learning community involving in a school which can be synonymous of a learning city in some cases. It can also be embedded in a learning region and can possibly play the role of the multifunctional learning center.

Characteristics of the School as a Learning Community

Instead of giving a definition the present contribution stresses some of the key elements which are the main characteristics of the school as a learning community:

— the pedagogical project and the school plan as a basis for the learning community,
— a coherent, motivated team composed of members of the learning community,

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[9] OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development; *Innovating School*s, Paris, CERI, 1999, 136 pages.
[10] Commission of the European Communities; Communication from the Commission: Making a European Area of Lifelong Learning a reality, Brussels, Nov. 2001 , COM (2001) 678 final, 40 pages.

—a constant and conscious search for quality: assessment and self-assessment,
—the school as a learning organization,
—the caring school,
—open schools that co-operate with the surrounding local community and civil society,
—schools that specifically encourage active citizenship and create democratic structures,
—schools that get involved in European and international co-operation.

The elements of the school as a learning community mentioned below have to be seen in strong interaction and in complementarity with one another. They can only be implemented if there is strong interaction between them. The implementation of learning communities is a work that takes great efforts and requires much time and investments. The gradual progression, the questioning of the implementation and the evaluation are key elements in the creation of creative learning communities.

The pedagogical project and the school plan: a solid basis to be updated regularly in co-operation with the local community

A school doesn't become a learning community automatically. It is the result of an explicit and deliberate effort which results from a process of conscientisation and of changes which are implemented by a whole team inspired by the head of school or by the management team of the school supported by the board of governors of the school concerned[11].

Each school which intends to develop a learning community will have to introduce at one or other moment this notion in its pedagogical project and in its school plan. The pedagogical project being the basic text which highlights the big objectives (or ideals) which the whole pedagogical, administrative and technical team of the school set themselves in co-operation with the local community. The school plan is more the implementation of this pedagogical project over a period of one to three years. The school plan can also be built together with the local community.

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[11] Universal Forum of Cultures Barcelona 2004: *Proceedings of the International seminar on Learning Communities*, Barcelona 5-6 October 2001.

A learning community, or a school intending to become a learning community, will make the effort to draft and develop a pedagogical project (the Anglo-Saxons would say a mission statement) and a school plan together with the local community. Too often the drafting of the pedagogical project is done by the pedagogical team composed of the head of school, the management team (if any) and the teaching staff. In the drafting of this pedagogical project and of the school plan it is important to involve all the other members of the educational school community and of the local community.

If one intends to create a learning community one has to involve up from the beginning the representatives of the local community. It is much easier to ask for active participation of the local community if it is involved in the drafting of the pedagogical project and the school plan up from the very beginning. This doesn't mean that the local community imposes itself totally on the project or plan.

Certain schools could ask the local community to reflect on the existing pedagogical project and school plan and to come up with suggestions for modifications or complements. This will increase the motivation and the willingness of the local community of the local community to involve itself in the implementation of such a learning community. The drafting of a pedagogical project and school plan can be strengthened by the fact that a contract of co-operation is signed between the different partners of the learning community. The school commits itself to co-operate concretely with the local community; the local community commits itself to support certain educational activities also in a concrete way.

Several schools could thus within the same local community draft their pedagogical project and their school plan together. In other cases they could just compare them and harmonize them up to a certain extent or see how they can help one another while fully respecting the specific characteristics of each school. This doesn't mean that one school would lose some of its specific characteristics; on the contrary, several specificities joined together could strengthen the impact of the activities of the local learning communities.

It is difficult to imagine that different schools in the same local community, wishing all to create a learning community, would not have discussed together their pedagogical project and their school plan. This implies a healthy co-operation between different schools within a same learning community. A healthy and constructive co-operation will be reflected in help between those schools at different levels: exchange of teachers, help to train teaching or administrative staff, use of pedagogical materials and equipment, use of NICT (New Information and Communication Technologies).

Finally a pedagogical project and a school plan should not be seen as documents made out of stone for ever. They have to be evaluated regularly. The pedagogical project should be evaluated at least every three years. The school plan and all the actions related to it should be annually assessed. An updating and possible adjustment or modification are thus to be seen as totally normal events.

The Comenius plan[12] of which the objective is to introduce the European dimension activities and European citizenship through the Socrates programme of the European Union (DG EAC[13]) will be integrated into the pedagogical project and in the school plan. The European and international or global dimension will be integrated into the pedagogical project stressing the importance of European and global active citizenship. These dimension will be integrated in the pedagogical project and the school plan through curricular, cross-curricular and extra-curricular activities with a European or international dimension, through the mobility of staff members and possibly through the mobility of pupils. These activities will be integrated into the activities of the European (Comenius) partnerships and the European and global networks schools are involved in.

A coherent, motivated team composed of members of the learning community

A key element to implement the pedagogical project and the school plan which integrate fully the notion of the learning community, is the support and the motivation of a coherent and motivated team at school. If possible this team will not be solely composed of members of the limited educational community (teachers, administrative staff, head, parents and pupils) but there will also be in it representatives of the local community such as the local authorities, the local police, of companies, of members of the civil society (NGOs), etc. A directory of NGOs in the field of education has been produced by the Commission[14].

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[12] Commission of the European Gommunities: *Guidelines for applicants* (Socrates Programme); Brussels page 27;
   http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/socrates/downfile/guideen.pdf
[13] DGEAC stands for Directorate General Education and Culture of the Commission of the European union, Brussels; DGEAC deals with all programmes and activities in the field of education, training, youth and culture; website:
   http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/index_en.html
[14] Commission of the European communities: *List of European associations and social partners in the field of education*; Brussels:
   http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/associations/repertoire.pdf

A school or several schools which know that there pedagogical project and their school plan is supported by members of the learning community (composed of both the limited school community and the larger local community) will be much more motivated to invest themselves in the activities of the school. Moreover, they will feel that their project and plan is part of the whole local community and of the learning community. this will also strengthen the cohesion of the educational and pedagogical teams.

A coherent team is created starting from an open and critical discussion on the pedagogical project and the school plan. During this discussion each member of the educational community can adhere to the project and plan taking into account his or her own means and possibilities. The adhesion to the plan or project has to be seen as gradual and subject to evolution enabling members of the pedagogical and local community to adhere progressively to the activities of the learning community.

A coherent team, showing and feeling solidarity, is developed through regular exchanges, through intense team co-operation through listening to one another and through availability for one another. The cohesion of an educational team linked to the stability of an educational team over several years are the most important elements to develop in the school a climate and pedagogical culture which contributes to quality education focusing on active citizenship and employability which we mentioned earlier.

A coherent and stable team is a major factor to implement pedagogical strategies to cope with certain challenges and certain problems in the school. Thus such a team is vital to implement strategies to set up active citizenship activities, to cope with violence in its diversity of forms, to work on racism and xenophobia and to enable every member of the school community to develop his or her potential fully.

The constant and conscious search for quality: assessment and self-assessment

Any school that wants to become a veritable learning community will insist on quality education: education that allows youths, on the basis of their personal abilities and knowledge, to gain the necessary competences, skills and attitudes to become active citizens and critical professionals in a local, regional, national, European or world-wide context. The concern for quality through self-evaluation is at the heart

also of the activities of DG EAC of the Commission as is clear through several publications[15].

Schools as learning communities will flexibly apply the imposed or recommended curriculum, taking the development of each pupil's potential as the supreme rule. Knowledge will be gained (not trans-mitted) through teachers who facilitate knowledge (not only trans-mitters), thus allowing youths to discover the richness of the world and giving them a taste for continuing to learn. Those teachers will call on outside people —parents, business representatives, specialists— who can complement the education and provide a taste of future professions.

The acquisition of personal, social, relational and other skills will be a key component of lifelong training. Schools will effectively encourage young people to engage in lifelong education and learning. To that end, they will use all the educational and learning opportunities that the local community offers: they will collaborate with libraries, resource centers, businesses, museums, etc. We will come back to that when talking about collaboration with the local community.

Schools will insist on the importance of new information and communication techniques as a way of gaining knowledge and skills, and of establishing links with other learners and other learning communities.

The concern for educational and learning quality will be reinforced by self-assessment at all levels by inviting those involved to take part in that assessment. They will constitute the beginning of real impro-vement efforts and not only a pretext for justifying so-called innova-tions. A learning community school will constantly ask itself questions about the innovations it is in the process of implementing and, for that purpose, it will weave a web of links with researchers and universities that can help reinforce its activities.

Learning communities and the schools belonging to it should make to this effect maximum use of the outcomes of activities of the Commission in this field such as the ones described in the "European report on the quality of school education: sixteen quality educators"[16].

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[15] Commission of the European Communities: three web site addresses with information on quality; quality in education:
http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/socrates/observation/quality_en.html
quality in school education:
quality indicators and benchmarks:
http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/indic/backen.html
quality in higher education:
http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/socrates/erasmus/recom.html
[16] Commission of the European Communities; *European Report on the Quality of School Education*, Brussels May 2000, 84 pages.

Learning communities should also link up with the work of Comenius 3 networks in particular the "Treasure within Network"[17] and the "I-Probenet"[18].

The European report on quality indicators has worked on self-evaluation tools and also works on the development of quality indicators at different levels. Sixteen quality indicators are thus described in four sub-groups. The first group focuses on indicators on attainment related to certain disciplines or activities such as maths, reading, science, new technologies, languages, lifelong learning and civics education. The 2nd group focuses on indicators on success and transition such as the drop out rates, the completion of upper secondary education and the participation in tertiary education; The 3 group focuses on indicators on monitoring of education such as evaluation and steering of school education and parent participation. The fourth group focuses on indicators on resources and structures such as education and training of teachers, participation pre-primary education, number of students per computer and educational expenditure per student. Learning communities could work on some of those indicators and promote some of the tools which have been developed in the framework of the two Comenius 3 Networks mentioned above. Particular attention should be paid to the MICE (Model Instruments for a Common Evaluation)[19] evaluation tools developed in the framework of a Comenius Accompanying Measures project which are focusing on self-evaluation of Comenius 1 school partnerships and which contain many elements which can be useful to assess learning communities.

Learning communities could also make use of the dissemination projects launched within the framework of the Socrates programme and which are mentioned in the «Call for proposals on dissemination activities»[20] of April 2002 in which the Commission invites to submit dissemination project focusing on different thematic areas, one of them being learning communities.

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[17] Comenius 3 network «*The treasure within»;* http://www.treasurewithin.com, co-ordinator Rudy Schollaert, VSKO (B).

[18] Comenius 3 Network «*I probe net*»; http://www.l-probenet.net, co-ordinator Guy Tilkin (B).

[19] Comenius Accompanying Measures project; MICE: Model Instruments for a Common Evaluation», http://www.alden-biesen.be, co-ordinator Guy Tilkin (B).

[20] Commission of the European Communities; *Call for proposals on dissemination activities (2002/C 103/08)*, Brussels , Official Journal of the European Communities C103/16, 30 April 2002.

Schools as learning organizations

Any school that wants to become a learning community will ensure that everything within its walls supports lifelong education and training. The assessment that has just been mentioned is important to that support because it is a key component of lifelong education and learning. Schools will analyze these activities and assess them in order to make curricular changes and staff responsibility modifications, and get staff involved in various continuing education initiatives.

Schools actively involved in learning communities will develop those communities on innovative pedagogical foundations and methodologies which are linked to socio-constructivism and to the pedagogical dialogue. The learning communities will insist on the multiple representations of reality and will not simplify the complexity of the real surrounding world. These communities will stress the construction of knowledge instead of the reproduction of knowledge through memorization. They will assign to pupils authentic tasks in meaningful and real contexts instead of insisting on instruction and abstract teaching out of a concrete context; to this effect the schools in the learning communities will learn from concrete case studies which enhance reflection, analyze, problem-solving and other key lifelong learning skills. They will allow young people to invest themselves in concrete activities in the local civil society as these can be the beginning of new learning activities. Thus they well promote reasoned reflection starting from live experiences. The construction of knowledge will be made in a framework of open co-operation with and between pupils (and teachers; possibly of different schools locally or across Europe and the world). It will not be built on unhealthy competition between the learners but will enhance team work and sharing of responsibilities and work. In this way the schools involved in learning communities will also strongly contribute to the development of the knowledge society stressed in the Communication from the Commission «Towards a Europe of the Knowledge» published in November 1997[21].

The schools involved in learning communities will thus create a learning environment stresses the learner much more than the teaching, the teacher or the contents. The teacher or trainer will become a facilitator, a guide or a counselor a coach and will be no longer the one which dispenses knowledge; he or she will be someone who helps young people to acquire or create knowledge and do the same for

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[21] Communication from the Commission of the European Communities; *Towards a Europe of the knowledge* (COM 97 563 final), Brussels, 12 November 1997.

themselves. The real and live experiences —personal and professional— of themselves and possibly of other young people within the school partnerships and networks, become the starting point of education, training and learning. Furthermore the interaction between the learners is strongly promoted to as strengthen mutual enrichment and reciprocal learning. The development of critical thinking and reflection, of understanding and self-reflection on one's own actions and learning are key elements in this pedagogical process. The feedback given to the pupils-learners is focusing on the positive and integrated into self-evaluation. The contribution of the learners, individually or in groups or teams, is given value and encouraged.

Schools as learning communities will furthermore take its staff's continuing education and personal and professional development very seriously at every stage throughout their careers. The reflective perspective (the reflective practitioner!) of the in-service training will be an important component in this. Schools will also make financial resources and structures available in order to allow continuing education, which can be done in several ways, to be implemented. Participation in continuing education courses, participation in European and international seminars and talks, complementary studies and specialized training to meet particular needs, and invitations for teachers to take part in university research, to document their activities and to participate in group reflections are but some examples.

A particular attention will be given to in-service training organized within the school using the potential available in the learning community. So as to know the potential of this community it will be necessary to put in place in audit to find out about the needs for in-service training on the one hand and on the other hand to find out who can provide and deliver the in-service training needed from within the local community. The local community should be aware of the potential it holds in terms of knowledge and competences and skills which can be made available to the schools in that learning community. It is important that the learning community knows which are the needs of members in different organizations in that community (not only in the school!) so that joint in-service training can be organized (e.g. training of teachers, policemen and social workers or mediators to cope with violence).

Learning communities could thus organize at least two learning audits[22]; on the one hand the audit of the needs of training by asking

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[22] Norman Longworth*: Making lifelong learning work: Learning cities for a Learning Century*, p. 44, Kogan Page, 1999.

the potential users what they want to learn or which competencies or skills they want to improve; on the other hand an audit to find out who are the potential trainers available in the local community. Furthermore the learning community can make an inventory of the pedagogical tools and infrastructure available which can support all forms of in-service training. Which adult education centres can help, which libraries, cultural centres or museums can help or be involved? Which means of new communication technologies are available in companies such as videoconference equipment? Which associations can help? An inventory of al this potential can lead to discoveries which can truly support active learning comminutes and enhance education and training.

The school in a learning community has also to ensure specific help and training to young teachers at the beginning of their career through induction programmes. Help to young or new teachers is vital to facilitate their integration and the cohesion and the stability of the team which were mentioned earlier. Help to young teachers is also a key element in the «caring school» to be mentioned later. Induction training and help show that the school is conscious of the well-being of those which teach, learn and study within its walls; It is an expression of positive human resource management. Induction contributes greatly to develop a positive school climate and culture to enhance quality learning and teaching.

A school within a learning community intending to promote really lifelong learning education and training, will also reflect upon the school rhythms and upon the structure of the day at school. It is important to question the efficiency or the lack of efficiency of long periods spent into the classroom and to be exposes to theoretical contributions of teachers. Restructuring the time table and the school day while respecting the programme, the implementation of crosscurricular and extra-curricular activities linked to project work, can enhance the motivation for learning and the quality of education; Shorten the periods of teaching to the benefit of more tutorials and personal or group work, diversify the pedagogical approaches with role play, simulations, groupwork, the use of drama and other ways of expressing one's creativity can greatly enhance motivation for education and learning.

The learning community will thus exploit all possible means to helps youngsters who have difficulties at school or who are at risk of dropping out. Remedial teaching or special tutorial involving different members of the learning community can be organized. Older pupils can help younger pupils which heightens the sense of responsibility of

the former and is an element of active citizenship education and is a contribution to peer education[23]. Retired people can be involved in this process as well as other members of the local community; retired people can help youngsters make their homework or other assignments. The local community should be creative in finding ways in which it can help youngsters in need or disadvantaged youngsters by using the potential of that local community.

A constant assessment or evaluation of the quality of those in-service and continuing education efforts together with the dissemination of experiences gained through in-set to other colleagues are important elements of real learning organizations. The use of portfolios of competences, skills, knowledge and attitudes, the use of logbooks, self-assessment tools and critical reflection by both pupils and education staff will reinforce the foundations of that learning community. The implementation of modular skill acquisition systems and knowledge accreditation systems or the development of accreditation of prior experiential learning systems are other important elements for learning communities. Those elements are strongly highlighted in the Detailed work programme on the follow-up of the objectives of education and training systems in Europe approved by the Council of ministers of education on 14 February 2002[24].

In-service and continuing training will not be limited solely to the teaching staff of the schools in the learning community but will be accessible to all the members of the school community: administrative and technical personnel, parents. Several in-service training session can be opened up even to other members of the local learning community Having mixed groups of learners from different groups of the local community can only strengthen the local learning community and the co-operation with its different partners.

The caring school

Any school that wants to become a real learning community will insist on an environment that encourages learning and educating.

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[23] CSV the Ibis Trust*; The Peer aid book: approaches to setting up and running young people's peer-education projects,* Amanda Brodala , London 1999 (as et of three books).

[24] Commission of the European Communities*; Detailed work programme on the follow-up of the objectives of education and training systems in Europe*, Brussels February 2002; 49 pages.

Respect for others and the promotion of every human potential will be key components of that learning community. Everyone has something to offer to their learning community and it is important to set up mechanisms that allow that diverse intellectual wealth to be shared.

Thus, those schools will combat meanness and derision and will concentrate on the multi-faceted and multiple intelligence of youths, education staff members, parents and other groups from the local community who are able to support intellectual activities.

Respect for everyone will be expressed in the pedagogical support, assistance or guidance structures set up for pupils and education staff. It will also be expressed by the career guidance structures for youths who are learning a profession. All that will be done in collaboration with other specialized instances and businesses from the local community. A caring environment will therefore drive away all sorts of verbal or physical violence by pupils or teachers. Such an environment will also bear in mind the particular needs of some teachers: young people who are just beginning, older people with burnout problems, etc.

The schools involved in the learning communities should put in place personalized structures to cope with violence at school in its diversity of forms. This will require particular attention to do something about every form of violence which is explicitly made unacceptable in the pedagogical project. To this effect it is recommended to develop within each school an action plan to tackle violence at school such as the one proposed by the CONNECT[25] project fi 006 which has developed a Comprehensive mental health promotion approach[26]. Six major projects were funded under the CONNECT initiative in the field of violence in schools[27]. This will be translated into the school regulation

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[25] Commission of the European Communities ; *the CONNECT INITIATIVE (1991-2001)*: http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/connect/selection.html

[26] Finnish Centre for Health promotion; *Proposal for an action plan to tackle violence at school in Europe: Comprehensive Mental Health Promotion approach*:

http://www.health.fi/connect; co-ordinator Ulla Salomäki.

[27] Next to the one mentioned in the footnote above the following projects on violence have been or are still operational; they were all funded under the CONNECT initiative:

—Country reports on tackling violence in schools:
  http://www.goldsmiths.ac.uk./connect and http://www.gold.ac.uk/tmr
—European Observatory of School Violence: http://www.obsviolence.pratique.fr
—MUS-E: Music to tackle violence in schools (Yehudi Menuhin Foundation):
  http://www.menuhin-foundation.com
—Novas Res: NO Violenza A Scuola: http://www.comune.torino.it/connect
—Universidad Aberta de Portugal: GESPOSIT (social mediators to tackle violence), no web site; co-ordinator: dr. Lydia Grave.

or in contracts with groups of pupils or individual pupils. The school will also be aware of the fact that violence can result from the behavior of the staff itself et will also have rules of conduct for that particular rule. All the contracts and regulations will be established in co-operation and with e common agreement of all the groups concerned. They will be assessed regularly and at least at the beginning or the end of every school year. Those contract will contain sanctions and the way in which the sanctions will be applied in concertation with the group concerned. A basic rule being that immediate reaction to any act of violence should be avoided as this is counterproductive; it is indeed better to let a few days go by and to discuss the matter with all the persons or groups concerned: the pupil or pupils, the parents, the teachers or other staff members.

A strong co-operation will be put in place with all the agents of the local community who can contribute to create a caring and secure environment built on trust and respect and which is the basis for better education and learning. In particular better co-operation has to be developed with social services or mediators, with the police, with medical services and psychologists which can help in specific cases of violence both the victim. and the aggressor./ Certain forms of violence are very difficult to perceive and require thus specific approaches; this is, for example the case with obese youngsters who are easily stigmatized par their fellow students and even by members of staff. Several of the elements mentioned above are highlighted in the publication «La violence en milieu scolaire» of Eric Debarbieux and Cathérine Blaya and in other of their publications[28].

The school in the learning community will apply itself in particular to tackle violence by making youngsters responsible themselves through peer education activities which are also referred to later on when discussing the contribution of the learning community to active citizenship. Peer education activities enable young people to do themselves something about certain forms of violence with the support of adults.

The school also has to be a caring school for the other members of the educational community such as parents and staff. Particular

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[28] Eric Debarbieux ; La violence en milieu scolaire 1: Etat des lieux, Paris, 1996.
Eric Debarbieux, Alix Garnier, Yves Montoya, Laurence Tichit; La violence en milieu scolaire 2 : Le désordre des choses, Paris, 1999.
Eric Debarbieux et Catherine Blaya; La violence en milieu scolaire 3: dix approches en Europe; Paris, 2001, 206 pages.
Eric Debarbieux et Catherine Blaya; Violence à l'école et politiques publiques, Paris, 2001.

attention will have to be paid to make parents of migrant children at home and of other categories of disadvantaged children such as unemployed parents. Developing structures to support and welcome such parents is an important element also in increasing their motivation for the education of their children and to create a true learning community. In certain cases the learning community can also set up in-service training events for them to see to it that they can be better involved in educational and social activities of that community.

The combat against racism, xenophobia and anti-Semitism is another element which contributes to make the school a caring and safe environment to live and learn; hence it requires specific attention in every learning community. Very often this topic is linked to the one of violence and also required the joint and concerted action of several members of the learning community. A co-operation with associations, NGOs, members of the so-called civil society, active in this field seems to be very appropriate.

The Commission has supported many actions in the field of the combat against racism and xenophobia and is still doing so in different areas of society. Specifically the Commission is addressing this topic in school education through the Socrates program[29] within which every action is called to pay particular attention to this topic. As far as school education is concerned the Comenius[30] chapter has for many years since 95 given particular attention on this topic and has funded many European projects in that field. Comenius 3[31] networks have been started up like the ACODDEN[32] network. Major NGOs have been very active, just to name one with e Anne Frank Foundation[33] in the Netherlands.

Finally there is also the area of sexual, psychological, mental and physical abuse against children outside the school, such as in the family or in the society at large. Learning communities have to take this problem seriously and take action at their level in co-operation with other

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[29] Commission of the European Communities; *The Socrates programme*: http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/socrates.

[30] Commission of the European Communities; *The Socrates programme; Comenius chapter*:

http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/socrates/comenius.

[31] Commission of the European Communities; *the Socrates programme; Comenius Networks*:

http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/socrates/comenius/activities/comenius3.htm

[32] Centre Européen Juif d'Information*; ACODDEN Comenius 3 Network: A classroom of difference-Diversity Education Network;* acodden@ceji.org

[33] Anne Frank Stichting; http://www.annefrank.nl/ned/default2.html

members of the local community. Information on this topic is available at different levels; the EU is setting up different activities to do something about it, for instance through the DAPHNE[34] project of DG Justice of the EU. The WHO, World Health Organization[35] has just released beginning of October its world report on violence and its action plan related to it.

The concept of the caring school —some speak of the safe school- is a complex concept with multiple facets. The caring school is based on the respect for and the dignity of every human being; it puts at the center the identity of every human being as a contribution to the development of communities focusing on welfare and well-being for all in a spirit of solidarity, co-operation and inclusion.

Open schools that co-operate with the surrounding local community and civil society

Schools as learning communities will be open to all levels of the surrounding community. They will be characterized by the community's mobility to and from them. They will collaborate with all the official actors of that community, such as local or regional authorities. They will call on some actors of that local community in accordance with needs to reinforce curricular or interdisciplinary, crosscurricular or extra-curricular activities or pedagogical initiatives. Learning communities will of course link up with other similar initiatives which exist such as learning cities or learning regions[36], etc.

This co-operation includes agents of the political world ranging from elected representatives at local, regional, national and European level. The intervention of and the contact with elected members of the local community can be very stimulating for pupils. Co-operation will also include the agents of the social organizations: representatives of trade unions, social services and social associations. Co-operation will also focus on cultural organizations: libraries, museums, theatre groups,

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[34] Commission of the European Communities, DG Justice; *DAPHNE: protection of physical and mental health by the protection of children, young people and women against violence*…:
http://europa.eu.int/comm/justice_home/project/daphne/en/index.htm
[35] World Health Organisation; *World report on violence and health,* 3 October 2002; http://www5.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/main.cfm?p=0000000117
[36] Norman Longworth; *Making lifelong learning work: Learning Cities for a Learning Century*; Kogan Press, London, 1999, 228 pages.

orchestras, artists, craftsmen etc. Co-operation also has to be set up with representatives of religious and/or spiritual communities as this can contribute to interfaith education. This is particularly important in multicultural learning and local communities. Co-operation with all the associations which color the civil society: associations in the field of human rights, the protection of the environment, the integration of handicapped, the promotion of co-operation with the third world, etc. An enormous potential with great variety which can enrich the school activities in the learning community. It would lead too far to mention several of them but EFECOT[37] is a good example of such a European association working in the field of the education of children of itinerant workers and gypsies, very often disadvantaged groups.

The police will be able to contribute to road safety education or to prevention of violence in schools. Hospitals will be able to contribute to health or sex education or to contribute to combat smoking or the taking of drugs. Artists and craftsmen will contribute to promote artistic education, museums and artists can contribute to promote cultural heritage education. The associations for the defense of consumers contribute to consumer education and behavior. Associations of human rights help to promote peace education For their part, school establishments will be able to open their doors and make their infrastructures available to adults who want to learn for professional or personal reasons. Schools in learning communities should make available their rooms, infrastructure, equipment and know-how to the local learning community members. Libraries will collaborate with those schools putting at their disposal their resources and infrastructure. Science museums will be able to contribute to science education. Theatres, orchestras, drama groups may have different contributions; they can enhance cultural education on the one hand and on the other hand they can promote interest for the jobs which are available to youngsters in their organizations. Moreover several cultural organizations have activities towards disadvantaged groups which can be very inspiring. Representatives of companies and business, involved in learning communities with schools, contribute to promote entrepreneurial skills of pupils or management skills of head and other members of the school management team.

The involvement of companies and associations in reflection on the acquisition of competences and skills, can lead to improved and joint activities in this particular field.

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[37] EFECOT: European Federation for the Education of Children of Travelling Professions (circus people, playground people and bargee people, gypsies...); http://www.efecot.be

An important collaboration will develop with voluntary associations in the local community. They can help arouse young people's interest in investing in the local society through voluntary work and really having experience of contributing to the construction of that local community.

Parents' participation is one of the most important elements at local community level. Any school that wants to become a learning community will make an effort to actively involve parents by recognizing their contribution for what it is. The importance of making parents feel welcome at school, especially migrant parents, has already been mentioned before. EPA, the European Parents' Association[38] has done major work on this.

Schools as learning communities will take responsibility for contributing to or for promoting initiatives for the most disadvantaged groups. They will particularly contribute to the promotion of basic training and education skills that some groups of disadvantaged people lack so those people can fully participate in local civil society.

Reference has already been made to the need to make audits of the needs for in-service training within the framework of the learning community. Audits should also be made to find out the talents available in the local community which can be tapped into and which are not (yet) used. The home for retires people has opportunities for voluntary work for the youngsters but is also a possibility to tap into the talents of the retires. Prisons offer opportunities for voluntary work for youngsters but also offer possibilities for prisoners to be active agents in rehabilitation programs in the local community.

The co-operation between the school and the different bodies, authorities, organizations and associations of the local learning community, will no doubt strengthen with the young people the sense of belonging to that local community and will invite many of them to invest time and effort to the benefit of the local community. Co-operation between the school and all the local agents thus becomes a key element in affective citizen education, making young people feel included in the local society; it thus is an important element in the promotion of active citizenship.

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[38] EPA: European Parents' Association: *How to involve economically and socially disadvantaged parents into school life*; CONNECT project; Brussels, 2001, http://www.epa.be

See also CONNECT web site:
http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/connect/selection.html

Schools that specifically encourage active citizenship and create democratic structures

Each school involved in a learning community has the responsibility to educate for citizenship while insisting on three dimensions: the *cognitive, the affective and the pragmatic dimension.* These dimension are clearly expanded upon in the publication of the Commission "Learning for Active Citizenship"[39].

Promoting *cognitive* citizenship means that the learning community has to strengthen the knowledge and understanding of the democratic structures which support the daily life of the youngsters and of the members of the local, regional, national, European and global community. This can be done in different ways; through civics education courses or religious education in an interreligious or interfaith perspective, through involvement of politicians at different levels in the school, through visits to democratic institutions, through research on the internet, through study of reports and of the media, through participation of youngsters in mock elections or mock European parliament sessions or Councils of ministers etc. The cognitive will be reinforced by a culture of the critical reflection and of the debate. Cognitive citizenship can be reinforced in different ways using different pedagogical approaches.

Citizenship is, however, best not preached but lived up to in the concrete everyday environment of the young people concerned and hence the importance of promoting the *affective* dimension of citizenship. This dimension will be promoted by putting into place everything which has been mentioned under the "caring school": support structures, guidance structures, counseling structures at the level of pupils, at the level of teachers and even at the level of parents. All of these are activities or structures which can strengthen the sense of belonging to a community which is the basis for commitment in a democratic perspective.

The key dimensions of active citizenship are also highlighted are several key publications of the Council of Europe such as: Education for democratic citizenship: a lifelong learning perspective; Basic concepts and core competencies for education for democratic citizenship; Strategies for learning democratic citizenship and Sites of citizenship: empowerment, participation and partnerships[40].

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[39] Commission of the European Communities; *Learning for Active Citizenship*; Brussels, 1999, pages 16-30:
http://europa.eu.int/comm./education/citizen/citiz-en.html
[40] Council of Europe: key publications on citizenship education:
César Birzéa; *Education for democratic citizenship: a lifelong learning perspective*; Strasbourg, 2000, 88 pages.

The first sense of belonging to be strengthened is that of belonging to the school community which is itself in its turn embedded in the local community and which is built and developed taking into account the family community. Then interaction between those three communities —the school, the family and the local community— is essential to promote active and democratic citizenship Thus every form of exclusion has to be avoided and youngsters which are in a situation of social, intellectual, spiritual, material etc. exclusion have to be supported and helped. A community which a spirit of belonging to a community has to celebrate at regular moments the fact that it is a community. Schools have to celebrate especially their diversity if they are multicultural as this strengthens the senses of belonging together of different cultures within the same community. Such celebrations definitely have an impact on the affective dimension. The affective dimension is also greatly promoted by what is mentioned under the next dimension.

Promote *pragmatic* citizenship is done by giving the opportunity to youngsters to invest themselves actively in their local community or in constituent bodies or organizations of that local community. The co-operation with different organizations at local level has already been repeatedly emphasized as a key element of the learning community. It has to be stressed again that co-operation between the school and all those local partners offers many possibilities to put citizenship into practice in concrete events. If young people see that there activities have an impact on the development of the local community they will definitely be motivated to invest themselves even more in that local community. The activities of the youngsters can be very different; they can be social, cultural, intercultural, environmental, related to human rights, to peace education, etc., but it is important that they are put into an active citizenship perspective. Strengthening the pragmatic dimension of citizenship education, has definitely an effect on the two other dimensions, the affective and the cognitive one. To strengthen commitment of youngsters it is important that their commitment and activities are recognized, evaluated, praised and if need be celebrated in the local community. The three dimensions of active citizenship are

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François Audigier; *Basic concepts and core competencies for education for democratic citizenship*; Strasbourg 2000, 31 pages.

Karlheinz Duerr, Vedrana Spajic-Vrkas and Isabell Ferreira Martins*; Strategies for learning democratic citizenship*, Strasbourg, 2000 78 pages.

Liam Carey and Keith Forrester; *Sites of citizenship: empowerment, participation and partnerships*, Strasbourg, 2000, 42 pages.

integrated in different ways in civics education in different educational systems across the world as is clearly shown in the study of IEA "Civic education across countries: Twenty-four National Case studies from the IEA Civic Education project[41].

International organizations such as UNESCO[42] and Council of Europe[43] and several NGO[44] have produced very useful material on the promotion on education for active citizenship. The activities of education for democratic citizenship of the Council of Europe are particularly interesting.

Any school that wants to become a learning community will develop and give importance to democratic, participative structures allowing each member of that education community and local education to take part in the development of that learning community. Parents' councils, class councils and staff councils are but some of the indispensable structures.

Democratic participation will also be expressed by the choice of pedagogical methodologies and approaches that place emphasis on everyone's potential. The implementation of differentiated education and training that bears everyone's specific nature in mind is an element of vital importance to the promotion of citizenship. The concept of 'peer education' is a pedagogical method that should be strongly encouraged in schools that are learning communities. Other elements that have already been mentioned, such as participation in associations, have a direct effect on active citizenship.

Democratic participation will also express itself in the choice of pedagogical methodologies and practices focusing on using the potential of every pupil. Implementing differentiated teaching and learning paths for the pupils is an approach which definitely enhances citizenship education. The use of a socio-constructivist pedagogy and a pedagogy of the dialogue is also contributing to the same effect. Peer education approaches are yet another pedagogical approach with great citizenship education potential.

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[41] IEA (International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement*); Civic education across countries: Twenty-four National Case Studies from the IEA Civic Education Project*, Amsterdam, 1999, 624 pages.

[42] UNESCO: *Education for citizenship* (a CD Rom with educational materials); Paris, 2002; http://www.unesco.org/education

[43] Council of Europe: *Education for democratic citizenship*: http://www.coe.int/T/E/Cultural_Co-operation/education/E.D.C/

[44] CSV Ibis Trust; *Active citizenship: a teaching toolkit*, Oxon, 2000, 242 pages.

Schools that get Involved in European and international co-operation

Schools as learning communities are schools that get involved in and collaborate with the local and regional community. In addition, they are schools that encourage youths to open themselves up to Europe and the world. To that end, schools will participate in transnational co-operation projects, such as Comenius[45] school partnership projects, bilateral co-operation projects or UNESCO projects, such as Associated Schools Project network[46].

Schools as learning communities will implement awareness actions and aid actions for countries experiencing difficulties in Europe or the Third World. They will make youths understand that welfare should be shared, and that sharing and solidarity are the qualities of any good citizen of the world.

Disciplines and interdisciplinary activities will become enriched by the European and international perspective in order to place emphasis on interdependence between countries and continents. They will insist on the need for global sustainable development.

European and international intercultural wealth that is so often present in schools because of the presence of migrants will be used to promote a real intercultural education and an intercultural understanding based on tolerance, respect and collaboration. Cultural differences have to be celebrated as means of mutual enrichment and should not be used to divide people and the world in factions and groups.

Learning communities should thus link up at local, regional, national, European and global level with other learning communities. This should be done to exchange their experiences, to encourage one another and to strengthen their activities by learning from their successes and from their failures. Learning communities should also help one another in concrete things to solve concrete problems or challenges. Different learning communities should create networks so as to help set up new learning communities.

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[45] Commission of the European Communities*; Socrates programmes, Comenius chapter: action 1 school partnerships; Brussels:*
http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/socrates/comenius
[46] UNESCO; *Associated Schools Project Network*; Paris:
http://www.unesco.org/education/asp/

Conclusion

The present text has tried to expand upon some key characteristics of the learning community and the way in which it contributes to the creation of European citizenship and to European identity. Learning communities should contribute to strengthen European citizenship and European identity within the framework of the development of the European Union.

In no way do learning communities intend to contribute to "A" or "ONE" European identity as this doesn't exits. Each country, region or group of people has its own identity which contributes some elements to a possible European identity which is gradually being build. Such a European identity will not replace local, regional or national identities but will be complementary and supplementary to it. The same applies to European citizenship versus national citizenship or even multiple and global citizenship as expanded upon by Marco Martiniello in his book "La citoyenneté à l'aube du 21e siècle"[47] and in several contributions to the book "Citoyennetés nationales et citoyenneté européenne"[48] co-ordinated by Françoise Parisot.

Learning communities can make schools and youngsters and local communities aware across Europe and the world of their own identity and how that can in co-operation with other enrich their identity. European and global co-operation intends to maintain the richness of the diversity of the variety of identities, *the mixed (European and global) colorful salad in which every element is still recognizable!); it doesn't want to bring about the colorless European or global melting pot in which the identities disappear and result in loss of personality and identity.*

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[47] Marco Martiniello; *La citoyenneté à l'aube du 21e siècle*, Fondation Roi Baudouin, Editions Université de Liège, Liège, 1999, 48 pages.

[48] Françoise Parisot (Ed.); *Citoyennetés nationales et citoyenneté européenne*, Hachette, Paris, 1998, 384 pages.

15.
Identity/Identities in a Plural World

Liisa Salo-Lee
University of Jyväskylä
Department of Communication
Jyväskylä, Finland

When do I perceive myself as European?

During my stay of nearly three years in Spain 2000-2002, I perceived myself foremost as a Northerner. The Pyrenees seemed to be —like in the earlier centuries— the division between the Iberoamerican world, the South, and the North, "El Norte". In the Spanish context "El Norte" has historically been widely understood. For most Spanish travel writers of the 19th and early 20th century the North began when they stepped out from Paris train in Cologne (Stadius 2002). As to Europe in general, for the Spaniards it used to be that "Europa se acaba en los Pireneus" (Europe ends at Pyrenees). To me, however, after having lived about 12 years in Brazil, the Spaniards appeared to be quite European in comparison with Brazilians, at least in their queuing behaviour, or even in their time concept. During my over 20 years´ marriage to a Chinese, I often felt myself primarily to be "Western". Some Chinese took me for "American". The only times when I have myself been conscious of my "Europeaness", was when I lived five years in the United States. Not even Latin America managed to call forth that kind of feeling of European identity. After the September 11, 2001, events, it looks like many Europeans share similar perceptions. When am I then conscious of my national identity, Finnish? In the Nordic contexts, dealing with our Nordic neighbours. In spite of the many similarities between the Nordic cultures which get emphasized, for instance, in the Spanish contexts (I participated in various joint Nordic projects in Spain), there are sufficiently differences between the Nordics to make one feel also "Finnish" in specific situations such as travelling with Swedish co-passengers from Stockholm to Madrid!

Multicultural identity

We are all multicultural. Identities are evasive. They change constantly across different contexts and relationships, and are challenged, negotiated, co-created and redefined again and again in various communicative situations (Vasko, Kjisik & Salo-Lee 1998). Individuals´ behaviours are guided by a multiplicity of cultures in which they are engaged, and "to expect people in any specific cultural setting to act and react as if their behaviour is shaped by only one culture is a theoretical abstraction and not obtainable in real life. In the real world, people are members of, and/or are influenced by, more than one culture" (Kuada & Gullestrup 1997).

What kind of role should and can "European identity" have among other identitites? Is "Homo Europeus" a realistic concept, or target? (see Niiniluoto 1996).

I will first look at cultural, ethnic, and national identities. I will then discuss some of the challenges we face in relation to European identity and intercultural education.

Culture and identity are intertwined. In sociology and anthropology, *cultural identity* is understood to mean the feeling of belonging to a cultural group, and behaviour which is based on common values, joint history, language and tradition (Liebkind 1994). Language is a part of a person´s cultural identity. It is a powerful unifying force for group cohesion. Language is used to reinforce the identification and bond with a particular group. The solidarity towards one´s own group is shown, when appropriate, using that group´s own language. An *ethnic group* is a group which classifies itself as a separate group and has its own culture which it wants to maintain. According to Liebkind (1994), ethnic identities are changeable. They can change within both a person´s lifetime and along the history. In spite of that, ethnic identity —anchoring oneself in a certain nation, or ethnic group— seems to be a relatively permanent phenomenon. Partially this depends on the fact that national culture is transmitted to a person already in the family. With early education it unconsciously forms the whole personality in line with the national culture (Liebkind 1994).

What is then *national culture?* National identities are one source of cultural identity. In our self-definitions we may in certain contexts resort to our national ("passport"-) identity: "I am a Finn". National identity has become, at least to earlier generations, to signify "home", "roots". Internationality and interculturality used sometimes to be seen as a threat to national aspirations. In Finland, for instance, a well-known patron and sponsor of Finnish artists, critisized early 20th century a

Finnish sculptor, who lived partially in France, for "not knowing where his roots are". Today with more globalized art and artists the discovery of the "roots" among various, mixed influences can be even more problematic.

According to Hall (2002), nation is not only a political unit but also something which produces meanings, a cultural system of representations. We know what it means to be a "Finn" or a "Spaniard" only based on how "Finnishness" or "Spanishness" has been represented in form of certain meanings in the Finnish or Spanish cultures. People are not barely legal citizens of a nation but they also participate in the idea of the nation which is represented in its national culture. A nation is, according to Hall, a symbolic community and because of that it can "arise a feeling of identity and fidelity".

National cultures are a modern phenomenon. National states became an important source of meaning when modern cultural identities were constructed. For the Finns, the most concrete document of the construction of "Finnishness" is a book by Zachris Topelius (1875) "Our country" which appeared in 58 editions. According to Niiniluoto (1996), this book has decisively formed the Finnish mentality with its stories, sagas, and poems in many ways. The starting point of Topelius was, in spite of the national ethos of the book, a multicultural society within Finland which from different roots has grown into one "like many trees become a forest" (Niiniluoto 1996). The Finnish language became in the 19th century, and early 20th century, as often happens in difficult circumstances, a defining characteristic of national identity and a source of national pride and self-esteem. One phenomenon related to the Finnish language, and the national idea, was at those times, for instance, frequent translations of foreign family names into Finnish.

Schools and teachers have always had a significant role in forming cultural and national identities. While in earlier times teachers´ national task was emphasized, today multicultural ideology is increasingly featuring in educational policies. The aim of the Finnish basic education is, for instance, "to fortify the self-esteem of an individual and the positive development of own cultural identity as well as support cultural plurality"(Matinheikki-Kokko 2002: 219, citing the National Board of Education 1999).

How social constructions (like nations) manage, depends on various conditions. According to Niiniluoto (1996) their form can be organized by political and administrative decisions and they can be legitimized by historical "myths" and "great stories". Nations and states are not less "real" than other artefacts but their existence requires constant maintenance, renewal, the fuel of which are the knowledge and aims of the

people, and their needs and expectations. These constructions can survive, claims Niiniluoto (1996) , if they manage to satisfy the concrete needs of people. This also applies to Europe as a social construction. Current criticism to the EU is directed towards it not being sufficiently a "people´s society" but rather a "byrocrat´s monster" (Helsingin Sanomat 2.11.2002 referring to Vaclav Havel´s request in the European Parlament in 1994 for a "Charter of European Identity").

Multicultural Identity: Challenges for Europe and intercultural education

The challenges we face in Europe today are manifold. Here some examples:

—How to face multiculturality and plurality in practice, particularly now with the Eastern expansion of the EU: differences in values, and differences in the way and quality of life in North and South, East and West? The saying about our world where "the other half dies of fear and the other half dies of hunger" applies also to Europe.

—How do we incorporate in our reality various non-European people and influences which are more and more present in our lives such as various belief systems? Niiniluoto (1996), for instance, talks about "Euroislam" and asks whether we would accept it as one possible "domestic religion".

—How do we as hosts receive others in our country? Acculturation is a collaborative, joint process.

—How do we successfully adapt when we are ourselves in the role of guests in another culture?

—How do we educate the mainstream to "inclusive citizenship"?

—Should we not, instead of building exclusively "European identity", aim at constructing "intercultural identity" which is not exclusive, and a part of which is European identity?

Construction of "intercultural identity" is a developmental continuum along which people travel.

The role of educators in facilitating intercultural learning process is important. The path to a truly multicultural society requires, in education, a wholistic intercultural approach which goes beyond the mere exposure to differences (eg. multicultural classrooms per se) to the whole educational system and learning environment. In that approach teachers are also part of the learning community.

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16.
Images of Europe: the Perspective of the Islamic People. From Occidentalism to Occidentology

M.ª Jesús Merinero
Department of History
University of Extremadura, Spain

Recent international disturbances have allowed the media[1] and the prevailing hegemonic political discourse to situate the Arab-Islamic world in the centre of its diatribes and has reinforced, together with the increase in migrations, the image of the "other" Muslim as a threat, to which a multitude of recent events have attested.

The unilateral identification of the terrorist activities of Al-Qaeda with the Islamic people; the invasion and war in Afghanistan; the unfortunate labelling of the "axis of evil" for a group of countries satanised at one fell swoop by the United States administration; and the virulence that has come to characterize the conflictive relations between Palestinians and Israelis, have increased the sensibility of a great deal of the world's population which is demanding the immediate need for international understanding[2].

Said understanding should go beyond the mere erudition of negotiation talks and be captured in effective policy-making.

Almost simultaneously, the United Nations declared the year 2001 as the "Year of Dialogue among Civilizations," echoing the proposal presented by Iranian President Mohamed Jatami in the Organization of Islamic Conference Summit celebrated in Teheran in December 1997. The initiative has profound historical roots that are being revived at the

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[1] For an interesting analysis on the work of a great deal of journalists at the service of power, see Halimi, S. (2002) *Les neufs chiens gardiens*. Paris, Editions "Raison d'agir".

[2] Merinero, M.ª J. (2002) "Prologue" *Dialogue among Civilizations (Orient-Occident). Contribution to International Understanding*, Madrid, Edit, Ciencia Nueva.

present, thanks to a confluence of events that are making it more and more crucial that this understanding form part of a mutual knowledge.

The aforementioned points reveal that the Western world and the Muslim world are contemplating each other with distrust.

Edward Said's[3] analysis in his work "Orientalism", published in 1978, represented a definitive turn in the orientation of the studies on the Oriental world which were strongly grounded in Orientalism[4] and ethnocentrism. Said's contributions emphasized the existing link between knowledge and power which came to create the concept of the "Oriental", a concept which is an intellectual and self-interested construction of an "essentialist difference".

Through its historicist and ahistorical methodology, European "Orientalism" has been the specialized construction that has helped to create an image of the Muslim as possessing certain essential fixed characteristics, thus defining what is Muslim exclusively in terms of its otherness. For the Orientalist, the Muslim is above all "the other". And it is this methodology, linked to the European ethnographic tradition solely concerned about cataloguing, describing and assigning, and not about explaining, which has allowed Orientalists to maintain their logic of complementariness and confrontation.

The change of perspective offered in the works of Larouit[5] and Said regarding the study of the "other", led to the recognition that every image is a product in which the social and political history of the people takes on great relevance. This means that one must consider the dynamic nature of the image in the historical context of each geopolitical reality of the binary opposition Europe-Muslim world. Consequently, we cannot speak of a unique, unchangeable and unidimensional image, but rather a multiple and varied one resulting from the political, diplomatic and cultural relations that have been maintained in its historical evolution.

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[3] Given the current relevance of the problems Said raises in his work, which were hardly given attention by Spanish historians unconcerned about the subject, *Orientalism* (Said, E.W. *Orientalism*. Madrid, Ediciones Libertarias: 1990.) has recently been republished by Editorial Debate in 2002 at a propitious juncture in international politics.

[4] "Orientalism" can be understood as Western knowledge about the "Orient" from a "Western" point of view.

[5] Laroui, A. (1984) *Arab Islam and its Problems*. Barcelona, Península.

The Arab-Islamic world contemplates Europe, and later the West, from a permanent paradigm: seduction and rejection

Fascination and rejection are indissoluble sentiments that, although depending on the evolution of each geopolitical space in all of its variables and its multiplicity of relations, have been manifested and visualized alternatively in the two attitudes of "Occidentophilia" and "Occidentophobia".

Nevertheless, this essentialist and ultra-conservative stance has corresponded to that maintained by the most traditionalist sectors, although it has also been adopted by some nationalist movements.

In this changing perspective in the relations between the Muslim world and Europe, we dare to symbolize the perceptions of the Arab-Islamic world in just a handful of images.

Europe as a model and challenge

It has been difficult for the Muslim world to overcome the intellectual regression that accompanied the political decline of the Arab world, which colonization only helped to exacerbate.

Europe's economic, cultural, technical and military superiority since the 18th century led the Muslim world to contemplate the reasons for its decline after its reigning glory during the Golden Age. The question of this decline and the need to overcome this situation became the focus of all its thoughts and concerns.

The eruption of colonial powers in the Muslim world made its cultural, political and economic decline even more evident and intensified its need to undergo a renaissance which would allow it to adapt to and confront the challenge posed by Europe.

The creation of different political and ideological proposals to stimulate said renaissance would take place in consonance with the changes occurring in Europe, for the contacts with the continent allowed the Muslims to know the innovations that the Enlightenment and the French Revolution had brought with them.

Since then the Muslims have not ceased to debate the political and cultural role that should Islam should play when confronting, or adapting to, the Western challenge.

Europe thus simultaneously represents a model and a challenge.

Within this Muslim renaissance movement, called al-Nahda, two main schools of thought would appear which were differentiated by the consideration that each gave to the Islamic dimension in its societies.

The first of these schools, which placed the Islamic dimension on the periphery, was more concerned about the adoption of European models and political institutions that integrated the geopolitical concept of Nation-State; this was the liberal school of thought.

The second school, which was more concerned about the cultural aspects of Islam, posed the problem in terms of civilization and attempted to achieve a reformation of the Arab-Islamic world by renovating Islam, through the initiation of the "iytihad" or the use of reason, to interpret its origins. This was the Muslim reformist political school of thought of the "salifiya" (which literally means "ancestors" or "origins").

Both schools found their origins in Egypt, and both benefited from the modernising measures implemented by the Egyptian Governor Muhammad 'Ali (1805-1848).

The desire to modernize the country, then a "wilaya" (province) of the Ottoman Empire, led Muhammad 'Ali to initiate a process of modernizing the educational system. His objectives of sending academic missions to Europe were two-fold: 1) to modernize the bureaucracy and the military hierarchy in favour of an army for its future independent state[6], and 2) to count on experts to establish a more specialised national educational system through the creation of medical, polytechnic and administrative schools with a subsequent reduction in teachings connected to the mesquites.

Linked to these academic missions and crucial to the Egyptian cultural process was the initiative to translate and publish technical works and Western thought into Arabic. In 1835, the School of Translation of French into Arab and the School of History and Geography, which later became the Faculty of Law and Humanities under the leadership of Rifa'a Rafi'I al-Tahtawi, were created.

In addition, a Saint-Simonian movement was implemented, a sign of one the first collaborations between Europeans and Arabs[7], through the arrival of French Utopian Socialists, between 1833 y 1840, the aim of which was to organize an industrial state based on the advances of modern science.

Europe and this new educational system would become the training centres for the future nationalist elite who, influenced by the European system, were inclined to implement the constitutional parliamentary system as a way of progress.

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[6] Tomiche, N. (1976) *L'egypte moderne*. Paris, PUF.

[7] López García, B. (1997) *The Contemporary Arab-Islamic World*. Madrid, Síntesis, p. 53-54.

All these modernizing methods formed part of the project to build a Nation-State, and therefore an autonomous one in the Ottoman Empire[8], which was accompanied by an initial Egyptian national movement.

On the other hand, the Salafi reformist movement attempted to demonstrate that although Islam, in essence, is not opposed to progress, it was necessary to recover once again its true spirit which had been blurred and contaminated through centuries of reinterpretation. Their proposal was to liberalise the personal efforts of interpretation of the Islamic texts (iytihad), even rejecting some principles considered outdated for modernity, in order to build, in the name of social utility[9], a modern society without denying the cultural and religious legacy of Islam.

This would mean renewing the political-religious institution that had prevailed up till then, the Caliphate, but reactivating some political concepts like the "shura", or consultation, which were linked to the creation of new representative institutions, Majlis, or Parliaments, using Europe as a model[10].

Muhammad 'Abdu was the great theoretician of the first Salafi generation. His master, Yamal al-Din al-Afgani (1839-1897), advocated a Muslim reformist political movement from which the Salafiya arose. Al-Afgani saw profound changes in the relations between Europe and the Muslim world: the crisis in the Orient from 1875-1878, which demonstrated that the European powers could penetrate to the core of the Ottoman Empire while progressively occupying North Africa (Algiers in 1830, Tunis in 1881 and Egypt in 1882). The European threat placed the "Umma" in danger given that without unitary political power it ran the risk of disappearing altogether.

In light of this, al-Afgani proposed the need for a show of Muslim solidarity in the "umma", a solidarity to be based on the desire to live together in a community and work towards its well being, which would allow them to resist European intervention. For him, the cause of the Muslim downfall was their lack of cohesion, and he accused the authorities that be of being incapable of achieving unity and affirmed that despotism was the true enemy of an Islam which preached consultation[11].

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[8] Mantran, R (ed) (1989) *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*. Paris, Fayard.

[9] Abd-al Malik, A. (1969) *Idéologie et renaissance national. L'Egypte Moderne*. Paris, A. Colin.

[10] Mamad 'Ali's pioneering government in 1829 and the "Supreme Assembly of Tunis" between 1861 and 1864, were representative of these political reforms.

[11] Kedourie, E. (1966) *Afghani and 'Abduh. An essay on religious unbelief political activism in Modern Islam*. London, p. 78 and following pages.

Thus, to limit the despotism of the rulers, al-Afgani espoused the need to endow the people with a constitution that limited the powers of the sovereign.

On proposing a new form of Islamic identity that was not strictly a religious one, one of al-Afgani's innovative ideas was presenting Islam as a civilization more than a religion, therefore encouraging the people not to limit themselves to passively serving Islam, but rather to actively collaborating in building a flourishing civilization in all aspects.

Some of the ideas set forth by al-Afgani were expanded by his disciple Muhammad 'Abdu (1849-1905): that European superiority compared to the decline of the Islamic Empire was due to the immorality of the Muslim leaders and their moving away from true Islam, the knowledge of which required the application of human reason to definitively open the doors to the iytihad. In his desire to save the cultural tradition of the Islamic civilization, recurring to the adaptation of Islam to contemporary times, one of the most innovative notions 'Abdu raised was that the gap between Europe and the Muslim world was derived from the former's mastery of the sciences. Therefore, the question resided in endowing oneself with knowledge and learning. From that moment on, the call for education and training to develop the potential of Islam and the perfect reconciliation between the religious and the modern and technological sciences would be two of the recurring elements in all subsequent reformist proposals[12]. This would materialize into the establishment of mixed educational centres dedicated to religious and scientific teachings.

Many of these innovations[13] were incorporated into the sociopolitical ideology of posterior Islamic reformist movements, such as that of the Muslim Brotherhood, especially explaining their political and economic success or failure in terms of the Islamic rulers' moral conduct and blaming them for moving away from "true Islam". To this connection, the rulers' adhesion to this so-called "true Islam" would become the formula to legitimate political order, the effect of which has reached our days.

For the Arab-Islamic world, the al-Nahda movement meant the definitive crisis of traditionalist Islam, for the development of new institutions and the phase of introspection and adoption of European models facilitated the emergence of intellectuals who began to supplant the "ulemas" in their traditional function as political advisors.

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[12] Mantran, R., et al. (1977) *L'Egypte d'aujourd' hui. Permanences et changements,* 1808-1976. Paris, CNRS.

[13] Kerr, M.H. (1966) *Islamic Reform: the Political and Legal Theories of Muhammad Abduh and Rashid Rida*. Cambridge, University Press, p. 220 and following pages.

These ideas, which received a large audience and many critics among traditionalist "ulemas", gave a sacrilegious nature to certain aspects of Islamic political thought and opened the way for a secularised Muslim reformist school of thought which defended the legitimacy of the separation between Church and State, as advocated by many of its followers liked Ali 'Abd el Raziq[14].

The Salafi reformists and the Muslim Brotherhood were conscious of the challenge that the modern world presented and wanted Islam to accept the new civilization only to the extent that it would contribute to the recovery of their power.

Europe represented a model for its educational, scientific and technical methods as well as for its political institutions.

The common element between Muslim liberals and reformists was their reaction against foreign invasion. Notwithstanding, two important questions separated them. The first one was their differing conceptions of the national project, which for the liberals was framed in the idea of the European Nation-State while for the Islamic reformists, defenders of the "umma", it constituted a panislamic project. The second one, and of utmost importance, was that for the liberals the questions concerning the nation were essentially of a political nature, whereas for the reformists a reaction against "cultural invasion" formed part of the political question. Consequently, unlike the Europeists who defended Western civilization, the Muslim reformists only took from the West those elements which would benefit the rebirth of Islam, rejecting those cultural elements they considered to be negative.

The difference between these two groups would intensify with time when the confrontation would be defined in terms of the Arab and Islamic nationalist projects.

The hostile Europe

Accompanying the penetration of European commerce and the increased benefits achieved through treaties and concessions, was an enormous Communalist offensive which allowed the various colonial powers to debilitate the Oriental societies by fuelling the inter-denominational confrontations to its advantage. Good examples of this are the British policies in India, the European policies in Lebanon or the case of Jerusalem.

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[14] Martín Muñoz, G. (1999) *The Arab State*. Barcelona, Bellaterra, pp. 54-55.

The downfall of the Ottoman Empire put an end to the panislamic utopia, and the abolition of the caliphate in 1924 by Kemal Atartuk marked the triumph of the "Europeist" tendency that would develop in a Nation-State setting. The influence the liberal, secular and nationalist European model among the new Muslim elite gained ground among the ruling elite, although it found resistance and pressure on the part of many Muslim sectors[15]. Nevertheless, the first constitutionalist projects were short-lived and on many occasions, the Egyptian Constitution of 1879 case in point, never reached full force because of the interferences by the French and English who saw these projects as a threat to their control over Egypt.

Several elements brought about the discredit of colonial Europe: the ambivalent effects of colonization, the creation of artificial states whose borders reflected Europe's interests, European interference in domestic political affairs, and the contradiction between an emancipating and rationalist discourse —freedom, equality and rationality—, and their colonial behaviour. Said discredit would later determine the domestic evolution of the Muslim world and would cultivate a new perception of the European world and of Western values which would shape the image of a hostile Europe.

The origins of this image were located in the West's inability to understand the effects, namely social destructurization and cultural expropriation, that the exclusion of cultural and linguistic codes had on colonized societies.

Between the two world wars and in the presence of a loss of Europe's prestige, nationalism gained strength, which was favoured by the colonizing action itself.

The "Europeist" elite who established the liberal system by imitation, ignored one very crucial aspect: that the adopted European political system must be adjusted and respond to the socioeconomic and cultural realities of the societies to which it is applied. The lure of the West generated a political elite that was more and more unconcerned about the cultural legacy of Islam The absence of socioeconomic reforms benefiting the people and the corrupt practices of its leaders led to the discredit of the political system, and the growing unrest manifested itself in successive military attacks that would later favour the permanence of the Army in power.

It was the distorted and incomplete nature of the capitalist transformation of Muslim society that obstructed the path towards a

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[15] Laurens, H. (1993) *L'Orient Arabe. Arabisme et Islamisme de 1798 à 1945*. Paris, Armand Colin.

complete adoption of bourgeois liberal thinking[16]. At the same time, the disenchantment with the imposed liberal democracy fostered the development of new ideological proposals: on one hand, the Islamist proposal which placed the social question in the centre of its concerns. Representative of this proposal was the Muslim Brotherhood[17] who followed of the Muslim reformist tendency. On the other hand, a second tendency was that inspired by the Marxist model as an alternative to the liberal model.

The new ruling elite, in Ataturk's Turkey as well as in the Sha's Iran, adopted the values of Westernization, among them secularism, as an element of their national project. However, Westernization did not respond to the process of social modernization. Rather it was imposed as an instrument of domination over Muslim identity, for it prohibited any manifestation of this identity, be it of a symbolic, religious, cultural or political nature.

The rejection of the Islamic legacy by the colonial powers and the nationalist elite converted secularism and Islam into two incompatible notions created by the rival elite[18]. With the passing of time, these two conflicting models would provoke great irritation among Muslim societies[19]. This historical happening, the introduction of secularism in the Muslim world, would later give birth to what is understood as the "antireligious" model.

The successive nationalist, Arabist and socialist revolutions —the Nasserist, Baazist, Libyan and Algerian revolutions— led to the establishment of a national state that once again promised to develop and modernise its societies. The new political regimes resulted in the setting up of new monoparty regimes in which the tribal and clan relations and the military class became the true constitutive elements of power, converting the State into a patrimonial good, at the service of a minority ruler who did not fulfil any of the democratic norms[20] and who seemed more interested in "controlling" society than in serving it.

The demand to incorporate the Islamic dimension into society led many rulers to an ideological use of Islam. Their nationalization of an "official Islam", which integrated the traditionalist and conservative

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[16] Amin, S. (1976) *La nation arabe. Nationalisme et luttes de classes.* Paris, Minuit, pp. 119-121.

[17] Carré, O. & G. Michaud. (1983) *Les fréres musulmans (1928-1982).* Paris, Gallimard.

[18] Filali-Ansari, A. (1992) *L'Islam est-il hostil à la laïcité?* Casablanca, Le Fennec.

[19] Arkoun, M. & L. Gardet. (1978) *L'Islam hier-demain.* Paris, L'Harmattan.

[20] Salamé, G., (ed). (1994) *Démocratie sans démocrats.* Paris, Fayard.

schools and excluded the Muslim reformist movement, would generate permanent antagonism[21] among governments and Islamists.

The nationalist, panarabist, secular and socialist ideal, which since 1945 had proclaimed the Palestinian question as their central cause[22], suffered its first setback with their defeat in the Six-day War. The logic of the war would justify the rulers' authoritarianism and the construction of impressive military apparatuses. Likewise, it would allow the regimes to endure without having to transform the patrimonial and neo-colonial essence of their power. The War of Yom Kippur, the oil crisis of 1973, the events in Libya and the Iranian revolution worked together to expedite the end to the panarabist model, which would reach its crisis with the signing of the 1978 Bilateral Agreements between Egypt and Israel in Camp David.

The Islamic resurgence in the 70s and 80s was, to some extent, indicative that the initial reforms —the "Ataturkism", the White Revolution in Iran, the varieties of Arab socialism including both Nasserism and Baazism— were not able to achieve what they had proposed; thus, said resurgence came in response to these and other failed projects.

The fact that every attempt to emancipate the Muslim people that did not respond to the plans and interests of the European world, later North American-European, were systematically foiled —Mossadeq's nationalist revolution, panarabism, Palestinian demands, etc.—, intensified the discord between the West and the Muslim world.

The failure of the nationalist and socialist regimes that were presided over by military officials who were discredited because of acts of corruption and suppression, fostered the expansion of Islamism, whose argument of delegitimization, one must remember, was precisely centred on the immorality of the rulers.

Occidentophobia and Third World critique

At the failure of the European models imposed through practices of exclusion and suppression, "Occidentophilia", which is understood as the imitation of Western ways and formulas without internalising or participating in their genesis or creation, would see its counter

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[21] Santucci, J.-C. & H. al-Malki (ed*). (1990) Ètat et devloppment dans le Monde Árabe. Crise et Mutations au Magreb*. Paris, CNRS.

[22] Benejelloun-Ollivier, N. (1984) *La Palestine: un enjeu des stratégies, un destin*. Paris, A. Colin.

response in "Occidentophobia", which was represented by a fierce criticism of the West.

Said criticism was launched based on three aspects: a) for the West's biased behaviour and inequitable criterion it wielded in its political relations with the Arab-Islamic world —the Palestinian question; attacks against Libya, the Sudan and Iraq; the creation of the "axis of evil"— as opposed to with Israel or Saudi Arabia; b) for the support given, through advantageous alliances established with the "Westernised" leaders of the Arab-Islamic world, to tyrannical and antidemocratic governments that silenced any opposition or critical protest of its political policy. The West's satanization of the Islamists perhaps was not based so much on the latter's supposed "antimodern" character, but rather on the fear that their current leaders were vulnerable to being substituted, thus upsetting the West's advantageous alliances. This might explain the reasons for which the USA demonised Iran but consented to the radical Taliban movement in Afghanistan; and c) for the West's inability to recognize ideological and symbolic references other than their own, thus monopolising and universalising its own references and demanding that the rest of the world accept the West's system of values, while rejecting any extra-Western references, a clear demonstration of the West's inability to integrate into the current world order.

The jail terms and exiles suffered by many opponents, especially by the Islamists during the nationalist and socialist regimes, would foster the appearance of radical movements that would be the harshest critics of their own rulers and their Western allies, and the creation of Western stereotypes which would serve as a frame of reference for affirming their own identity.

This would thus be the beginning of "Occidentophobia", a phase which would fall into the same Orientalist trap of creating a stereotype (in this case of the West) which did not account for diversity and complexity.

The militant and Third World critique of the West created an ambivalent situation of attraction and rejection, a constant trait in the majority of the Third World militant writers, even in those from the European world. This militant critique was usually tinged with moralising overtones condemning materialism.

Terms like "Occidentoxication", similar to the Maoist motto of "spiritual pollution"; "Occidentopathy", created by Fardid[23] to criticize

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[23] Khosrokhavar, F. & O. Roy. (1998) *Iran. From Revolution to Reform*. Barcelona, Bellaterra, p.201.

the incapacity of the West to open itself up to other cultures and propagated by Yalal al-Hamad, author of the work "Oextosicación", a work that was held in high regard by the youth of the 60s and 70s, are case in point.

Terms like "world arrogance" or "the great Satan" to refer to a paradigm of evil, especially to North America, came as a response to the scorn that the West had demonstrated towards the Muslim World and the Islamists.

The insistence throughout history on highlighting the differences between the Islamic world and the West explains the Jomeini's motto "neither the Orient nor the Occident."

The ambivalence towards this situation became manifest in that whereas the political discourse reproached the West, in practice there was a fascination for anything scientific and that represented progress. This was even more obvious when one considers the social importance that the political offices held by engineers and diplomats from Western schools, "the Islamist engineers", acquired in some Islamic countries[24]. Moreover, the Iranian revolution itself did not mean the rejection of the introduction of Western ideas and technology, but rather the integration, not the mere importation, of formulas into a living culture[25] by adapting new instruments to old behaviours and generating a progressive assimilation of them. Moreover, the ruling class itself, even the most important religious education centres like the School of Qom, did not hesitate to quickly participate in the computer science revolution.

Occidentology and the Proposal for Dialogue

The desire to find an original formula that could combine modernity and tradition has led to a process of Islamic cultural affirmation among its societies, a process which is allowing them to recover some of the values that had been rejected since the emergence of European colonization and to adapt them to the new sociopolitical realities. Two important processes have favoured this recovery, which did not consist of a return to tradition, but rather of a new interpretation —starting with reason— of the original texts.

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[24] Hourcade, B. & Y. Richard, (eds.) (1987)Téheran au-dessous du volcan. Paris, Autrement, pp. 24-28.

[25] Richard, Y. (dir*) (1989) Entre l'Iran et l'Occident. Adaptation et assimilation des idées et techniques occidentals en Iran*. Paris, Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme.

The first processes is what some call "the crisis of the West". For although the Western model is widespread, it is seen as a model in crisis, incapable of resolving problems like poverty, unemployment delinquency or drugs even in its own cities[26]. The second process is the spectacular evolution that has occurred in the atmosphere of accelerated "worldization" the reaction to which has strengthened the need for identity. It would be erroneous, therefore, to believe that there is a structural incompatibility between modernity and the core of the Muslim doctrine; another thing is knowing and recognizing what the circumstances have been surrounding the upsurge of modernity in Islamic countries which have impeded it from easily taking root among the majority of the population. The fact that modernity was imposed by the coercion of foreign colonization produced a defensive reaction by some sectors out of a fear of being uprooted and a desire to preserve their beliefs and origins. Today, the Islamist movement is not so much about rejecting Western modernity altogether as it is about reclaiming the attributes of their otherness and all or part of their heritage.

In reality modern values have been drug into the whirlwind of the rewriting of the categories and terminology of the Muslim symbolic system[27]. It is about a complex process of reconciliation which helps to spread the reach of modernization and not to hinder its advancement.

Starting in the late 90s, several Islamist proposals have arisen favouring a dialogue among civilizations. Of these, the one that has received the greatest audience has been that advocated by Iranian President Jatami, precisely the president of the only country where an Islamic revolution has triumphed.

The crisis stage now overcome (accompanied by the Muslim world's withdrawal of itself as a defence mechanism) there has been an evolution in the attitude of many Muslim Intellectuals towards the West, in spite of the existence of radical tendencies. Some want to reverse the previous antagonistic perception of the West for a new rational knowledge of it, no longer considering it a monolith and insisting on the diversity and complexity of the two cultures. This is what we can label Occidentology: the scientific understanding of the West.

Along these lines is the thinking of the Islamist philosopher Soroush, who as a critical sceptic accepts the beneficial and rational relations with the West while simultaneously preserving one's own

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[26] Maalouf, A. (1999) *Killer Identities*. Madrid, Alianza.
[27] Burgat, F. (1996) *Islamism Face to Face*. Barcelona, Bellaterra, p. 250.

cultural values. He abandons the notion that the West is completely homogenous, which allows him to conceive of it as a complex system in which certain elements can enter into harmony with those from other systems. Consequently, taking parts or products from the system does not mean a general acceptance of the West; it does mean, however, that one must have a choice when borrowing from this system so that the ensuing relation is a harmonious one. To that end, Soroush proposes having confidence in ones own cultural resources and actively participating in the process of introspection so as to open up to the "other" without fears or complexes[28].

This new form of knowledge will also serve as a cathartic process through which to overcome the fascination for the West, now more real than imaginary.

In this connection, Shariati, perhaps the most important thinker of the Iranian revolution, urged the Islamist youth and students to come out of their cultural alienation and to look for new intellectual forms of thinking situated between Western and traditional forms: "(…) the masses inherit a well-elaborated and cooked food and do not have to exert any effort to make their choice, they only have to examine it. In the same way, they do not have to be bothered with choosing, for some well-packaged consumer products reach them directly from the West, and it is enough just to open and consume them (...). But among these two options are those that can resign themselves to continue being submersed in some out-of-date criteria, not even to consume the ideological products that have arrived from the West throughout the last century. Those intellectuals hope to elaborate for themselves, through choice, their own intellectual product."[29]

This new perception judged the legacy of Westernization in a more balanced way, without considering it the only road to happiness, but not a misfortune either. Rather it recognized that only through contact with other cultures and ways of thinking could people obtain the necessary resources to protect themselves in their international, State and market relations.

This proposal for dialogue and synthesis received a favourable response in the reunion that the EU and the Islamic Conference held in Istanbul in the Spring of 2002, under the motto of "Civilization and Harmony", demonstrating their rejection of a North American initiative to invade Iraq.

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[28] Merinero, M.ª J. (2001). *Iran. Towards a Promising Disorder*. Madrid, Ed., Los Libros de la Catarata, p. 181and following pages.

[29] Shariati, A. (1982) *Histoire et destinée*. Paris, Sindbad, p. 110.

To ensure that this understanding and dialogue are productive, the West must get to know who the Islamists are while always keeping in mind their diversity of attitudes. At the same time, the West must be willing to participate in a dialogue with the most open-minded sectors, which constitute the vast majority, in order to prevent the most radical sectors from imposing their criteria.

Furthermore, through this dialogue the West must recognize that no culture is pure and that all are hybrids, products of imitations and creations, a synthesis between modernity and tradition. Culture is not something that is given but rather borrowed; consequently, it is useless to restrict oneself to the authentic, the autochthonous, for if culture is malleable in time, it is equally malleable in space.

17.
Identity, Citizenship and Education in an Emerging "Crossover Society": A Japanese Case Based on an International Comparative Survey on Youth Culture

Hidenori Fujita, Ph. D.
Graduate School of Education
University of Tokyo, Japon

Age of Education reform[1]

A New tide of education reform:

—Privatization, marketization and liberalization of education.
—Consumer orientation and neo-liberal ideology.
—National concern over the quality of schooling and neo-conservative ideology.

Shift from a "Segmented Society" toward a "Crossover Society"

Boundary destructive changes

Post modern, social and ideological changes, IT revolution, Globalization etc. Nation state, social grouping, school to word transition, gender role. And their associated identity.

Segmented society

Roles, statuses and social groups are clearly defined both structurally and institutionally; life space is differentiated and divided into distinctive

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[1] Resume for the presentation at the Education for an Interdependent World (EDIW) Seminar held at Salamanca (Spain), October 18-19, 2002.

sub spaces along with these roles, and daily activation tend to take place within these differentiated and clearly defined sub spaces. In such a society, personal identity also tends to be formed and secured on the firm bases of his/her roles, statuses and social groups.

Crossover society

Definitions and boundaries of roles, statuses and social groups become shading, indefinite and flexible; life space differentiation becomes less distinctive and rather flexible: individuals tend to hold more roles/statuses and group memberships than before and many different activities tend to crossover with each other at any one place. In such a society, identity will become, or be expected to become more open, more flexible and more reflective than before.

Four major roles of schooling in a modern schooled society

1. Providing the life stage of "education hood".
2. Educating a responsible and respectful citizenry.
3. Educating basic skills and knowledge.
4. Developing personal identity.

Issues of and Conflicts over Identity

—Economic Level : Globalization vs. National Concerns. Ex: business vs. social security.
—Political Level: Global/European Community vs. Nation State. Ex: global politics vs. national politics (participation and decision marking).
—Cultural Level: Global/European Identity (Culture) vs. National Identity (Culture). Ex Normative Orientation toward G/E citizenship vs. Cultural Heritage of a Nation. (including language).
—Societal Level as an ordinary life world : issues of prejudice, discrimination and segregation.

Values, attitudes and citizenship orientation of the youths in eleven countries

Data Source: The Japanese Youth in Comparison with the Youth in the World : A summary Report of the Sixth World Youth Survey, 1998.

Youth Affairs Administration, Management and Coordination Agency, Japan. March 1999. (The speaker served as a chair of this research team. Some of the tables and figures here appeared originally in Fujita (1998).

Four levels of a New Symbiotic Society and Goals of Citizenship Education

1. Embracive or Convivial Symbiosis : Undifferentiated knowledge, Shared common values, Learning embedded in the daily life
2. Segregated or Segmented Symbiosis: Hierarchically differentiated and specialized knowledge. Segregated life space and segmented word place. Curriculum and ability tracking. Individual appropriation of knowledge.
3. Civic Symbiosis: Acceptance of differences and multiplicity. Equality as a citizen and open social organization. Common basic knowledge and responsibility as a citizen. Participatory learning and learning community
4. Market oriented Symbiosis: Indifference in common values and others. Individual appropriation of knowledge. Individualized learning and freedom of choice. Segmented learning space partially multi tracked system

Four Major Values or Organizing Principles of Education and Society: Efficiency. Equality of Opportunity. Civic Symbiosis (co-living and caring, Acceptance and participation). Self-realization.

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18.
Does Europe Admit Other Identities? Models of Integration in Europe

Concha del Palacio Duñabeita
Social Sciences Education Department
"Enrique de Ossó" Faculty
University of Oviedo, Spain

The construction of plural citizenship in a changing world

The phenomenon of immigration

If we yield to the daily impact of the headlines in Spain, one would say that we are suffering (quite ironic when it is actually those ragged individuals we watch without pity on the news who are suffering) an incessant invasion[1] of citizens of North African origin which threatens to throw the comfortable status quo we are so accustomed to into disarray. This is a somewhat curious perception of the situation of global migration, which is derived from a bias ethnocentric vision (whether it be the centre of Spain or Europe).

Perhaps it is necessary to emphasise that massive migration occurs, above all, in the centre of the Southern countries due to arrival of people from rural Africa, Asia and Latin America. The percentage of the population that makes it to the Western world is very low when we compare it to other realities often overlooked by the media.

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[1] Faced with the phenomenon of immigration it is dangerous to try to justify an alarmist message that attempts to irresponsibly promote the idea of a *mini invasion* against which action must be taken. This, which is the basis of the most extreme racists and xenophobes and which permits the rejection of immigration in public without moderation or fear, has been the seed in other European countries that has allowed political parties on the extreme right of the political spectrum to consolidate their positions.

The reasons for such migrations are many and varied (war, starvation, misery, epidemics in the countries of origin), and all are worsened by negligible and uneven levels of development[2].

—To put things into perspective, let us briefly remind ourselves of the tendencies that cause mass migration on a global scale[3].
—As we have just said, mass migration occurs both internally and between countries in the South.
—The phenomenon of South to North migration has always been a traditional, yet unstable and precarious, solution to the irresolvable situation of starvation and social chaos experienced in the countries of origin. This process did not begin in the 90's, but has been the long-term result of the demographical expansion and political, economical and ideological evolution of Western Europeans that commenced in the 16th century and became more pronounced at the end of the 19th century.

Recently, with the downfall of the communist regimes of the former soviet satellite countries, East to West migration can be added to that of migration from what have come to be termed Third world countries. These types of migration have coincided with the process of European integration (accelerated in 1992 with the introduction of the Single European Act), whose objective was to create a communal space for all the countries that form part of the ancient continent, each of which has been moulded by exchanges and conflicts between

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[2] At the start of this century, Ignacio Ramonet's analysis illustrates this idea: "In no way have we managed to guarantee a satisfactory level of human development for all citizens. In the United States there are 32 million people whose life expectancy is below 60 years, 40 million without medical insurance, 45 living below the bread line and 52 million who are illiterate… In the heart of wealthy Europe, at the time of the introduction of the Euro, there are 50 million poor people and 18 million unemployed. On a worldwide scale, poverty is the rule and being well off is the exception. Inequalities have become characteristic of the times we live in. And these are getting worse, constantly widening the gap between the rich and the poor...Presently, there are individuals who are richer than states: the assets of the 15 richest people is greater than the total assets of the whole of Sub-Saharan Africa… Since the beginning of the century, the number of states hasn't stopped growing, going from around forty to almost 200. But the world is still dominated by the same seven or eight states that dominated at the end of the 19th century. Among the dozens of countries that emerged with the dismantling of the colonial empires, only three (South Korea, Taiwan and Singapore) have attained satisfactory levels of development. The rest remain bogged down by chronic underdevelopment" Ramonet, I. (1999) «New Century». *Le Monde Diplomatique*, January.

[3] Aranguren, L. A.; Sáez, P. (1998) From Tolerance to Inter-Culturality. An Educational Process Based on Difference. Madrid, Anaya.

different cultures. Once again, this shows just how unreliable and biased our tendency to rely on historical memory is when trying to understand the present.

Therefore, in the light of all the above, it is not surprising that the peoples of the South choose to risk their lives embarking on dangerous sea crossings in rowing boats to reach the prosperous North. However, the Vietnamese, Cuban Haitian or North African who manages to cheat death in this way not only becomes a symbol of someone who escapes their misery, but also a threat to those who receive them and bear witness to this human avalanche of immigrants. In fact, in our collective imagination, the new threat to the prosperous world is not that of local revolutions that may come to pass in the Third World, nor is it that of political ideologies and economic associations of the producers of essential raw materials. The real threat to everyday life in the countries of the North is the uncontrolled mass immigration of citizens from the third world who come in search of fair and just living conditions.

How does the Spanish State perceive this phenomenon? Even until very recently, Spain has been a country of immigrants[4]; today more than two million Spaniards live and work in other countries. Presently, as a result of the social and economic development occurring in our country, Spain is now on the receiving end of immigration[5]. In the absence of community policy on immigration, and following the recent reform of the Spanish State's infamous Immigration Law (L.O. 4/2000) —which includes the newly created department of Immigration on the organization chart of the Ministry of Interior— it would be difficult to argue that the Spanish stance on the issue is anything other than to engage in a policy of border control and security measures.

This is a fundamental error which diverts our attention from our prime objective: the creation of a global immigration policy which

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[4] These people remember how they were rejected; they lived in ghettos and had the most degrading and poorest paid jobs. Rosa Regás told us recently how when she was an immigrant in Germany she found signs in cafeterias which read "No dogs or Spaniards", Goytisolo also refreshed our memories with the manuals that were published in France in order to explain to housewives how to "treat and domesticate Spanish servant girls". All too often we suffer from amnesia when it comes to our own recent history.

[5] We are talking about 450.000 non-Community immigrants, the figure includes those who are considered as illegal immigrants, who in general are employed in agriculture, construction, the hotel industry and domestic service, sectors in which there is great instability. This figure represents around 1.2% of the total population, which is a far lower figure than the 9% to be found in Germany, the 8% in France and Belgium and the 37% in Luxemburg.

would affect other ministerial areas such as foreign affairs, employment, health, the justice system, education etc… and would reinforce the integration, both socially and in terms of employment, of immigrants.

An example of the threat posed by immigrants as conceived by Westerners is the attitude of Spanish school children. Following a study carried out by the teacher Calvo Buezas[6], the following conclusions were made: one in every three non-university students over the age of thirteen want Spain to prevent the arrival of more immigrants. Half (51.5 %) of these school children believe that immigrants take jobs away from Spaniards and 42 % think that they contribute to the rise in drug trafficking and crime. Even if it is true that this study only goes to show that the majority of these children are clearly misinformed about the reality of immigration in Spain, the statistics are still deeply worrying[7].

The statistics in Europe are no different to those in the analysis presented in this essay. Over the last few years racist and xenophobic attacks have been on the increase and we have only seen the tip of the iceberg with regards to just how far advanced these attitudes are.

In Europe, political parties situated on the extreme right of the political spectrum with explicitly xenophobic manifestos are gaining votes, and in some cases, even gaining enough to form part of the government, as seen in the case of Austria which allowed Heider's party to form part of the coalition government. We can also take the results of the recent elections in France as a prime example.

These, and other events (for example *El Ejido* and Dover, engraved in our collective memories) have alerted public opinion and we really should stop and think about where we are going and above all, what we can do to combat such situations. We can all do something as individuals, as professionals and as citizens and it is high time to start the ball rolling.

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[6] Calvo Buezas, T. (1997) *The Racism and Solidarity of the Spanish, Portuguese and Latin Americans. Young People's Attitudes to Other Races and Cultures*. Madrid, Libertarias.

[7] Other surveys carried out on university students and school children in the community of Madrid produced similar conclusions. They reflect just how advanced racist and xenophobic attitudes are in the sectors of the population that due to their age and situations are traditionally the most open minded in society. It has to be noted that the majority of students declare themselves to show solidarity with the immigrants, say they are not racist and have positive attitudes towards immigration. However, around 15% of university students say they are racist and xenophobic. These attitudes are not more common among adolescents than university students. Those surveyed believe that little or nothing is done at University to fight these attitudes. BERNIS, C. (1999) «Racismo y xenofobia». *El País*, 7 de marzo.

Understanding the roots of the phenomenon

It is a problem that affects every single one of us so we should all work together towards finding its solution. We should make an in-depth analysis of the situation, without fooling ourselves or being lenient with anyone and create a future in which we all belong, where we can all learn and grow and enjoy ourselves, no matter where we are from. This is something that has been achieved over the centuries in societies spread over the seven continents of the world under much more trying circumstances than our own.

Racism is a state of mind of an objective nature that is found within biologically superior groups. Some people are subconsciously racist and these people can be easily manipulated under certain circumstances. Xenophobia is the fear of and the aversion to all that is foreign. To a large extent, what is occurring in Spain and Europe is the exploitation of xenophobic sentiment that links the impoverished immigrant with delinquency and rivalry in terms of employment.

On occasions we are witness to the wave of racist intolerance which justifies ethnic homogeneity as being the optimum solution to the problem, which encourages different cultures' incapacity to dialogue and disseminates the false idea that our cultural purity is being threatened by the outside in the form of immigrants who, according to popular intellectual stereotypes, meet all the requirements necessary to act as the scapegoat for all of the Western World´s social and cultural ills: they take jobs away from nationals, their behaviour is barbaric and even dangerous, they are associated with the most depraved of social practices such as drugs and prostitution and they highlight the turbulent reality that we really do not want to accept.

On other occasions, intolerance is hidden by opting, in the best of cases, for processes of assimilation of the other rather than pledging support for integration. Whilst the first option shows us the logic of the absorption by the host culture of the migrating culture; integration, however, means that each culture maintains its own characteristics and traditions. Whilst assimilation only affects the person who is excluded, integration implies the acceptance of that person by society. Both society and the immigrant are the co-creators of a new setting for intercultural cohabitation.

It is necessary to consider the messages we transmit to our pupils, the contents of certain textbooks and informative texts, and above all emphasise that there is no scientific justification whatsoever for racist or xenophobic behaviours and attitudes. This is pure ideology, the problem itself is much more complex.

If we take Spain as en example and the relationships we maintain with Moroccan immigrants[8], we can see that these are not always cordial and are often more complex than the relationships we maintain with other ethnic groups.

This is not because Moroccans are intrinsically bad, it is due to our ignorance of their culture, customs and social norms caused by the distance we always place between poor people and ourselves.

When ignorance, distrust, distance, excessive precaution and the negative impression that has been formed of a culture over various centuries are all combined, it is natural that fear and defensive attitudes, which may result in aggression in provocative circumstances, are produced.

Given such circumstances, it is essential that we overcome the fear of facing up to the reality of this miscommunication. It is also necessary to approach the issue with care and discretion for the simple reason it is not just "their" problem, but everybody's problem of insufficient communication between two worlds, two points of view, two political and social realities subject to constant change, two religions, two aesthetics and two vital plans. Neither one is better than the other, they are simply different, they interpret certain important social codes in different ways and have no basic understanding of one another.

However, the conflicts derived from this lack of understanding between cultures are not necessarily always violent, negative and destructive. When this happens it is because we have not been capable of dealing with it in time or even sometimes recognising its existence. Therefore there is a preventative policy with regards to such conflicts which implies the following:

—The recognition of cultural distances and mutual distrust.
—The active and responsible participation of the immigrants themselves, whether they be young people or adults, to encourage people to act as mediators between their community and ours.
—The establishment of multiple channels of communication to enable immigrants to participate in full in our society.

In neighbourhoods with large number of immigrants, the number of intercultural conflicts is reduced when various mixed associations that organise daily activities which enable this communication and understanding between the different cohabiting cultures exist. They serve to encourage mutual respect, tolerance and even curiosity, and

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[8] Fisas, V. (2000) «Conflicts Between Cultures». *El País*, Tuesday, 27th of June.

establish the framework of a shared future. The latter is a more serious and complex issue, which, in any case, requires strong commitment from government organizations.

However, this communication flow has to be multi-directional in terms of its intensity and not just in terms of compassionate support. Human rights movements are fighting for the integration of civil and social rights. This fight is being fought on three fronts.

The first is that of legal reform, which lays down the guidelines for the rights of the minorities and the governments' responsibilities. The second, that of changing the attitudes found in towns, encouraging mutual respect and showing the townsfolk how valuable and interesting all that is different can be. It also involves teaching people just how valuable biological and cultural diversity is for mankind. The third, of course, is the protest fight of the immigrants themselves and of solidarity movements that have to put pressure on governments, teachers and professionals so that basic human rights as citizens are recognised. On all three fronts the roles of objective information, and above all, education, are fundamental.

It is also necessary to underline a basic approach in this process; that which determines the quality of the encounter is not just supposed ideological equality or emotional harmony, but the recognition of the other person as someone who is capable of bettering themselves and who is above and beyond ideological or ethnic affinities and differences. We can see that this recognition constitutes an anthropological dimension, which is in keeping with the open character of human reality.

The other is a reality that we encounter involuntarily, and, contrary to Hegel´s theory, does not imply that the only feasible interpersonal relationship is one in which recognition is understood as the battle for one culture to dominate the other, thus resulting in the master-slave dynamic, which is ultimately the stance adopted by racists and xenophobes. For the latter, everything that is foreign is deemed to be despicable and all that is different is considered to be flawed and therefore should be eliminated. All that exists for them is the "self", their ´self´ that can absorb anything but that which is different.

Coming up with Proposals: Plural Citizenship

It is of fundamental importance to accept the gravity of the pheno-mena of immigration and realise that it is not immigration but the fountain of wealth that is our biggest problem at the start of this new

century. It is therefore fundamental that educational programs be set in motion to develop and disseminate this perception.

As various fora have observed, and in the light of present changes and transformations (the multicultural issue being one of them), democratic societies need their citizens to reflect on the important issues that affect them and be able to form their own opinions and actively participate when decisions that affect their societies are made. These citizens must be conscientious and active participants in a democratic society. They must be aware of their individual rights and political duties and thus should not relinquish the political administration of the communities in which they live nor automatically delegate the responsibility that this implies to the "experts".

This demand for the formation of responsible citizens has, and has had since the establishment of Education for the masses in the Western world, an important educational foundation. It is expected that through Primary and Secondary Education children should be provided with intellectual formation in the areas of shared values and critical and rational thought (which includes both the capacity to convince others and be convinced during discussions, excluding therefore the fanaticism of extreme principles).

For this reason, even with the dissent and controversy with regards to the effect of education on the formation of citizens, assuming that in order to be a democratic citizen it is not enough to be simply born in a democratic environment, we recognise that strategies and support for the formation of young people that will guarantee the stability of democracy are being generated.

What concepts are being used in order to undertake this formation? What strategies are being devised? In the title, by way of precaution, we have made reference to the fact that citizenship is initially constructed and then implied that this construction can be plural. What interest do these two affirmations hold?

To propose and appeal in favour of the conviction that citizenship is constructed is an attempt to banish, from the very start, an essentialist and univocal vision in the understanding of what it is to be a citizen. Citizenship, just like personal or collective identities, is the result of miscellaneous and complex rights and duties that need to be defended by those to whom they correspond and the authorities and institutions in place.

The flipside of this discourse is their infringement, their insufficient development and discriminatory application and recognition. To affirm that citizenship is constructed implies a demand for lawful development of such citizenship and the avoidance of rigid conceptualization brought about certain types of definitions such as "Citizenship is…".

We use the term "Plural Citizenship" because it is a construction, which incorporates, with diverse degrees of intensity and through different organizations articulations in space and time, variables such as the understanding of difference and equality and the universalism of human rights versus the relativist vision of such rights. In order to be able to talk about citizenship we have to refer to the contextual analysis of these and other elements.

The immediate result will be a form of exercising citizenship which will be different from, similar to, analogue to or the complete opposite of other ways of exercising it when the contextual variables in the analysis are subjected to change. In what way is the experience of being a 40-year-old Afghan who immigrated to Spain to escape the Taliban similar to that of a 20-year-old Gypsy airhostess living in Madrid who can exercise her rights and duties as a citizen?

The education system has traditionally played a part in systematically including this process of construction of citizenship in schools´ curricula. In all such curricula, the teaching of democratic values constitutes an objective, which the school simply cannot overlook. Despite various educational reforms, it has always been deemed necessary that the curriculum contribute to the civic formation of pupils.

Firstly, this should be achieved through ¨Explicit Social Formation´ established by the curriculum in two aspects; one that is educational/ cultural (geography, sciences, mathematics, history, language) and another that is formative/ideological (religion, ethics, transversal subjects). It is difficult to differentiate between the two aspects in the classroom due to the confusion that originates from the limited knowledge of the pupils.

Secondly, this should be achieved through ´Implicit Social Education´, which, without being stated in the curriculum, lays down the guidelines for relationships and social customs that are developed at school and in the classroom and which act as a vehicle for the customs and values which guarantee social order in keeping with the cultural norms of a determined group.

This is basically what the socialising role of the school consists of and nobody can argue with that. It is undeniable that socialization constitutes a necessary and positive process as it contributes to social cohesion and facilitates young peoples´ adaptation to existing social order.

Objections arise when schools and their curricula concentrate all their energies into the socialization process to the detriment of two of its other responsibilities, those of teaching and education. Such

processes, despite their social repercussion, should focus themselves, without doubt, on the development of the individual subjects.

Education constitutes a formal process that equips the individual with the basic tools necessary in order to get by in society. Education is seen as a more complex process than formation which, in essence, would consist of training[9] individuals as citizens to take a good look at themselves in order to be able to deliberate, judge and make choices regarding the basis of their own rational thoughts[10].

The main problem of the socialization process resides in the fact that its teaching has no direct relationship with the development of certain individual capacities such as rationality, creativity and autonomy. Such capacities should be the main qualities taken into account in our present society, marked by change (to the point of rampant neophilia) and plurality (to the point of *everything is accepted)* and the fact that controversy and social discrepancy which today's society defines as relevant attributes[11].

For all of these reasons there is a risk that the socialization process turns into an indoctrination process, if it is based on emotions rather than meditation and if it fails to stimulate the individual to think, analyse, argue and justify their opinions based on rational evidence, and on the other hand, offers enough emotional elements to nurture feelings of adhesion, belonging and identification, which are all equally capable of provoking conflicting attitudes (opposition, breaking-up, unwillingness to integrate and lack of identification).

In order to avoid this undesired effect, it is recommended that in post modern societies the socialization process carried out in schools be compensated with another process that reinforces individual subjects and touches on subjects such as individual thinking and responsible social critique.

Countersocialization, as Engle and Ochao[12] called this process, would be more or less integrated by those areas of society that cannot be reached by socialization and would be orientated towards a

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[9] We could subscribe to Alain Touraine´s definition of the acceptance of the subject "I I term subject as the desire to be individual, to create personal history, to give meaning to the sphere of experiences of individual life… The transformation of individuals into subjects is the result of the necessary combination of two affirmations: that of individuals versus communities and that of individuals versus the market".

[10] 10. Carr, W. (1995) "Education and Democracy: Facing the Post-modern Challenge"; VV.AA,. Rethinking Education. Madrid, Morata-Paideia, Vol. 1, p. 96-111

[11] Ranson, S. (1994) *Towards the Learning Society*. London, Casell.

[12] Engle, S. H.; Ochoa, A. (1988) *Education for democratic citizenship: Decision making in the social studies*. New York, Teachers College.

permanent individual readjustment of beliefs, values and acquired myths.

However, both processes should be seen as complimentary: whilst socialization provides integrating elements to the to the individual in society, countersocialization provides analytical and critical elements which allow subjects to consider and judge the society in which they are integrating until they reach an agreement.

Understood like this, countersocialization constitutes a basic aspect of education for a democratic citizenry, in as much as it contributes towards the stimulation of the students ability to think critically, thus allowing them to analyse, recognise and ponder their own and other's social behaviour, and doting them with arguments and reasons with which they can construct their own opinions and beliefs which will inspire their social actions and decisions. These are all aspects which ultimately require a more rational exercising of their freedom and which Peters refers to in the following manner:

> *"The individual contributes a melange of beliefs, attitudes and aspirations to their experience. Most of these are based on authority. Most of them are also erroneous, filled with prejudices and simple, especially in political spheres where its has been demonstrated that opinions overwhelmingly depend on traditional and irrational loyalties. One of the objectives of education is to change this…The individual can improve their understanding and cleanse their beliefs and attitudes by eliminating the errors, superstitions and prejudices. And, through the development of understanding, the individual can contemplate the human condition from a completely different point of view. Thus their vision of people, society and the natural world changes and new opportunities for action may present themselves… and the individual may become passionate at the thought of participating in actions to change institutions which beforehand they considered as set in stone in their social world."*[13]

However, it has been demonstrated that the majority of social ideas and values which constitute a significant part of socialization find their origins in information and representations provided by social instruction, especially in the first few years of school. This has been justified by the complexity of the historical and geographical information and social policy selected to be taught; in the attempt to simplify it in order to adapt it to the capacities of the student, much of the information loses its original meaning, and acquires others which over time, become

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[13] Peters, quoted by CArr (1995).

authentic stereotypes and reflections of beliefs that act as authentic social codes.

Various investigations carried out over recent decades have documented in detail the significance of socialization in the process of social teaching and conclude that socialization is the main product of teaching, even when the teaching body has other objectives. McNeill demonstrated that the main concern when it comes to social studies is that of maintaining and reinforcing the students' positive attitudes towards the institutions in their country, limiting the access (by carefully selecting the materials and texts) to other information that could promote a more critical vision of society. Other authors affirm that during the process of the acquisition of social information, the students learn about norms and values first, so that, once they are solidly implanted, they can construct notions that will give these norms meaning, thus converting them into initial beliefs that are not susceptible to change.

All indicators seem to suggest that the main objective of social education and the education of citizens has been, and still is, the socialization of pupils so that they accept, without protest, the ideologies, institutions and practices that exist in their society and state, whilst promoting passive attitudes over political action. We should accept that during the period of compulsory education, social and citizenry education has been reduced to a teaching process that has allowed each society to reinforce their specific characteristics in relation to or in opposition to other societies, instead of treating common problems from a global perspective.

19.
European Pacifism and the Construction of Transversal and Globalised Identities

Ladislas Bizimana

Centre for Conflict Resolution, Department of Peace Studies
Bradford University, United Kingdom

Introduction

Good afternoon everybody and thank you in advance for your interest and attention. In my presentation, I reflect on the link between "Pacifism" and the construction of a certain type of identity, i.e. a peace-oriented identity. My aim is to provide a conceptual framework for an understanding of Pacifism as a particular way of thinking and acting that can effectively contribute to the construction of transversal and globalised identities, conducive to more peaceful communities and societies. I will illustrate my reflection with the case of Europe, a continent that at a particular time of its history, chose pacifism in order to achieve what it had failed to realise through war-making. I will use the following plan. Firstly, I provide a brief definition of key concepts (pacifism, peace, war, conflict, conflict resolution, basic human needs, interests, identity, violence). Secondly, I deliver on the specificity of Pacifism with regard to the construction of transversal and globalized identities across cultures, societies, and nations, and its relevance to the building of a more peaceful and prosperous world. Finally, I try to show how Europe has succeeded in constructing a transnational identity for its own people and how its model could be a source of inspiration for other parts of the world in search of unity and harmony in diversity.

Definition of key concepts

One of the key concepts that should be clearly defined and understood is that of *PEACE.* For a long time, Peace was understood as

the absence of war, that is, physical violence and confrontation resulting in substantial human and material losses. This narrow definition and understanding were at the heart of both domestic and international politics since ancient times throughout the cold war era. During this period, the entire world remained under the constant threat of an all-out war between two super powers that threaten each other with total destruction with nuclear arms. Within states, leaders used coercive means, including physical violence, to contain and suppress resistance and deviance from the mainstream ideology and culture. The failure to prevent the Second World War and the collapse of the soviet empire (despite and ironically because of its harsh and repressive methods) have shown that Peace is more than the absence of physical violence; and that it therefore can best be achieved through other means than the use of force. It has finally been acknowledged that instead of "Si vis pacem para bellum", the appropriate slogan is "Si vis pacem para pacem": If you want peace do prepare yourself for peace, and not for war as it used to be advised.

This conceptual and definitional shift has occurred thanks to some thinkers who devoted their energy and time to showing that Peace is a comprehensive concept referring both to our state of mind and our social behaviour. It is best achieved through being at peace with oneself and with others at the same time, independently of one's origin, beliefs, age, social class or profession. It is best pursued through the satisfaction of basic human needs, expectations, aspirations and interests that include but are not limited to shelter, cloth, food, water, health services, education, belonging, affection, identity, self-esteem, respect, recognition, acceptance, love, self-realisation, decision-making power, freedom, dignity, security and justice.

Conflict

CONFLICT occurs when one or more of these aspirations, needs, expectations, and interests are arbitrarily and unjustly denied in a way or another. In this sense, conflict is also more than physical violence or war. In its most basic definition, CONFLICT is a situation of open or covert tension generated by the denial or failure to satisfy the political, economic, cultural, spiritual, and social aspirations, expectations, and needs of individuals and/or groups. The less material are the needs the more complex a conflict becomes. Indeed, it is naturally difficult to satisfy non-material human needs such as respect, recognition, acceptance, belonging, and self-realisation. The persistence of such

failure and/or denial normally leads individuals or groups to resort to various forceful means that can include physical violence in pursuit or defence of their needs and interests.

Identity

Yet, for individuals or groups to unite and stand up together for their basic needs and interests, there needs to be a mobilising element, a common identifier, so to speak. The shared identifying feature can be either subjective (values and beliefs) or objective (language, nationality, history, profession) or both. And here is where *IDENTITY* comes into play for contributing to peace or conflict. In fact, IDENTITY refers to "the way we categorise ourselves and others." The Webster's Encyclopaedic Dictionary defines identity as, I quote, "the condition of being oneself and not another; ... the condition or character as to who a person is." End of quotation. From this definition, one can conclude that there is no single common universal definition for IDENTITY. The condition of being oneself can vary and be affected by various contextual factors. The way we define, categorise and group US as different from OTHERS implies a preference for certain criteria to the detriment of others. As these criteria depend themselves upon some functional circumstances, therefore part of a dynamic process, the concept of identity becomes itself dynamic rather than static and definite. At one time the subject of an identity may be an individual, a family, a community, as it can be a society at another time.

The *Self,* the key reference for *identity formation,* may be determined at a given time in terms of some objective criteria such as language, citizenship, religion, territory, common history or shared political beliefs and systems. Even objective criteria are far from meeting the satisfaction and consensus of every one from one's group. They most of the time rather reflect individual's perceptions or those of the most influential persons within a group or the most influential groups within a given community. More caution is even required when it comes to deal with subjective criteria such as shared values and perceptions, feelings, and ideals.

All in all, IDENTITY as both a concept and condition of being is inherently dynamic and evolves within the complex process of life. This highlights the importance of IDENTITY in the construction of a harmonious society. The recognition and consideration of different group identities helps determine their needs and the means to satisfy them both for the survival and well being of the group concerned as

well as of the rest. Hence, IDENTITY and CONFLICT are dependent upon each other and mutually reinforcing. The better one manages conflict, the better identity claims can be addressed and vice versa.

Pacifism

One example of shared identity features that mobilise individuals and groups and which is relevant to the issues addressed in this seminar is undoubtedly *PACIFISM.* Etymologically deriving from PEACE, PACIFISM should be understood as a way of thinking and acting that is rooted in the STRONG belief in and SUSTAINED non-violent struggle for a society that is FREE FROM FEAR, TERROR, HUMILIATION, HUNGER, DISEASE, INJUSTICE AND INEQUALITY. In its strict and noble sense, PACIFISM means a peaceful march towards FULL FREEDOM, JUSTICE, DIGNITY and HARMONY. It is a style of living that people freely choose in order to be in harmony with themselves and with others.

Pacifism and construction of transversal and globalized identities

Obviously, no identity feature can be more attractive and challenging at the same time as PACIFISM. Unlike other identity features (such as language, territory, citizenship, gender, professional occupation), PACIFISM is unique in that it is transcendental and gathers people from other identity groups and communities across regions, nations and continents. Within anti-Globalisation groups, there are pacifists and non-pacifists; within human rights campaigners, there are pacifists and non-pacifists, etc. In this sense, PACIFISM has an added value in that it helps construct TRANSVERSAL and GLOBALISED IDENTITIES, that is, identities that cut cross cultures, societies, territories, ages, beliefs and professions and social status. Historical persons like Mahtma Gandhi, Luther King, Robert Schuman, Nelson Mandela and those who have chosen to follow their path have in common the strong conviction in the potential of human beings to join their efforts and peacefully fight for a peaceful and prosperous world, *using the force of the argument instead of the argument of the force.* Through a long and sustained non-violent struggle, Gandhi, King, Schuman and Mandela have made their DREAM come true to the great admiration satisfaction of the entire world.

At this particular time of our history when long lasting peace is elusive, how many of us would like to have more Gandhi, more Mandela, more Schuman and more Luther King? This heartfelt need and wish that we all share best proves how PACIFISM helps construct trans-national and globalized identities that are different from other trans-border and cross society identities such as those created by CNN and the free market economy.

European pacifism and the construction of peace-oriented and globalised identities

Is and can Europe be a constructor of such identities? Well, when one looks closely at the European Union, one can respond affirmatively. As both an intergovernmental and supranational institution, the European Union is definitely an example of how different regions, communities and nations can freely choose, at a certain moment of their existence, the road of PACIFISM in order to better achieve together their self-realisation and help achieve that of others with whom they interact. When Robert Schuman presented, in the fifties, his idea and project of a European Union, he was convinced that the best and only way to recover from and put an end to the so many fratricide wars between Europeans and the subsequent diseases, epidemics and poverty was non-violent, non-coercive integration of old enemies. No doubts that at that time some found his vision of a united Europe a dream, much like that of Luther King or Nelson Mandela (who respectively dreamed of an America and a South Africa for all races). To date, fifties years after, one can assertively say that the European Union has been a result of a choice for PEACE through PACIFISM. This choice was made at one of the most critical moments in Europe's history, as the continent had to find the appropriate way for emerging from the ashes of World War Two.

As an institution standing for a mosaic of different identities that have been progressively integrating and enriching each other while remaining distinct, the European Union is definitely a source of inspiration for other nations and communities, in particular those affected by wars and other preventable disasters such as Africa. The model of Europe is even more attractive and inspiring at this particular moment of successful attempts at tuning and harmonising educational systems of Europe. Through its current attempts at joint postgraduate and doctoral programmes, Europe is clearly heading towards the achievement in the area of culture (in its broadest sense) of a success similar to the one it has scored in the economic area.

Indeed, the founders of the European Union assigned two main objectives to their project: PEACE and PROSPERITY. Europeans seem to have started with and achieved the easiest one: economic prosperity with a social face. Much has also been achieved with regard to PEACE. Since the end of the World War Two, there has been no large scale and devastating war between and among the Union members. Yet, recent and ongoing tragedies in the backyard of the Union, that is, the Balkans, have proven how much still needs to be done to make PACIFISM become a common identity future of all Europeans.

Here is where EDUCATION, in its broadest sense, both informal and formal, has to play a crucial role for translating ideals and dreams into social reality. It is through a certain type of EDUCATION —a peace education— that Europe will succeed in eradicating violence, both in the minds and actions of its people. It is through education that Europe is and should be constructing slowly but surely integrated and integrative identities that are open and receptive to other cultures and societies, and which are inspired by a strong sense of shared values and by a genuine tolerance and appreciation of the OTHER.

Conclusion

It is its non-violent struggle for freedom, human dignity, social justice and human security —transcend values for every human being— that Europe has become a constructor of transversal and globalised identities whereby richness and unity are best achieved in diversity. Indeed, for European nations to concede what they have actually conceded to Brussels (their capital), something more than economic and political interests must have been at stake. This something can only be the choice for peace and pacifist means to achieve it. It is this way of achieving PEACE and RPOSPERITY through a continuous frank dialogue, mutual understanding, recognition, respect, acceptation and assistance that Europe could and should serve as a model of inspiration for other parts of the world.

20.
The Ethical Dimension in European Identity

Mercedes Torrevejano
Faculty of Philosophy and Education
University of Valencia, Spain

My considerations about the subject, expressed with a title that allows for many approaches, will be marked by a conducting thread through which I would like to give body to the topic.

The conducting thread wants to be concrete and situational. In other words, I refer to the following: I depart from the understanding of "Europe" from our present as the model or social reality integrating and extrapolating —at least intentionally— the domain of category types 'state' and 'nation,' categories which constitute "the highest symbolic value of modernity"[1].

The gods of modernity

It is not valid, of course, to think of "Europe" as a mere physical-geographical immediacy. It is obvious that the geographical location is

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[1] This statement is the starting point of the study by Joseph L. Llobera referring primarily to the concept of "nation": *The God of Modernity: The Development of Nationalism in Western Europe:* Oxford, Berg Publisher, 1994.

The fact that these concepts might simultaneously totalise or extrapolate other sense units, such as 'nation' or 'culture' or 'ethnicity,' will not be denied, but this is something in which I will not enter into detail. What is important, in my opinion, is that I commit myself —as I believe is the obligation of philosophy—to a series of concepts, to those most immediately related to our topic, although these might indeed be the most complex, from the viewpoint of their logical and historical genesis.

We cannot ignore, however, that historical sociology and philosophical theorizations about human identity in their socio-organizing levels interpret this category-based articulation giving great ontological weight to, precisely, the most generic concepts of "nation", "culture" and "ethnicity" , as well as to others such as "mentality". I refer to the abundant bibliography on these *quaestiones disputatissimae*.

indeed an inseparable aspect to it; however, from this viewpoint, Europe is rather a reality which integrates diverse expressions diversely connected to human life in a physical-geographical domain of blurred limits.

Let us say, in contrast, lifting ourselves above that physicality and looking once again for the proximity of those types of complex entities —"nation" and "state"— that the European reality, as a social reality, has more to do with time than with space. I mean to say: it is a type of reality that more than being *in* space, is a reality woven by time, and as such it does not allow itself to be seen entirely as an entity that appears before one´s eyes —as Heidegger would say; it is reality that is discovered as it is being told, related, narrated— to express it using the terminology of Ricoeurian hermeneutics; it is history, or historical reality[2]. You could argue that this is the case of all human realities or realities expressive of the human. This is indeed obvious, except that the more complex the realities are, the more complex are their historical character and their justification. Their account also becomes more difficult and complex.

Why do I resort to the categories of "state" and "nation" to speak about European identity from an ethical perspective?

Firstly, because saying "Europe" today immediately makes us think about a group of entities concerned with the Project of a European Union or Community, a project understood as open. A project whose constituent members immediately identify themselves as national states or Nation-States.

Secondly, because when the immense existing sociological, historical, ethical-political, ethical and anthropological literature about Europe —telling us about it from within and with regards to its relationships with the rest of the world— glimpses the diffuse subject of social identities, it brings us and takes us around theories whose theme is interwoven with these concepts ("nation" and "state") in reference to European modernity.

The first point has invited me not to despise the fact that such concepts protagonize a situation in which something that is talked

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[2] In effect, we integrate a pile of facts from the past in the understanding of this totality that here and now we call Europe, in such a way that the facts seem to efficiently conform such reality before us. This does not prevent those same past facts from having efficiently integrated the comprehension of factic totalities of sense in other arenas or levels of comprehension, in independence from the one we are now considering; because those facts of the past whose neurological points are particular individuals, are part of history on a diversity of levels.

about and aired is at the same time identified as Europe. The second point has opened the door for me to reflect upon this issue, with these concepts as a starting point.

In fact, I believe that their protagonism is not trivial. "State" and "nation" are —as I suggested at the beginning of this presentation— two singular and original categories, decanted and forged by Europe, precisely in an order as conformative of its lifestyles as equally reflexive, critical, explanatory and legitimator of the forms themselves. Consequently, and with regards to social life, those categories denote Europe not only in its present facticity, as a group of organised societies, but above anything else, they project Europe´s self-com-prehension in those strongly theorized conceptual systems.

In other words: such concepts have come to act, in Western culture, as references which are, in practice, simultaneously explanatory and dynamising of the ensemble of aspects of social organization: from educational, production and Health systems, systems concerned with the ownership of goods of any kind and with the social application of justice, etc. to the institutionalization of private life.

Moreover, these categories have been assumed and readjusted in modern times —we could paradigmatically think of Hegel—; they have also been critically revised over and over again in the past 20th century —let us think about Habermas and about the multiple debates provoked from his position. In all contexts, they have tried to give sense to human life according to a conformity which somehow totalises it, seeing it in its conjunction with other human lives, inserting it in a whole.

We are indeed before political-philosophical concepts of great anthropological depth. If we limit "modernity" to the historical period of the Enlightenment, contemplated by those who lived the French Revolution as the truth of that age, I believe it is not inexact but very explanatory to interpret its meaning as a type of anthropocentrism —as sublimated as one wants— crowned with political primacy. The path that goes from Kant's ethical-political writings, passing by Hobbes' *Leviathan*, to Hegel's *Philosophy of Law* is eloquent in this respect.

Even if it *is* true that the Renaissance actually initiates the modern era, distancing itself from the immediate past experienced in the form of Christianity and gearing itself reflexively towards Greco-Roman antiquity and towards classicism worthy of imitation, it is in the lattermost part of the 18th Century when a renewed historical conscience emerges, which touches philosophy and which synthesises modernity in the core of the French Revolution, fulfilment of what began in the turn that is symbolised in Descartes.

The interesting aspect of this new perception is, according to my judgement:

On the one hand, the fact that the register of the rupture becomes part of the merits of sovereign Reason, the only possible and necessary judge of the cultural system (art, science, religion, praxis, and all social institutions); but at the end of the day, judge of itself only, since that system of culture i s—*only is*— its own expression; in other words, the collection of "facts of reason" Kant talks about. But that means:

On the other hand, that this rupture encourages a new dimension of time, which now shows its true substance of human time, as *time for rational work*; time that now appears as a door *towards the future*. Reason, in its own making, is self-care, disposition development, realization of the goals that it administers and which concern it.

It is now, when reason is being lived as foreseeing its time (the time of human life itself), when past histories lost with their multiple opaque protagonists in a time that depressed everything human into insignificance (although that insignificance was led by divine design); it is now —I repeat— that those histories wish to be understood under a unifying horizon. When human life is understood projectively, life situates itself before time as a realm that it possesses. Life being envisaged according to this sense of time, will the present not inevitably remain stricken by fear and condemned to inquietude?

This insecurity that surrounds the audacious enterprise evidently calls for continence when it comes to giving any precipitated, too triumphal or univocal interpretation of the anthropocentric turn that we are sketching. The secularised idea of "human realization" has the face of the dream of reason-freedom. This brings us to our next question: to what extent are the gods of modernity really powerful and capable of fulfilling humanity? Before I concentrate on this issue I will make a brief reflection.

Backdrop: Christianity and Secularization[3]

The idea of plenitude or institutionalised plenitude of man was obviously alive in the religious-theological perspective. It is for this

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[3] I point to a very involving and ambitious subject that I would not know how to develop with success —but which somehow directs this presentation. I stop for a moment on these concepts to simply warn that what Europeans call "modernity" is inscribed —to use Zubiri's words— within the "Christian horizon." This said, I would like to raise the question of whether we should revise the way we comprehend the

reason that it was repeatedly remembered —and I believe this is an important truth— that the concepts of nation and/or state are indeed categories of sacred measures, references assumed by mankind in Europe as a reaction to the loss or weakening of other references which institutionalised the sense of the humane as 'salvation' through faith (let us think of the idea of Christianity, institutionalised in the Church, the *perfecta societas*).

In effect, within the social perspective of Christendom, the community of believers —*communitas*— recognised its perfect legal conformation in the Church (in spite of the variety, or of the obstacles which emerged on the course of the realization of that *perfecta societas*).

In any case, as modernity advanced, the *faith* that was initially socially identified with the Church was gradually transferred to the new *belief* of nation/people, a *communitas* which, from the freedom of its members, aims at —although not necessarily always— its legal configuration within the State as the new *perfecta societas*. This change carried with it a chain of problems and theoretical and practical conflicts, such as the opposition between the social/public and the private; the individual and the personal; the dimensions of individual identity and social identity, or of individuals and citizens.

(Maritain, for example, instrumentalised a philosophical distinction, which joined Aristotelian roots and ideas from the Christian scholastic tradition —a subtle distinction between individual and person— in order to organise the goals of social human life into a hierarchy: the individual for the State, the State for the person and the person for God, supplying philosophical-anthropological bases to Christian democracies, thus trying to elaborate the tension that goes from the pursuable and doable plenitude in the profane order, to what is irreducibly transcendent-religious-sacred.)

This indicates us that the way the singular human life, the individual, the person, is determined in those structures is absolutely decisive for

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meaning of the rise of "Christianity" in human life. The theme of "Christianity = salvation" provokes an immediate interpretation of modern secularization as rebellion against God, something that deep down is hard to believe, unless we confuse rebellion against God with anticlericalism, which are neither always nor necessarily unequivocal signs of secularisation. Zubiri has clearly outlined the primacy of the meaning of Christianity as "deification" and the merely consequential character of its sense as "salvation" in in work *El problema teologal del hombre: Cristianismo.* Madrid, Alianza: 1997 (work published after his manuscripts courses).

In any case, what I write under this title is only trying to briefly, and insufficiently, point at the modern destiny of a specific concept: *perfecta societas*.

the sense of those social totalities. Reciprocally, the scope of human plenitude that is projected in those structures will indicate the sense given to human life. That was exactly Maritain's concern. Nowadays, debates around all of this are still going on.

I understand that examining the theological scheme that underlies this face of modernity can be useful to escape from false alternatives. Venturing slightly into it, I would say that the theological scheme that the concepts of "nation" and "state" reflect virtually operates in different ways depending on modernity's interpretation of the moment the *communitas* was founded from the standpoint of its reflexive and critical assumption. In effect, people or nation, as the *communitas* which assumes its social being and projects its political institutionalization, can be understood as given facticity in which one is inserted —just as the theological gift of grace which saves; so, from there, the *communitas* rules the fulfilling institutionalization —*societas*— as something that is powerfully and instinctually imposed from within. That is how it was understood at the beginning of the 19th century in German circles, and how it still continues to be understood today in many theorizations.

However, the concept can also be understood in a more constituent-active manner, emphasising the determination of the freedom that projects the fulfilling institutionalization of the *communitas* under the reciprocal universal recognition sustaining it. From this standpoint, every facticity of *communitas* in which all mankind finds itself being, looks for the ultimate possibility in the radically opened dimension of universal reciprocal recognition. It is for this reason that such facticity is know to be always historical and always in a disposition for configuration and open institutionalization.

In both cases, the antique theological structure is deposed and its management is transferred to the new protagonist subject of political institutionalization, namely modern man acting and legitimising the social conformation, from freedom, under its own name and under its own care.

To my judgment, in the first case the "transfer" is —although in the new mundane perspective of existence— a theological "repetition", since the sense-feeling of graciously belonging (*ex* inarguable *gratia*, I mean) to a factic *communitas* lived as an experience of faith by the subjects concerned and restricted to spatial-temporal limits of experience propitiated by that real-physical facticity, is maintained. Consequently, the conformative social praxis which is ready to be assumed and administered will be necessarily inscribed in that sacred space.

In the second case, the importance of the action —factically regardless of the place of the group from which it emerges— is

attributed to *the human himself* which turns out to be, simultaneously, the place administering and legitimising the praxis and the unexceedable absolute in which it occurs. Although the temporal space concretion in which human life generates group interrelations and social and political praxis, will always enhance such an absolute...

I believe that being aware of the different ways of interpreting the primary-foundational helps us to calibrate what we mean when we characterise the socio-theological eclipse of modernity as "secularization". To my judgement, the second possibility constitutes a strict and simple mundanization (secularization) of the theological structure of salvation, because it places us before a situation of "divinization" of *the human*, which maintains the universalized tension of what it views as 'salvation', or perhaps better now, as "human totality". However, if I have not described it too poorly, "divinization" is not of what is human in its universality (genitive objective), but rather concerns a spatial temporal concrete collectivity and the salvation and destiny of those individuals defined in its womb; in this case, more than being before an emancipation of rationality, we are before some kind of "idolatric return."

With this brief *ex-cursus* I point to a great area of discussion, which I take for granted. From my viewpoint, its centre of gravity and its elucidation must be situated in an anthropological perspective, which does not polarise individual and social human dimensions but rather makes an effort to explain them from a standpoint of co-belonging. I aim at distancing myself from any dialectic of "state"/"nation" basing my approach on the formal frame of modernity, this is, referring to the modern potentiality of the concepts that serve us as guide[4].

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[4] I believe that existing theorizations about this dialectic do not sufficiently delve into this human "duality", but they rather precipitately approach it as a litigation of practical-political alternatives. I do not know profounder positions, at the same time as realistic as the ones X. Zubiri developed about structural duality in mankind. As a reality (a), as an animal of realities, or person (b), as a reality in the genetic *phylum* (c), man is individual. Due to this version of phyletic character, man cohabits and makes society. Cf. X. Zubiri. *Sobre el hombre*. Madrid, Alianza, 1986.

In any case, I would like to insist on the fact that the explanation for the nationalistic drift is, in my opinion, better inscribed in the hinge of the implantation of modernity, as a position which far from consisting of a strict secularization of a premodern theological scheme, develops an idolatric investment of itself, as I have just suggested. The idol is a type of symbol and the symbol is a totalizing concept. But this totalization of the idol is ruled from and by the most concrete and determining feeling; it is always experiential, at hand. In our issue: land, blood, language.

It is evident, historically speaking, that the problem's genesis lies in the secularizing processes entailed in the international war in which Europe is immersed, shaken by the

In short, and to our purpose, I believe we could "summarise" modernity as the position which totalizes the comprehension of *the human* in the socio-political horizon: that is to say, it conceives what is human as determined to fulfil a social organization that establishes the legality of law, in which what is human is fulfilled.

In what follows, I will focus on the question raised above. Will I do so in order to answer it? I would not dare to do such a thing. I will limit myself to pursuing the reflection somehow more concretely, appealing first to Kant as the great current reference precisely when it comes to the problem of the realization of morality in historical life. Kant calibrated the "divine" sense of the "gods" of modernity subduing them to the challenge of their never-ending transformation under the cosmopolitan principle. And all under the basic assumption that what can nourish, in history, the very slow advance of such a challenge is the absolute primacy of the dimension of morality in human life.

That is why Kant is the author where secularization has, at the same time, the deepest impulse and the most critical continence and measure. Let us try to analyse him closer.

Anthropology and Politics: Historical Reason

The socio-political phase of Kantian thought has been projected in writings defined as "minor" yet immensely important, indeed the "ripe fruits" of his thought. The modesty that it is attributed to them is based on Kant´s attempts to not tear off the political in order to let it be seen from its backdrop, from the anthropological question or from the existentially pressing question which keeps modernity in suspense: what is man?; what can this species with such a high idea of itself expect of itself and of its making in the world?

If reason is such a high endowment, why is human life so pitiful and history a process so little gratifying and fulfilling? Indeed, what experience throws at us, such as the chain of human facts, is anything but rationality: passions, conflicts, violence, war: a tremendous sarcasm is what history gives back to us... How can we explain this? How could

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revolution after 1789 and specially after 1792. The proclamation of the right of peoples to self-determination questions monarchical law. War is overly determined once again in Europe (which already knew a lot about religious wars) from feelings that appeal to tradition and/or the sacred., because the concept of 'nation' is used to appeal to both the "sacrality" stemming from the past and the subtle newly minted 'sacrality' that republican France hoists.

we dare to "tell history" with some sense? *Historia magistra vitae*, said the classical thinkers, but which lesson does history enclose? What could be said about human life contemplated in this total time frame which encloses the entire series of generations and contains all human works?[5]

With these questions Kant looks for the ability to make historical reason, the historical reason of a human *civitas* - since history before us is not *civitas Dei*. Kant proceeds to totalise history with a cosmopolitan perspective, i.e. considering the totality of individuals of the species in the unity of history's "forum" of the one history (allow me the redundancy). And one more step, he goes on to look for the understanding of human actions —so disparate and ridiculous, so opposed among them and so diversely oriented— under the hypothesis that the whole has a unity of design, that it follows a plan of nature about the rational being as a species; so despite all difficulties, the sense, the aim, or the limits of a march can be evidenced. A march protagonized by man according to a plan which is one *vis a tergo,* but one which does not stop *being the march of human freedom*.

With this, Kant wants critical reason, in view of historical reason, to promote political action as conscious pursuit of historical logic.

That plan is none other than the development of all dispositions enclosed in reason, the sole means man possesses —reason— to obtain any happiness or perfection from its nature. *But there is more*: the complete development of the dispositions of reason is beyond the limits of any individual life, it is an issue concerning the species; i.e. it is something that is carried out counting on those it finds in its current path, on the legacy of the past, and with a future perspective in mind. *But there is still something more:* the development of dispositions is always preceded by antagonism between the latter in society. Such is the foundational picture of the human creature in Kant's description: a picture with traces of biblical accounts, of the myth of Prometheus and of Christian glad tidings.

The subject of history is indeed a complicated and rare creature, more than due to the initial nature of its destination (an emancipated

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[5] I remember that Kant suggests here, as in the rest of the areas integrating culture, that the discourse known as "history" should constitute scientific knowledge. Cf. in the most relevant piece of work in this regard —*Idea of a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Sense (1784)*— his expectations regarding a sudden new Kepler, or a new Newton, who may transform the way historical knowledge is constructed. Their reflections, strictly philosophical as they are, simply try to prepare the ground for proving the formulation of principles that can put such work in motion.

reason of nature thrown upon the world, which is a mere programme of dispositions), due to the *unsociable sociability* which nourishes development. In fact, the resistance of individuals, each facing the rest, the competition between many who want the same for themselves, etc., expresses unsociability; but at the same time it awakens the development of its strengths, the effort to reach goals, the stimuli promoting the progress of culture and civilization[6].

The development of the arts, of techniques and sciences, the great dynamic of economic development characteristic of European society until the 18th Century, is woven by that game, which provokes interchanges, the creation of institutions, regulations, the elaboration of fairer laws... In all that, the good of reciprocal recognition and the advance of the sense of human dignity are involved; in short, all kinds of expressions of the freedom leading that march. To summarise, "thanks be given to the maliciously competitive vanity and to the excessive pride or desire to rule" —amongst many other manifestations of "unsociability"— without which the dispositions of reason would be eternally asleep. Everything conspires in favour of civilization, Kant tries to tell us.

Kant has needed to approach human life in search of the intention that directs it, in order to understand the meaning of human actions as a whole, to interpret its time according to human actions, and in order to engage human actions, throughout time, in the future commitments that they enclose and in the design to which they owe themselves. (This thought is not pure abstract philosophy.)

Assuming all of this, let us firstly say the following: Having skilfully described the trajectory of European culture, Kant points out the key agent for the mobilization of his society: the autonomous citizen, capable of thinking by himself *(sapere aude!)*, politically active, and finally, creator or constructor of the State which symbolises him and sustains him.

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[6] To begin with, it is convenient to bear in mind that Kant establishes a triple level of human action: 1. Level of *ability* associated with technical disposition. 2. Level of *prudence* associated with the pragmatic disposition in which happiness is pursued. 3. Level of the *wisdom-morality* associated with moral disposition.

Ability, prudence, morality are the doctrines which correspond to the diverse national rules of procedures which govern action in each case. Ability is directed to production of external things; prudence, to the interaction of men with what is human, i.e. with other lives; and Wisdom-morality...where are they directed to?

These three levels are projected in the design of human fulfilment as three maturation levels: Culture-Civilization-Moralization. In terms of maturation levels, each one is surrounding the whole of the dispositions. Only that, as it happens with clothing, humanity has not as yet manufactured the perfect clothing integrating the triple perfection.

Secondly, Kant clearly sees the social and political process of Modernity both in need of overcoming the *status* in which modern classical States find themselves and "obliged" to build a new type of State capable of a new political game and a still not attained degree of responsibility. This overcoming is necessary because the existing situation and interrelation of the state system has war embedded in it; and this paralysing situation is humanity's cry. The overcoming can only mean —according to this way of reading history— the proper legal illustration of the State in the framework of an internal civil constitution.

In such proposal, along with the assumption of an unsatisfactory situation, there is a hidden critical principle related to anthropological suppositions. I mean, the proposal of concrete political action is presided by the idea of a goal or an aim in history (that towards which the design of rationality has a tendency to) drawn in congruence with the dynamic experimented by Europe, that is to say, the achievement of a *civil society that administers law in general*.

It is a society in which *maximum liberty under external laws* is powerfully and irresistibly united; in other words, it is about the accomplishment of a *perfectly fair civil constitution*.

The task of the constitution of a civil society administering law as ultimate goal or horizon —since Kant warns us that we are far away from this objective— allows us, however, to determine the action that such a horizon propels as possible and as essential. Kant determines these actions-tasks:

—The implementation of an external *legal relation between the States and/or*
—The constitution of a "Federation of States," where what is relevant is the constitution of *united potential (Macht) and united will according to laws*. The federation or pact between States is described by Kant in the same terms describing the goal. However, evidently, the possibilities of incurring that realization in the order of the States are much greater, since there is greater order formality involved in such constitution.

As we are seeing, the proposals are not only political programmes ready to confront the stormy conflicts of history that Western civilization drags (they are also that). No. From Kant's viewpoint, they have a worthy function as design keys that direct the course of human history in favour of the full development of all the dispositions anchored in reason. (In general, we could say, as it has been currently recognised by political science, that the greatest political advances or intents of Western culture in the last century are not far from Kant's plans.)

War and peace; culture and civilization or the road to legality

The *unsociable sociability* which dynamises history offers us the unadulterated diagram of its countenance in the phenomenon of war, of war as destructive violence of some against others. Even though Kant also covers in his descriptions the type of phenomena understood as "war" in primitive society, more attention is placed on the phenomenon of war as the type of ritualised human action that builds up self substantiveness in the political praxis, as a system of conflict resolution by armed force and in the instrumentalization of human lives which have not directly decided on war.

In this sense, "war" —and its counterpart "peace"— are the two greatest potentials of human life which affect the face of history, as strokes that embellish or distort the very sense of what in that face wants to be culture and civilization. Nonetheless, Kant does not allow us to understand war as an eventuality that could not be there abstractly. It is more complicated than that. The path that history travels points at war as something that can cease to exist, because something has been done with it. (This becomes essential since, I believe, for Kant the pure negation of war as a way of postulating pacifism does not enter into historical reason. Controlling war will be, thus, a difficult job.) However, war is not contemplated by Kant as a phenomenon with a perverse or negative face —which is there— but rather as one fulfilling a function in the social and universal perspective of rational action; precisely because it is the most quintessential expression of human "unsociabilities" that are emptied into civilization.

That is why the role of war in the course of life is literally intriguing: because it is the permanent subtraction of stability that seems to be looking for a life individually and socially centered. War does not allow one to live in peace. This seems obvious. (Even though Kant also warned us that life peace is not the peace of cemeteries). What Kant suggests is that the dreadful intrigue of war is from all points impossible to extirpate, and there is no reason for it to be extirpated regardless of *tempo* itself which develops sociopolitical human maturation, i.e. the process of civilization.

Hence, we cannot be surprised (even though the affirmation is difficult) by this Kantian anthropological-philosophical theoretical statement: "…Therefore, considering the level of culture in which humanity still remains, war still constitutes an unavoidable medium to make it advance."[7]

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[7] Vid. *Conjectures on the Beginning of Human History (1786).*

Nonetheless, what underlies this reflection that initially adopts an aura of lucidity —and I would like to make this clear— is a moral commitment. There is indeed restless lucidity, the lucidity of reason guided by interest, urged by self care. In reality, what concerned Kant in his historical epoch was that the system of peace in the despotic political system of European States had made war an omnipresent phenomenon , it had made it inexorably present as a return of the same. War: an endemic plague that deforms the human face of history with evil traits because it withers human wishes of more humanity[8].

Kant acutely observed the interpenetrated system of peace/war calibrating the existing intimate relation between the forms of liberty of individuals in the core of societies, the type of economic structures, generators of wealth and scientific and technical development and the types of political organization. Those correspondences in each case inexorably carry with them, as a thread that weaves them, a different type of bet in the game of war. That is the question. Said in other words, Kant's analysis always tries to detect the kind of social individual liberty that each type of structural situation creates, in reference to the ideal citizen of a universal civil society, which serves as a regulating idea. Evidently —and it is implied in what we are saying— what his reflections of past and present make evident is that the outline of the "universal citizen" advances in the darkness, to say it this way. (In the frame of bourgeois societies that sustain the state system Kant had before him when he wrote the *Idea*..., that citizen is clearly an economic subject —a very important step forward— but not yet fully a political subject...). Therefore, complementarily, it has to be observed that as long as the power of war is represented and manipulated by historical reasons that adopt the name of State, it is evident that citizen and State express another dimension of the tension between war and peace.[9]

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[8] Let us make a parenthesis about the European wars of the 20th Century of which Kant could not talk about. In a certain way, their absolute character or "total war" character as Jünger said and thought, would turn out to be a "mortal argument" vis-à-vis Kantian discourse on war. However, Kant would have thought that man had reacted in a proper Kantian manner after them, when the horror before the almost absolute experience of evil that they have implied has carried an evident mobilization of demands aiming at institutionalising peace, international relations... increasingly so in a cosmopolitan code. But this perspective is too challenging, in the frame of this reflection, for me to simplify it here. I refer among other works to the studies that appear in Sánchez Durá, N. (ed): Ernst Jünger: *Guerra, Técnica y Fotografía* Valencia, Universidad de Valencia, 2002.

[9] Kant always refers to the individual in the heart of societies considering him or her the vitalising element of historical reason. Of course, Kant always paid attention to the

In short, if it is true that war and peace play a dynamizing function of the development of humanity, Kant´s assertion that war is "the greatest disgrace of civilised nations" denounces that specific European situation which we have referred to. Even though the outcome was not what Kant was foreseeing, the Revolution indeed came to agree with him[10]. That is why before the Revolution, the existing system of States making war disturbed him and he showed pessimism regarding its prompt transformation. In this context prior to the Revolution, the idea of perpetual peace was simply that: an idea on the horizon[11]. Sometime later, when the civil constitution was dinamised with the advent of the republican state, Kant wrote as someone who sees that it is time to lift war to a different level: institutionalising or constitutionalizing peace.

The dynamization of legal relations among States, the constitution of pacts among nations under laws, etc… have become realisable tasks. This gives Kant the perfect occasion to take the idea of perpetual perfect peace to an Essay or an outline of perpetual Peace; i.e. of terms under which "an agreement among nations" can be established, that takes war into consideration, lifting it to a different level, legalizing the behaviour with it, in order to make it impossible. We are in front of a sketch which inscribes peace in a framework of *legality*. The power of civilization that encloses this proposal of legality is unquestionable.

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effects of any political action/situation in the life of society, the place where the march of liberty is measured. In other words, the primary reference of freedom to the strongly distinguished will in individuals is undoubtedly Kant.

[10] I want to insist: obviously Kant's political thought is forged in the historical experience of his particular time and age. Kant´s diverse political works can be commented upon according to each of the European historical events that Kant experienced. This said, I do not believe that the Kantian political proposals can be considered less current or inadequate for this reason; instead, they ought to be contemplated from the normative place in which they are formulated, in other words, from their critical edge: there where the scope of human fulfilment is measured, the plenitude that is prevailing and reigning over the daily good that remains proposed as real action in each case. (I am thinking of the criticism of abstract humanism which unchains romanticism with darts that will point sharply at Kant).

[11] In *Idea...*, a paper motivated by critical-epistemological will, as we have explained in footnote 5, Kant presents the conceptual identity of the landmarks of progress in strict correspondence with a historical time, which is internal to them, so to speak, in a simple mode perhaps, i.e., without establishing any reflection warning us about the structure of that historical-human (and not physical) time, or about its form of totality, etc. Let us remember the assertion that the state of post-state or federative civilization implies experiencing all the hardships and evils of the unsocial sociability, "...so serious, that no wonder Rousseau longed for the state of nature...", said Kant.

Evil in history (in civilization) and the demand for moralization

The topic of unsociable sociability has its deepest roots in the religious context. However, now it appears as the detour or the burden of evil that Kant registers in the realm of freedom, as freedom in the moral sense. Not of freedom in its mere practical sense. That is to say, not of freedom as long as it is exteriorised —let us say— or shown in its generating actions of culture and civilization. It is freedom in the most real and ultimate sense, i.e., noumenic freedom, freedom in the moral sense, the one that finds itself —according to Kant— wounded and in pain due to a disposition to evil that is innate to it, of which it cannot be blamed, even though that does not free it from the responsibility in its choices.

Kant made these declarations about evil in 1792, in an article that was soon published again as the first part of his work *Religion within the Boundaries of Mere Reason (1793).* It explicitly tackles the question of radical evil, as something inherent to human nature, a principle opposed to the other innate principle of good.

It is obvious that the issue is inscribed in a context which is operating a secularization of Christian dogmatism, in this particular case of the dogma of original sin. However, the radicalism and novelty of the statement are still surprising. It is indeed unexpected if the rest of the historical-political works are considered. This said, I think the statement constitutes a good complement to the basic anthropological features that Kant sketched. Although we now see how what used to be a register of limits and schisms has become anthropological pessimism. (Of course, we had already heard the not very optimistic statement that man "is a twisted log from which nothing straight can be taken" in his work *Idea of a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Sense.*

Kant —eluding all explicit theological references— discovered evil trawling though human selfishness, before arrogance. It could be said then that evil is 'the other name' of unsociable sociability, although perhaps it should be said more precisely that it as inherent to humans as the impulse towards good is. Good/evil in free will, as deeply rooted tendencies root, sustain the unity of character of the rational being that we have seen unfold, in order to understand the mundane result of its actions as sociability-unsociable.

The mundanity of human action frames the reflection work, but —by definition— so does the work of man, as a measure of what is human; a work that we are profiling —since that is how it is profiled in modern European conscience— as a synthesis of a technical, economic

and legal progress that reaches its rational goal in a pacified society constituted in a legal whole in whose womb, as we have already vaguely seen, "man, although morally evil, is compelled to become a good citizen."

What Kant has said sounds or might sound as a postulate of the absolute predominance of political work, ignoring its moral deficit. However, the Kantian position is not such. Since Kant´s ultimate goal and motive is the search of the moral substance of the humane, which struggles through the work of culture and of civilization in the unity of the rational being. Hence, good (even in its inextricable nearness to evil) is in the root of action, of *all action*, the principal dispositional dimension (within the dispositional system which the human creature is).

This is not a dogmatic statement. The beginning of history is the emergence of rationality, and that emergence implies that man unattaches himself from nature's needs, in which the rest of beings are trapped, to enter a dynamism of choice and adventure. It is a risky path of work, pain, and blood.

The task of travelling this path, reviewed by Kant with the coldness of reason, has never stopped being accompanied by that experience. That is Kant´s major argument in favour of the statement that it makes no sense to summarize human progress in the cold external objectivity of *the products* of culture and civilization, since the surprise, the hard and cynical enigma on which preceding generations seemed to be working on for future generations, forces one to transfix the gaze over human life to that deeper demand for good that directs it; otherwise this creature would be thrown to the cruellest irrationality. All the pain of human life preceding us reveals a moral demand that challenges and takes us ...[12].

It is now when we should make explicit that the most radical of the dispositions of reason is its moral disposition, which supports all the rest. Freedom is a commitment of good/evil in the blurred mirror of absolute good and of the (sacred) will that only wants good. However, how can human actions serve the purposes of good? Lacking a definite answer for this, Kant has made his way and behind this search he has left his imprint on history. This is how Kant read it and understood it.

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[12] The romantic burst of the criticism of abstract humanism, criticism that revolts against the anthropological claim of illustrious thought that has thrown over our culture thoughts that I believe came from Kant. That in this point Kant could have been the critical pretext is now irrelevant. The classics always make us think...

We are now at a crossroads that makes us perceive the enormous burden that the modern man of European culture has placed on his back, since our anthropocentrism brings our moral identity back to us as well as the unpardonable moral sense of our actions. (To begin with, it is obvious that modern man has loaded himself, paradoxically, with tons of rational faith..., that "condemn" him, if he does not sufficiently reflect upon it, to the risk of leaving all of it on his back, and to thus remain suffering from a singular and now perverse unconsciousness made of imputable distraction and irresponsible behaviour.)

Culture, civilization (legality), moralization. illustration and moralization

With this double title I want to summarise the link between these concepts or landmarks of Kantian philosophy. We have understood, from the depths of what reason means, that for Kant the demand for moralization comprises the sense of rational action in history. And that history pursues human fulfilment as a search for absolute good. Morality is the perfect determination of man. But Kant has a problem in what he makes of his manifestation. In what he makes of his manifestation, the creation of man has, let us say, a merely political phenomenalistic appearance; it is the implantation of legality in the womb of which freedom positively looks for its centre.

We are facing the logical difficulty that results from the non-phenomenical nature of moral good, as the rigorous terminology of Kantian criticism have delivered it to us. Something that, on the other hand, supports our experience: the best laws do not seem to make man good. Sometimes we are still tempted to stay with Rousseau, when we find that the gadgets of our civilization seem to be encouraging our evil nature to act.[13]

Kant has not been too explicit about the encounter between morality and politics, although he has said enough to make us think. In fact, Kant has inspired very determining theories on the present that descry the two sides of the dilemma, in view of giving phenomenical mediation to morality (discourse ethics, for example, anchored in the fact of language; think of Habermas and Apel) and in order to fine

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[13] Kant has seen this clearly in another way, when he notices that a longer life would be unbearable for humans, since we would be condemned to experience the rough tracks of our unsociabilities even in relation to our loved ones. It is a fact that history unwraps the abyss of evil.

tune the civic construction of politics in theorizations about society and the State united as the communicative action theory, or embarked upon as theories of justice (think of Habermas again, and in Rawls and in the constellation following him: Nozick, Dworkin, Buchanan).

To my understanding, Kant´s explicit approximations to the subject[14] do not do anything other than make explicit what is beating in the depth of his interpretation of history and of our historic task. And they lead me to believe that the issue has certain clear profiles in the socio-political horizon. With those I intend to give life to the Kantian concept of moralization, understood as the dimension that *measures* the stages of culturalization and civilisation in human actions. I think that we can talk about the dimensions of moralization of human life from various fronts:

Firstly: Moralization in its mediations. With this I refer to a line of thought that delves into Kantian discourse and has various moments:

One: *Moralization, on our back.* The non-phenomenal moralization walks through the perfecting of culture and civilization. This is quite evident taking into consideration that culture and civilisation are not goals by themselves. Kant explains this in different ways, especially when he permits himself the audacity of asking those who sceptically question the progress of humanity, for proof to the contrary. Kant reasons that we feel invaded by the greatest of nonconformities before their horrors, because we are looking from an increasingly high balcony. There is where he puts moral demands, letting our indignation be oriented to the improvement of the technical practical decisions of civilization. The judgement of both rational faith and critical demand therefore imposes.

Two: *Moralization, perfecting legality, reigned by criticism.* In this sense, the task of perfecting the forms of cohabitation under the principle of the civil constitution is a regulating force. And in that sense, I believe we can describe the reflections by Habermas in *Beyond the Nation-State*, the first work contained in the book which appeared in Trotta with this title in 1997, as Kantian-based analyses[15].

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[14] Vid. The little work written in 1793, that is usually briefly cited as *Teoria-Praxis*. See also the two appendices to *Perpetual Peace.*

[15] What is interesting about the Habermasian text is that it makes us think about the citizen-State correlation and about its current manifestation. It would be all about founding the type of political action that sublimates (allow me the expression) the abstraction of the state liberating it from its 'national' content, and at the same time allowing that its subject be the citizen who is integrally whatever he is and wants to be in his determination. See the splendid introductory work by my colleague at the University of Valencia, Professor M. Jiménez Redondo.

Secondly: Moralization, fundamental openness. This could appear heterodoxical, speaking in Kantian terms. However, I say it provocatively, trying to open a wound, which allows us to adequately relate, without confusing them, "moralisation" as an effectual dimension in history and morality itself in its essentiality. With this I refer to suggestions I find in Kantian texts which examine the moral *deficit* of civilization, when situations are embedded in it which restrict civilised fulfilment. Kant expressly says that such situations "restrict the work towards moralization." (Cf. *Idea...VII* among other possible texts.) The Kantian words speak in this precise moment —as someone who points to what remains impeded— of the "slow effort that is applied to the interior formation of the way of thinking," in danger of marginalizing itself if the states give preference to energies in vain expansionistic desires...

In this front we find one great Kantian suggestions: the *moralization consists, at first, in the work for the metanoia (education).* To my judgement, we clearly have here, at the limit, a human course of action recognised as moralization, because it returns to the work of civilization to value it. It is critical work, of course, assumed in its most fundamental critical sense, in its role of *metanoia.* It is a course of human action that, in its essence, is work of reason's "internal life". Moralization is spiritual exercise and/or work towards "conversion."[16] Kant always talks in a secularised code, and in that code, this task is an exercise of critical reflection, since it does not have more support than civilised life itself. A work that can be inscribed within the limits of legality construction, as beginning of the always necessary educational programme of individuals and society.

In this front or from this limit, is it not clear that morality was already always there and that culture and civilization are always in that beginning? With this I want to say that the task of moralization has them always in question.

Therefore, I think Kant has the floor in our European culture so that Europe may be recognised in its history as humanity's task, appealing to the conscience (critical lucidity) that the task of humanity is substantially a task of moralization.

I conclude: the Kantian look at history is ambitious, but I understand that at the same time it is modest and instructing. He tells us that there are no absolute beginnings neither of truth nor of good, even though truth and good are absolute values. Neither are there reasons, either subjective or collective, isolated or isolatable. We are always on the

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[16] This concept shows up in the same context as evil, in *Religion Within the Boundaries of Mere Reason.*

path and the path has direction: and we have to represent its beginning and end, in order not to get lost. All that signifies that we go on that path condemned to a duty: criticism and criticism; if we have understood everything well, we know that this means self-care and care for humanity, individually and "as a whole," since —as Kant expressively said— "all the good that is not soaked in a morally good feeling, is no more than pure dry foliage and a miserable lentil" (*Idea...VII).*

21.
Multicultural and Non-Racist Science Education. New Approaches and Strategies for the Learning of Science in a Multicultural Setting

Berta Marco Stiefel

Science Education
"Castroverde" Foundation, Spain

Some preliminary reflections

Research on Science Education is highlighting the importance of considering citizenship education as an approach of scientific curricula[1]. This implies taking into account the different peoples, languages, races, identities, etc. that shape Western societies. Science itself refers to culture, but, which culture are we referring to?

The migratory movement is completely transforming the European setting: the faces we meet, the music we hear, the poverty we see around us, the fights of so many people to settle in our own country in search of better living conditions: prosperity, education, health, work... We are starting to be multicultural. In only a few years, Spain has become a sort of paradise or holy land for many people who were formerly unknown to us.

At the beginning of the 2002 school year, 67.000 new immigrant children were schooled in Madrid, 10.000 more than the previous year[2]. How should we face this reality? The whole school system is affected. Nowadays, a new educational reform has been implemented in our country based on "quality" of education. How can we reach

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[1] Membiela, P. (2001). *Enseñanza de las Ciencias desde la perspectiva Ciencia-Tecnología-Sociedad. Formación científica para la ciudadanía.* Editorial Narcea, Madrid.
On scientific literacy, volume 2, number 1, of the *Canadian Journal of Science, Mathematics & Tecnology Education*, January 2002.

[2] *ABC* Madrid. "El curso empieza con 67.000 alumnos inmigrantes". p. 45.

these desirable quality levels when our social context is undergoing such continuous change?

In this article we are going to refer exclusively to one curricular area. We will try to explain the special contribution of the field of Science towards a more multicultural, inclusive and tolerant society, according to the new trends in Science education and to our own experience.

Some authors suggest a multicultural approach to Science Education so as to face the new demands of the future Science-literate citizenship. Being a scientifically active citizen implies not only knowing a reasonable amount of science but also being aware of its consequences for mankind, having developed lifelong learning skills and, what is more difficult, having an updated vision of history, philosophy and sociology of science. Both contents and vision of science are affected when a multicultural scientific approach is considered.

Defining multicultural Science education

Multicultural education is concerned, firstly, with learning-related problems derived from cultural diversity within the classroom and with the educational challenges created by children from ethnic, cultural or religious minorities. Secondly, it refers to taking advantage of cultural diversity in order to improve knowledge, attitudes and social skills of school children. There are some models of multicultural education that will not be dealt with here: the *assimilationist approach*, the *integrationist* approach, the *cultural mosaic* and the *cultural pluralism* approach.

In this paper we shall refer to a multicultural and non-racist Science education approach suggested by Hodson. He asserted the following:

> (Multicultural science education) "comprises three basic elements: education of diverse cultural groups through a wide range of cultural experiences, throughout life, in a multiracial and multiethnic society at both a local and a global level. The ultimate goal is the promotion of social cohesion through critical awareness and the establishment and maintenance of a socially just society through the acceptance and celebration of diversity, the enhancement of self-esteem and the elimination of racism"[3].

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[3] Hodson, D. (1993). "In Search of a Rationale for Multicultural Science Education". *Science Education*, 77, 6, pp. 685-711.

Considering scientific literacy a major goal for Science education and also an important tool to build the new citizenship, the NSTA declares that:

—Schools are to provide Science education programs that nurture all children both academically and physically, and that help them develop a positive self-concept.
—Children from all cultures are to have equitable access to quality Science education experiences that facilitate their academic success and provide the knowledge and opportunities required for them to become successful participants in our democratic society.
—Curricular contents must incorporate the scientific contributions of different cultures.
—Science teachers have to be aware of the different modes of Science knowledge building according to the different cultural traditions.
—Teaching strategies must recognise and respect differences among students based on their respective cultures.
—Science teachers have the responsibility of preparing children in such a way that they all have the same opportunities in their future studies[4].

Banks puts forward, in a pioneer article[5], several dimensions for multicultural change that could be applied to the field of Science as follows:

—*Content integration*: contents from different cultures and new and non-discriminatory scientific contents.
—*Knowledge construction:* being aware of implicit social constructivism.
—*Prejudice reduction:* respect to ethnicity, race, etc.
—*Equitable pedagogy:* adapting teaching strategies to all cultures represented in the classroom.
—*Empowering school culture and social structure* to be more conscious of different cultures and their behaviours.

Research in Science Teaching has identified several factors affecting the multiculturalism of our schools:

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[4] National Science Teachers Association (NSTA) (2002). *NSTA Position Statement*, USA.
[5] Banks, J. (1994). "Transforming the mainstream curriculum". *Educational Leadership*, 51, 8, pp.4-8.

—Science curricular content is often exclusively Western in orientation.
—Many curricular materials are covertly racist and sometimes, sexist.
—Teaching and learning methods are inappropriate for the cultural traditions of minorities.

1. The image of the scientist as the controller, manipulator and exploiter of the environment is in conflict with the cultural values of some children.

These statements have to be considered when a multicultural approach is taken in the field of Science.

Towards an effective multicultural Science education

The European context is presently composed of a primarily European population as well as of several other minorities, although a more detailed analysis could also lead us to distinguish other minorities within each of the European countries. However, it is always the case of a strong dominant culture interacting with other different borderline cultures.

In order to promote a more interactive multicultural Science, we propose three guidelines that should be taken into account in the design of new curricula:

1. To integrate scientific frontiers in order to avoid racial prejudice.
2. To demythologise science.

    —Avoiding the current stereotypes.
    —Changing the conventional view of the nature of Science.
    —Incorporating scientific contributions from different cultures.

3. To re-conceptualize a cultural perspective for Science education.

    —Towards a "border-crossing" perspective: a point of view of Western countries.
    —From a multicultural science to a multi-Science perspective in Science teaching: a point of view of Eastern countries.
    —The merging of both approaches: Science education in a multicultural and multiscientific setting and border crossing between cultures and subcultures.

To integrate scientific frontiers in the Science curriculum to avoid racial prejudice

Recent reforms in the Science curriculum lack an analysis of the relevance of curricular contents, which must be reconsidered in the light of the new scientific conquests. Although this has not been yet accomplished, there is an urgent need to integrate these new topics because several of them are challenging our view of the world and, most importantly, our view of humanity. Scientific biological frontiers, primarily from the field of genetics, provide us with some examples of scientific relevance for the lives of our pupils:

On the concept of "genome" and its relevance

Humans are much more than the mere product of their genome, but in a sense we are, both collectively and individually, defined by the genome. The mapping, sequencing and analysis of the human genome is therefore a fundamental advance in self-knowledge.

> "The human genome underlies the fundamental unity of all members of the human family, as well as the recognition of their inherent dignity and diversity. In a symbolic sense, it is the heritage of humanity". *(Taken from the Universal Declaration on the Human Genome and Human Rights).*

Immediately after the publication of the human genome sequence, many authors reflected upon its significance:

> *"Humanity has been given a great gift. With the completion of the human genome sequence, we have received a powerful tool for unlocking the secrets of our genetic heritage and for finding our place among the other participants in the adventure of life"*[6].

On the concept of "race" after the genomic sequence

In only a few years, a scientific revolution has taken place: the sequencing of the human genome has indeed been considered a hallmark, the most important breakthrough, in the field of the biological Sciences. "A new vision of ourselves", has being said.

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[6] Jasny, B. R. y Kennedy, D. (2001). "The human genome". *Science magazine* web site: http://www.sciencemag.org/genome2001/1153.html

The official announcement of the facts and the original papers in which the sequences were published, provided us with important ideas on the concepts of *race* and *genome* that should be incorporated into the Science curriculum.

On June 26, 2000, at the White House, in the presence of President Clinton and Francis Collins, Craig Venter, former President of Celera Corporation, delivered an address to announce the results of the first draft of the human genome sequence. On that occasion, Venter referred to the concept of "race" in the following terms:

> "We have sequences from the genomes of three females and two males who have identified themselves as Hispanic, Asian, Caucasian, and African American. We did this initial sampling, not in an exclusionary way, but out of respect for the diversity that is America, and to help to illustrate that the concept of race has no genetic or scientific basis. In the five Celera genomes there is no way to tell the ethnicity of one from another. Society and medicine treats us all as members of populations, whereas as individuals we are all unique and population statistics do not apply"[7].

Later on, on the Commencement Address at Georgetown University, immediately after the events, Venter explained:

> *"In my view, one of the most important outcomes from our sequencing of the human genetic code is clear support for the notion that race is a social concept, not a scientific one. We sequenced the genomes of 5 individuals, 3 females and 2 males of self-identified ethnicity as Chinese, Hispanic, African-American or Caucasian. Looking at the genetic code we can tell who is male and who is female but we cannot determine who is Chinese, Hispanic, African-American or Caucasian. There will be those who want to continue to use the genetic code as a means of discrimination, but with education we will all learn that our life outcomes are not genetically pre-determined"*[8].

The year after, when the sequence was finished, Venter and Collins, the two leaders of the Project, explained how there were minimal genetic differences between humans. As a consequence, the concept of *human genome* was clarified.

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[7] Venter, C. Texto difundido por Celera Corporation el 27 de junio del 2000 (http://www.celera.com).
[8] Venter, C. Commencement Address Georgetown University. Graduate Schools of Arts & Sciences. 17 May, 2002. Internet:
http://www.georgetown.edu/grad/resources/venter-speech.html.

Integrating the multicultural perspective on the curriculum contents: the case of the rice genome

On the 5th of April, two groups of researchers reported a draft DNA sequence of rice —a fundamental staple food for more than half the world's population, according to *Science* magazine[9]. The results came from two rice varieties, the strain known as *indica,* from China and other Asian- Pacific countries, and another strain known as *japonica,* popular in the arid regions and particularly in Japan. This breakthrough is expected to enable scientist to engineer genetically-modified rice strains resistant to drought, salinity and insects.

The results of this research opened the way to the sequencing of the genome of other staple-diet cereals such as maize (corn), sorghum and wheat. It is expected to impact global food production greatly. (Syngenta, for example, wants protection from its competitors).

Ongoing research depends on the interest of multinational companies in the problems which mainly affect Third World countries. Science Education should introduce this kind of topics in Science teaching when adopting a multicultural perspective. Apart from the specific scientific contents that underlie the genome sequence, students should be aware of:

—The diverse points of view on the consequences of this research, for example, the possibility of avoiding hunger in the Asian region.
—The availability of the rice genome data on the part of the research Institutes that carried out the sequences.
—Pros and cons of the uncontrolled spreading of GM crops.
—The importance of comparing data related to the production of rice, rice-dependent population, GM production, etc. in order to measure the magnitude of the accomplishment.
—The way ahead and its possibilities and limitations[10].

To start with, it is necessary to write an information sheet (to be handed out to the students) including the most original part of the topic and the social consequences of the results obtained. In the multicultural science approach we call that a *scenario*. It implies presenting the scientific results in their cultural or multicultural settings.

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[9] VVAA (2002). "A Draft Sequence of the Rice Genome (*Oryza sativa* L. Ssp. *Japonica*)". *Science*, 296, pp. 92-100, abril.

[10] More information about the sequence of the rice genome is available at the BBC web site: http://www.bbc.co.uk

For the case of the rice genome, these could be taken from the *ProfesNet* web site on the Internet[11]. Apart from this, it is good to give the students a few guidelines to search for more news on the topic on the Internet.

To demythologise science

Despite major efforts carried out in the past few years by a number of Science educators to direct the attention of teachers and curriculum developers towards history, philosophy and Science sociology, many scientific curricula continue to promote a deficient or distorted image of science. At the moment, researchers are concentrating on the vision of science held both by pupils and teachers.

Avoiding the current stereotypes

Solomon explored the stereotypes of scientists transmitted by English schools[12] (supposedly originated from the teacher's own beliefs) and those contained in curricular materials (often text books):

— Scientist (he is always a white male who works on his own).
— Isolated from the rest of the world (frequently working in a dark place under electric lights).
— Bald (and wearing thick glasses).
— Short of money (his clothes patched all over; spiders hanging from the ceiling).
— Carrying out risky experiments (explosions everywhere).
— Surrounded by strange machinery, etc.

Solomon's methodologies were repeated (children were invited to draw a scientist and were then interviewed) in a Spanish school population and the same results were obtained[13]. The drawings have identical characteristics.

When students were asked to draw more than one scientist (both men or women), they appeared isolated from one another and, when

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[11] http://www.profes.net
[12] Solomon, J. (1994). "Pupils's images of scientific epistemology". *International Journal of Science Education*, 16, 3, pp. 361-373.
[13] Domingo Pampliega, A. (1999). *Visión de los alumnos sobre los científicos. Aportaciones a la naturaleza de la ciencia en la Educación Secundaria Obligatoria*. Tesis de Maestría Máster IEPS-Universidad Carlos III, Madrid.

they drew women, these played the role of assistants to their male colleagues[14].

Regarding the concept of science, the most significant traits which define the stereotypes are: objectivity, inductivism, experiments´ absolute centrality, a value-free area, exclusively Western. These results coincide with those of the ongoing research on the beliefs of Science teachers with regards to science and technology. As a consequence, school science has inherited the scientific thought of the 19th century: inductive science, value-free, objective, based on experimental evidence, without social or human consequences.

Our interest on a multicultural scientific education demands questioning the image of Science presented in schools: its purpose, its methods, the role and status of scientific knowledge, the nature of scientific evidence, the criteria of validity employed by its practitioners, and the way in which scientific knowledge is recorded and transmitted[15].

A multicultural science education has to provoke a change in the vision of science and scientists. It is necessary to introduce contents taken from the history of Science in which female scientists, scientific team work, etc. is common. At the same time, controversial issues (the environment, cloning, GM foods, mother cells, genome results...) should be dealt with in the classroom[16].

With regards to the formation of Science teachers, programmes for both initial training and lifelong learning have to be revised according to the new vision of the nature of Science.

Changing the conventional view about the nature of Science

Nowadays, there is an open debate on international Science Education magazines with regards to the nature of science. Recently, an author wrote a paper asking for "rational goals" for the nature of science in Science curricula. In our view, the most important problem is formulating a "model", in accordance with the current view of science, that is adequate for Science education so that it can be included in the

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[14] Matthews, B. (1994). "What does a chemist look like?". *Education in Chemistry*, 31, 5.

[15] Hodson, D. (1993). "In Search of a Rationale Multicultural Science Education". *Science Education*, 77, 6, pp. 685-711 and Hodson, D. (1999). "Going Beyond Cultural Pluralism: Science Education for Sociopolitical Action". *Science Education*, 83, 6, pp. 775-797.

[16] Ibáñez Orcajo, T. y Marco Stiefel, B. (1996). *Ciencia Multicultural y No Racista. Enfoques y estrategias para el aula*. Apuntes IEPS n.º 63. Narcea, Madrid.

Science curricula and no time is wasted in the development of the classical programmes of philosophy of Science. We have recently proposed a "model" on the nature of Science, valid for Science education, which combines: the latest work by T.S.Kuhn (his afterthought), entitled *The way from Structure*[17] in a recent publication and which contains the remaining original elements of this author´s thinking; a few elements on Sociology of Science, and some features from History of Science, especially that referring to Science revolutions and studies of historical cases[18].

This model should be introduced in teacher training programmes and, in turn, act as an umbrella for Science teaching.

Incorporating scientific contributions from different cultures

Further implications of a multicultural science lead us to re-examine the contents of Science lessons. Generally speaking, Science contents seem decontextualised. Most students view orthodox scientific content as having little or no relevance to their cultures of origin. Science is universal and, from time immemorial, its contributions ultimately belong to people from very different countries. This fact should become clear in Science lessons.

We propose two ways to transform scientific contents:

—One is teaching history of Science from a multicultural perspective. This implies incorporating both biographies and papers from scientists (males or female) from different cultures. The Nobel Prize Archive available on the Internet provides us with important historical resources.

—The other one implies introducing current issues in Science lessons in their real contexts, using scientific magazines or the Internet to get information. For example, pupils could search how the *Ebola* virus affected the Kikwit (Congo) population some years ago. They could then be asked questions on the nature of viruses, their varieties, infection modes, etc.

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[17] Kunhn, T. S. (2002). *El camino desde la estructura*. Paidós, Barcelona.
[18] Marco Stiefel, B. (2002). "La naturaleza de la ciencia, una asignatura pendiente en los enfoques CTS. Retos y perspectivas". Paper presented in the *II Seminario Ibérico sobre CTS en la Enseñanza de las Ciencias Experimentales*. University of Valladolid, 1-3 July 2002.

To re-conceptualise a cultural perspective for Science education

One of the greatest verifications of students from developing countries is their feeling that school Science has nothing to do with their lives. Their beliefs stem from fundamental differences between the culture of Western science and their indigenous cultures. Interestingly, many students in industrialised countries also share this feeling of foreignness. These significant questions suggest a more "cultural" approach to Science teaching.

From the viewpoint of cultural anthropology, to learn Science is to acquire the culture of Science. To reach such a goal, students must travel from their everyday life world to the world of Science of their Science classrooms. Different cultural processes are involved in the acquisition of Science culture.

Towards a border-crossing perspective: a point of view from Western countries

Studies on multicultural Science Education focused firstly on the multiculturalism of the group of students that attended Science lessons. Recently, Aikenhead[19] pointed out that learning Science for a group of multicultural students implies the crossing of another border, that of the *subculture of Science.*

> *"I shall argue -he said- that science educators need to recognise the inherent border crossings between student's life-world subcultures and the subculture of science, and that we need to develop a curriculum and instruction with these border crossing explicitly in mind, before the science curriculum can be accessible to most students" (Aikenhead, 1996).*

Students' understanding of the world can be viewed as a cultural phenomenon, and learning at school as culture acquisition, where culture means: customs, attitudes, values, beliefs, worldview, languages, etc. Within every culture group there exists subgroups mostly identified by race, language, ethnicity, gender, social class, occupation, religion, etc. Consequently, an individual simultaneously belongs to several groups. This is the way people build their own *cultural identity*, assigning partnerships.

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[19] Aikenhead, G. (1996). "Science Education: Border Crossing into the Subculture of Science". *Studies in Science Education*, 27, pp.1-52.

We need to recognise that Science itself is a subculture of Western or Euro-American culture, and so Western science can be thought of as a "subculture of science". Scientists share a well —defined system of meanings and symbols with which they socially interact. The dominant features of Western science are the following: mechanistic, materialistic, masculine, reductionist, mathematically idealised, pragmatic, empirical, elitist, impersonal, rational, universal, decontextualised , etc.

Closely associated with subculture science is *school Science culture,* which expects students to acquire scientific norms, values, beliefs, expectations and conventional actions and to make them a part of their personal world to a greater or lesser extent. School science has been observed by educational researchers as attempting, but often failing, to transmit an accurate view of Science. Unfortunately, the science curriculum provides students with a stereotyped image of science that could be not imperialistic but certainly so, discriminatory. Disparities abound between the subculture of science and the student's cultural background. Other subcultures emerge from different spaces the students are associated with: family, colleagues, the media… However, despite the fact that students have to cross cultural borders in their Science lessons, these borders seem invisible to educators.

With regards to curricular implications, Aikenhead proposes Science teaching as an attempt at *enculturation* or *assimilation* (the cultural transmission that either respectively supports or replaces each student´s subculture).

From a multicultural Science to a multi-science perspective in Science teaching. A point of view from Eastern countries

Beyond multicultural science education, a new curricular movement coming from the East has emerged. Masakata Ogawa, Associate Professor of Science Education in Abaraki University, Japan, published on 1995 a famous paper in which he proposes the relativisation of science in the science education context[20]. A multi-science perspective recognises two levels in science, the personal and the social and, as a consequence, the existence of various types of science which are at play in all science classrooms. They are called: *indigenous science*, *personal science* (from the personal level*)* and *Western modern Science* (social

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[20] Ogawa, M. "Science Education in a Multiscience Perspective". *Science Education*, 79, 5, pp. 583-593.

level), which have to be in continuos interaction within Science lessons. *Indigenous science* identifies with peoples´ cultural background. P*ersonal science* is the rational uniqueness of perceiving reality. *Western science* corresponds to the content of science curricula.

In a Science classroom with pupils from different cultural origins, teacher must be aware of the interactions and communications taking place between the three possible kinds of science and the various "mirrors" in which Western science is reflected.

Ogawa considers that although Western science has become less authoritarian and more multi-faceted, no change has yet taken place between the culture of the scientific community and other cultures concerned. Ogawa also proposes being aware of different possible levels of relativisation: the questioning of modern science within the scientific community, within Western modern tradition and within cultural contexts.

The merging of both approaches: Science education in a multicultural and multiscientific setting and border crossing between cultures and subcultures

The cultural perspective recognises conventional Science teaching as an attempt at transmitting a scientific subculture to pupils. However, cultural transmission can either be supportive or disruptive. In the case of the teaching of Science in a multicultural setting, crossing borders involve cultures and subcultures: the original cultures of the students and the cultures and subcultures of the official science, mostly Western. But, at the same time, the "official Science" interacts with the scientific subcultures of the media, the new technologies, etc.

When the multiscientific perspective is adopted, the scientific status changes completely to introduce a not-only-Western vision of Science which affects both the nature of Science and the contents of Science curricula. Contributions to science from different countries are to be incorporated. Apart from this, the epistemological view of science should be considered insofar as it provides a more universal and not only Western view of Science. Contents should be regarded from a multicultural perspective.

We are entering a new galaxy, a sort of scientific-cultural-anthropology[21]. Solutions for such a change are not at hand. Teachers ought to be fully aware of the magnitude of the ongoing change.

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[21] Hodson, D. (2001). "Inclusion without Assimilation: Science Education from an Anthropological and Metacognitive Perspective". *Canadian Journal of Science, Mathematics & Technology Education*, 1, 2.

22.
The Construction of European Identity the Business Framework

Juan Vallés
Businessmen Forum, Spain

Genesis of the European Union

At the beginning of the new millennium we are going through a turn of epoch, maybe also a turn of paradigms, although, as it always happens in History, a change like this does not occur overnight (in our case the turn of the century and the millennium) but rather takes place gradually from facts that History later on reveals as having been unique. The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and all the subsequent events which took place in the former Soviet Union and in the Eastern European countries probably constitute a historical moment, as do the terrible happenings of September 11, 2001.

If we look back at the 20th century, we think that one of its highlights could have been the initiation of the process of European unification, and consequently, the construction and definition of European identity.

The 20th century, with its two great atrocious wars and the rise of totalitarianism, was a major setback in the evolution of what we believe European culture should be. However, maybe because "desperate situations call for desperate measures", as the saying goes, it was not until the last Great War and the victory over fascism that the first steps towards European unification took place.

We could say that it was during the recount of material and spiritual losses of 1945 when the future fathers of Europe —Churchill, Monnet, Schuman, Adenauer or De Gasperi—, feeling imprisoned between the sickle and the hammer and the stars and stripes, developed the European ideal and put the integration of the continent in the hands of practical economists and lawyers.

In 1950, on May 9th to be precise, Robert Schuman, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, suggested that, in order to guarantee the maintenance of peace, France and Germany create an organization, open to other European countries, where their coal and steel resources —two basic products that had been used for military purposes— would be put together. Thus, in 1951, the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was born. Six were its members: Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and the Federal Republic of Germany; that is, France, Germany, Italy and the Benelux countries (the heart of Europe at the time).

Such organization was under the control of a parliamentary assembly which already anticipated the future European Parliament and, in 1957, the six member States of the ECSC signed the Treaty of Rome, with economic integration as its cornerstone. The European Economic Community (E.E.C.) and the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM) were, thus, born. From that moment onwards, the European Parliament had competence in the three areas included in the three Treaties, hence known as E.E.C. (European Economic Community or Common Market).

On 25 March, 1957, when the Treaty of Rome was being signed in the old capital of the Roman Empire, only a few probably imagined that the idea of integration would keep on advancing to the stage in which we find ourselves today. The foundations for the assertion of the European utopia were being laid, which, to our knowledge, should consist of the defence of a system of ethical and humanistic values, based on human rights, democracy, solidarity and the dignity of all peoples. This should be Europe´s letter of introduction to the world.

The process developed and in 1973, after countless obstacles were overcome, the United Kingdom, Denmark and Ireland joined in. The E.E.C. now had nine member States. In 1981, the tenth State, Greece, joined in, and in 1986, the adhesion of Spain and Portugal took place, which rose the number of European countries to a dozen. Simultaneously, the European Single Act was signed, which implied the creation of the great internal market which would make the Community a more integrated economic space.

In 1987, Turkey´s application was forwarded but fifteen years later it is still on the waiting list. On 9 November, 1989, the fall of the Berlin wall occurred and the European Economic Community launched its first aid programme in Central and Eastern European countries. On 3 October, 1990, the reunification of Germany took place, which constituted a veritable landmark in the process of European construction and highlighted the need to advance in social cohesion.

In 1992, the historical Treaty of Maastricht was signed, which modified and completed the Treaty of Rome with the creation of the Economic and Monetary Union and the Common Foreign Security Policy (CFSP), all of which shaped the contemporary European Union. In 1995, Austria, Finland and Sweden joined in, and the European Union reached the current figure of fifteen member States.

More dates and events could be mentioned in this slow and difficult process.

Let me tell you a short story I experienced a few years ago. I was talking to someone who had strong connections with numerous European organizations and institutions. I asked him for his opinion in a moment of certain European pessimism and he answered: "Note that in the process that we have gone through, there are moments in which it might seem as things are stagnant, but in fact, we have never gone back".

The future of the European Union

The Intergovernmental Conference (IGC) that took place in Nice in December 2000 embarked European integration upon a new stage in its history.

In Nice, member States adopted, *in extremis*, the technical reforms needed to make the enlargement of the EU possible for applicant countries. However, the fifteen members did not debate either the sense or the scope of European integration in the current historical context.

Due to the paramount importance of the issues and the need to bring Europe closer to its citizens, the heads of state and government decided to involve public opinion as a whole in this process: governments of member States and applicant countries, representatives of the parliaments of member States, community institutions, political, economic and university circles, as well as the representatives of civil society.

The European Council of Laeken (Belgium), held on 14-15 December, 2002, determined the strands of this debate. In a specific Declaration about the future of the EU, the foundations for the analysis of what the EU should be in the coming years were laid. The declaration of Laeken suggests the areas prone to be reformed and announces the Convention for the Future of Europe in order to prepare the Intergovernmental Conference (IGC) for the reform of the Treaties.

The Convention celebrated its opening session in Brussels on 28 February, 2002, and will conclude its work one year later, sufficiently

ahead of time for the president of the Convention to present its results to the European Council.

According to the Laeken Declaration, the highlights of the debate around the future of Europe are basically the following:

1) Bringing European institutions closer to citizens; 2) Europe´s new role in a global environment. The European Union should take on a leading position in the present-day context, as well as responsibility as a world power in the management of globalization, from the perspective of ethics, solidarity and sustainable development; 3) The expectations of European citizens in relation to EU competences and those which correspond to States and regions; and 4) Challenges and reforms in a renewed Europe.

The issues which arise in this field are the following: The principle of subsidiarity. The simplification of the instruments of the Union. More democracy, transparency and efficiency. The path towards a possible Constitution or Constitutional Treaty for European citizens.

Parallel to the work of the Convention and in order to widen the scope of the debate and associate all citizens to it, the European Council of Laeken has agreed to constitute a forum open to all organizations which represent civil society. Such forum will consist of a structured network of organizations which will be regularly informed of the work of the Convention. The forum´s contributions will also be included in the debate.

It should be highlighted that, on the occasion of the European Council of Nice on December 7, 2000, the European Charter of Fundamental Rights was proclaimed. This declaration has received much criticism due to it being regarded as insufficient, but in any case, it undoubtedly signifies one step further towards the accomplishment of the six great rights contained in the Charter: Dignity, Freedom, Equality, Solidarity, Citizenship and Justice.

The enlargement of the European Union that is now being devised will be the fifth in the History of European Construction and, up until now, the Union had never worked on a project of such magnitude, in which there is bound to be shortcomings. The European Parliament, sensitive to public opinion in member States and also that of applicant countries, is aware of the importance of this project, and at the same time is convinced that the cost of non-enlargement would be greater than the cost of carrying it out.

The fifteen current member States represent 275 million inhabitants. A great market. A single monetary policy and a single currency, the Euro, in twelve States. A well-established basis with regard to fundamental rights and social policy. Freedom of movement and

labour. A policy of solidarity with the less favoured regions. The creation of a judicial space. The development of a security, defence and foreign policy. Respect towards cultural and political diversity. This is what the European Union is, or at least currently aims to be. Its *raison d'être*: to create a space for peace, freedom and welfare. Its mission statement: to join efforts to obtain better results, making the most of scale economies.

Currently, there are thirteen countries that are ringing the doorbell of the European Union, ten of which are from Central and Eastern Europe (Bulgaria, the Check Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Rumania) and three from the Mediterranean area (Cyprus, Malta and Turkey).

At present, negotiations are taking place with the first ten, and Turkey was offered the possibility of becoming a Union member in the future. This enlargement would mean, without counting Turkey, a population of over 500 million inhabitants, which implies a market and an economic power of great weight in global organization.

Europe and business people

After saying all of this, you might wonder: what role do business people play here?

In order to discuss this, we should first think about our aims and ask ourselves what type of Europe we want and how we can achieve those ideal features of ethical-humanistic values we have previously referred to. In this process, businessmen have, undoubtedly, a major role to play as fundamental subjects in the development of the economy, the production and distribution of goods and services and in the allocation of indispensable resources for the creation of a welfare state which guarantees peace, stability, solidarity and justice.

When we speak of a business, we are referring to the economic unit in charge of the production of goods and services, i.e. an organised ensemble of production elements arranged according to certain social and technological regulations, in order to accomplish economic objectives. We see the business as a legal and social unit and, as such, profoundly human, formed by a series of factors under the management, responsibility and control of the business person, and whose goal will be determined by the economic system in which it is immersed.

In our case, and in the current moment in History, we should refer to the free market economic system, as recognised in article 38 of our

Constitution, which is in force in all European Union countries. To our understanding, it is a consequence of the idea of "open society" which Karl Popper referred to in answer to the disastrous trend towards totalitarianism. We do not want to make any value judgements here and now, but it seems unquestionable that the system as such is the one that best respects human rights and freedoms. It could be said, as of democracy, that it might not be the best system, but it is the least bad.

In this context, the business is a reality that is hard to define due to the complexity of the functions it performs and the multiplicity of relationships that are established both at its heart and within the economic environment where it interacts. Businesses, thus, respond to the concept of "organization" seen as a voluntary union of individuals associated through multiple contractual bonds, their basic function being the efficient allocation of resources under the management and supervision of an authority: the business person.

We find ourselves, then, before an entity of vital importance in social organization. In businesses, jobs are created and economic resources are allocated and, though businesses have a fundamental profit or economic surplus motive, the truth is the same definition can be applied to public organizations or to the so-called non-profit organizations, such as NGOs.

Businesses, as organizational units within our society, are subject to laws and regulations emanating from Parliaments chosen by citizens, who can and must make themselves heard not only through ballot but also through their active participation in the countless professional and corporate associations in civil society.

Today, we cannot conceive businesses or business people without referring to ethics and moral values which, while responding to their social responsibility, in turn improve economic efficiency. One of the aspects which should be considered more closely in the development of businesses is what we nowadays call "sustainable development", that is, making economic growth compatible with respect towards nature and the environment.

This concern was brought up in the early seventies by the publication of the work by the Club of Rome "The Limits to Growth".

It meant the beginning of a line of thought which has fortunately rooted in society and that is nowadays present in all human organizations and in great manifestations promoted by the United Nations, such as the recent Johannesburg World Summit, the results of which have fallen short, but which nevertheless invariably represent a step forward.

When referring to the development of the firm as a vital organization in society, one cannot overlook the fundamental role of education. We believe that any effort in this direction is insufficient and we are pleased with the importance the EU is granting to this issue and the means put in the hands of all citizens. Among them, the importance of the "Leonardo" (*Leonardo da Vinci*) programme created by the European Union to promote the education and vocational training must be highlighted. The objectives of the programme are the following:

—To improve individual skills and competence, especially amongst young people, through initial vocational training at all levels, in order to facilitate integration and reintegration into the labour market.
—To improve the quality and access to lifelong vocational training, as well as to facilitate the lifelong acquisition of competence and skills.
—To promote and reinforce the contribution of vocational training to the innovation process, so as to enhance competitiveness and entrepreneurial spirit and, hence, new job prospects.

When working towards these aims, priority will be given to disadvantaged people in the labour market, including the disabled, to the procedures facilitating their access to training, the promotion of equality and equal opportunities between men and women and the fight against discrimination.

There is a Spanish agency for such Programme, and further information about it can be accessed on the Internet.

In our presentation, we cannot overlook a vital fact. We are referring to immigration, especially that coming from developing countries, such as all African nations, especially the Maghreb (due to its closeness to Europe), Latin American countries and also several Asian countries. This is a phenomenon especially affecting the business world since, amongst other things, due to the low or zero demographic growth of developed countries, employment of people from such nations is growing. This sometimes brings about conflicts we all know about and should lead us to learn how to live in a multicultural society and respect diversity, which is not always easy.

According to EUROSTAT, the Statistical Office of the European Commission, in the year 2000 population in the EU has increased by just over a million people, out of which 680 thousand come from non-EU countries and only 372 thousand come from native population increase. Lately, we have read in the press about the general elections

in Germany, where 9 % of the population comes from other countries. We have also read these days, coinciding with the beginning of the school year, that in Catalonia the school population has grown, but also thanks to immigrants, representing 4.7 % of the total school population.

Challenges from the business standpoint

The challenge of searching for European identity from the business standpoint compels all nations which make up the European Union to open our local doors leaving aside all provincial prejudices, to look at our neighbours without mistrust, to take the first step bringing the best in ourselves. Bearing in mind the following aspects can help us find the identity we are looking for: the principle of the dignity of man; individual and joint responsibility to achieve universal common good; participation and subsidiarity; and solidarity.

European identity from the business standpoint leads us to joint decision making with the consensus of all that have something to say, who represented by all political forces can look for the prosperity of citizens and solidarity with the rest of the people who come to the European Union to offer their labour force in return for the recognition of their dignity as human beings.

Within the European Union, as well as in the rest of the world, we are going through what has been called "globalization". The issues arising from it inside businesses could be summarised as follows:

a) Globalization, entailing the following possibilities: the enlargement of the scope of market economy; new information and communication technologies and unification of capital markets; businesses organise themselves in global networks gaining power and efficiency; and the enhancement of economic efficiency. The risks of globalization are: marginalization; nations that are unable to join the enlargement of world trade run the risk of oblivion; inequality among countries and inequality among people from the same country, widening the gap between the wealth of some and the extreme poverty of others; the cultural influence which the media exerts; the growth of social epidemics (drugs, disease, crime, computer piracy etc.); the financial correlation which makes us suffer the effects of economic crisis happening anywhere in the world.

b) Business mergers and associations, entailing the following possibilities: lowering of production costs as the business output

is produced in larger quantities; lowering of product prizes as a consequence of the previous point; market enlargement; technological up-dating. Its risks are: job losses; early retirement that brings about the rise of underground economy and an added social cost; reduction of the market's real competitiveness due to the concentration of offer; destruction of other business cultures; small businesses can no longer compete in the free market against macro-companies. According to trustworthy sources, around 300 of the latter will control the world economy by the year 2030.

c) Foreign labour, entailing the following possibilities: necessary to carry tasks which national workers do not want to perform; it ensures the payment of pensions to an ageing population; it favours interculturalism and the wealth this phenomenon entails. Some of its risks are: massive arrival of immigrants with no identity documents and no job offers; labour and wage discrimination for these people, which results in unfair and often illegal situations; appearance of mafias for the introduction of immigrants; risk of delinquency in order to survive; flow of great masses of unemployed people: Europeans from non-EU countries, unemployed or pre-retired Europeans, citizens from the rest of the world in search of social welfare or survival; and the underground economy, black market which disrupts healthy competition between small and medium-sized businesses.

d) New technologies, entailing the following possibilities: great boost for the development of new businesses; creation of new jobs; open paths for creativity, training of people, Science development, etc.; have led to the Internet phenomenon, which is so important in the current and future world; and they have resulted in the so-called "new economy". The risks they involve are: business expectations have been exaggerated; a financial bubble which does not square with economic reality has been created; financial scandals of great business corporations, which have even reached trickery and fraud; their failure has caused the closing of businesses and sometimes massive redundancy.

Considerations on solidarity to cambat poverty

Fedor Dostoievski: Each man is responsible for everything in front of everybody.

If the poor remain hopeless, poverty undermines the foundations of our society causing confrontation, violence and civil disorder. This

danger which is ringing Europe´s doorbell should be solved by States and businesses. Both must walk together to solve it. The platform on top of which they should walk must be founded on responsibility and solidarity.

The role of the Entrepreneur is on the rise. In the Monterrey World Summit on Financing for Development, a major role was already granted to it. Its task of creating and distributing goods and especially jobs allows him or her to relate to people from different countries, enabling him or her to lay the foundations of a really human community.

We believe that, due to all the principles that have been listed, businesses do indeed play a very important role within the European Union. However, we also recognise that, given the economic power they have, businesses should be regulated by ethical principles that, within a framework of transparency and equal opportunities, contribute to common good, respecting the dignity of all people. We deem it important to make an appeal for the establishment of a public authority of universal competence.

Before I conclude, let me refer to two final quotes. The first belongs to Joseph Stiglitz, Nobel prize for Economics 2001, at a recent interview published in "El Cultural", weekly supplement of the Spanish newspaper "El Mundo". Mr. Stiglitz was asked the following questions:

> "Are we going through a period of shift of paradigms? In the past twenty years we have witnessed how politics became subordinate to the economy. Has the time come for politics to recover supremacy as an instrument for social regulation? Do we not need a moral revolution yet?"

To which Mr Stiglitz answered:

> "In our decision making we must incorporate lasting value systems. Some of the decisions that have been made lately have shown that not only is an economic basis necessary but also a moral basis, above all with regards to human rights. As an economist I do not believe that the economy should go before politics. What is currently sold as Economic Science is, in reality, an ideology, a religion. It is for this reason that we would be taking a great step forward if we paid more attention to scientific or theoretical aspects of the economy in the decision-making process."

The second quote comes from a letter sent to a group of business people by the School of Business Administration of *Ramon Llull* University, Barcelona, last summer:

"We believe that the economic and organizational standard model has gone as far as it can go as regards efficiency. The time is coming to talk seriously about sensitive capitalism, people as ends, life balance, inner entrepreneurship and cosmopolitan solidarity. More developed businesses are needed, businesses that are able to synergically combine their search for economic success with authentic inner humanization and social responsibility. Consequently, we need post-conventional entrepreneurs and managers who dare to legitimise and put into practice this new balance model that we call Management through Values."

The letter ended with an invitation to participate in a workshop on Management through Values. We believe that initiatives such as this one can greatly contribute towards both economic development and human and social development. We trust the European identity process and the business world evolve along this path.

This book on *European Identity* aims to «promote reflection on the mutual relationship between educational processes and European construction». It attempts to get down to what this means at the everyday level, the notion of *European Identity* for all citizens, specially in the educational field, and identify elements for the promotion and anchorage of this concept. To this end the authors have contemplated articulating the topic around the axis «individual - group - society», and the content has been distributed in two blocks: europe read from an educational perpective, and European Identity, new challenges for the school.

This book has been published with the help of the European Parliament and in collaboration with the thematic network Humanitariannet.

SUBDIRECCIÓN GENERAL
DE PROGRAMAS EUROPEOS

CÁTEDRA JEAN MONNET DE HISTORIA
DE LA INTEGRACIÓN EUROPEA
DE LA UNIVERSIDAD DE SALAMANCA

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