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HERITAGE EDUCATION FROM THE GROUND: Historic Schools, cultural diversity and sense of belonging in Barcelona

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Abstract

Aims and procedures of heritage education have changed significantly in recent years, both from the point of view of educational methodologies and objectives, and from the emergence of a new concept of heritage. This concept is based on a more open, dynamic and meaningful approach to the different communities and persons that make up today's multicultural societies, as opposed, to the traditional, conservation-oriented perspective. In this redefinition of the concept of heritage and the aims of heritage education, the role played by the Faro Convention of the Council of Europe of 2005 is of key importance.

To illustrate this new heritage education model, this text details the educational projects that have been carried out, over the last ten years, in the so-called Historic Schools of Barcelona. In these schools, built in the decades of the 20s and 30s of the 20th century following the principles of the pedagogical currents of the New Education, school heritage and memories are used as tools for the creation of a sense of belonging among their student and school community.

Keywords: heritage education - multiculturalism - sense of belonging - historic schools - Catalonia

The background: heritage education in Europe

In the last 30 years, heritage education has gained prominence as a theoretical and practical/methodological issue in the cultural and educational policies of an increasing number of countries and, especially, is the concern of international cultural and professional institutions. This awareness among heritage professionals has arisen as a new conception of heritage policies aiming, as its primary objective, to ensure heritage conservation by means of an active involvement of the public. Consequently, since the 80's a first set of educational programmes were launched to make heritage visible at a school level, and to make European children of all ages aware of their historical and/or cultural values.

New inputs brought in by professionals involved in heritage education (educators, curators, historians, archaeologists, etc.) began to refine the characterization of heritage education with respect to methodological issues. This more detailed concept was finally fixed in the 1998 Recommendation of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe¹ in which it was stated that '*Heritage education means a teaching approach based on cultural heritage, incorporating active educational methods, cross-curricular approaches, a partnership between education and culture and employing the widest variety of modes of communication and expression.*'

This methodological emphasis on heritage education came from the expansion in many European countries of heritage-oriented projects, mostly based on outdoor, hands-on activities and on a direct contact or experience of those heritage elements included in the school programmes. By way of contrast, to the traditional concept of history teaching, heritage related activities were and are experienced by pupils and students as enjoyable and from the point of view of the teachers, they are considered useful as pedagogical tools. In this way, the objectives of heritage education seemed to have been fulfilled because the programmes allowed the students to better understand the different elements that constitute the cultural heritage by means of a positive educational experience. To be more precise -and from a heritage professional point of view- the significant learning success was the creation of a positive association between heritage and children, insuring the creation of an active and responsible heritage public in the future.

While these wide ranges of educational activities were developed, other educational tools for heritage education began to take shape. In 1995, a seminar entitled *Cultural heritage and its educational implications: a factor for tolerance, good citizenship and social integration* was organized by the Council of Europe. In this context, two additional approaches to heritage education emerged. First, the strategic role of schools as a place of encounter between communities²; and, second, the multiple -and often conflictive- relation of the cultural background of the pupils and their families with the established concept of heritage³.

¹ Council of Europe, *Recommendation No. R(98)5 of the Committee of Ministers to Member States concerning Heritage Education*, <http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage> [accessed 14 September 2018]

² Sergio Troisi, "Schools Adopt Monuments in Palermo," in *Cultural Heritage and Its Educational Implications: A Factor for Tolerance, Good Citizenship and Social Integration*, ed. Council of Europe (Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing, 1998), pp. 51-57.

³ Tim Copeland, "Whose Monuments Are They? Whose Past Is It? The Multicultural Use of Monuments," in *Cultural Heritage and Its Educational Implications: A Factor for Tolerance, Good Citizenship and Social Integration*, ed. Council of Europe (Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing, 1998), pp. 39-45.

This first recognition of the role of heritage education as a potential political tool for fostering social integration and the transmission of values, finally crystallized in the Council of Europe document, *Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society*⁴ signed in Faro (Portugal) in 2005. The document draws attention to the compromise to “*facilitate the inclusion of the cultural heritage dimension at all levels of education, not necessarily as subject of study in its own right, but as fertile source for studies in other subjects*”. In addition, it presents three innovative values of cultural heritage: diversity, cultural rights and peaceful and democratic coexistence. Cultural heritage is, in this sense, no longer simply an inherited richness to appreciate and enjoy, but rather is an expression of rights that must be acknowledged in any real democratic society.

These three core ideas are also present in a 2006 report written by Tim Copeland for the Council of Europe⁵, containing a detailed argumentation of the positive relationship between heritage and citizenship education. However, for our present purpose, we want to stress Copeland’s reflection on the relation between heritage, citizenship and identity. Copeland suggests that there is a common trait in heritage and citizenship, a referential identity construction. However, he states that while heritage is focused on the remembrance of origins, citizenship, by contrast, deals with the construction of a future.

Copeland’s proposals are particularly appropriate having in mind a school population that, in Europe, is increasingly characterized by a diversity of cultural references⁶. Therefore, it is essential to substitute the monolithic and closed idea of heritage, based on a narrative of origin and prefaced by fixed patrimonial elements, for a dynamic and additive vision of heritage that responds to the role of school and heritage education in multicultural contexts.

The challenge: cultural diversity and heritage education

The concern of the relation between multiculturalism and education first appeared in the late 1960’s and 1970’s associated with a new concept of the social and political role of the school that was critical of the traditional, monolithic and instructional concept of schooling. These renewed educational proposals also coincided with the high point of the civil rights movements in the United States and the increasing immigration to western and northern Europe of population from former colonies as well as from so called Third World countries. In this context, education policies began to be regarded as an essential tool for managing the new social and cultural landscape of Western societies.

Throughout the decade of the 80s there was a substantive change in the educational approach to multiculturalism. The growing intercultural tensions and the low academic achievements of ethnic minority children had shown the weaknesses of an educational model based exclusively on assimilation and integration, through emphasis on the teaching of the local language and cultural norms. At the same time, there was a significant change in the perception of the culture of the children of immigrant families

⁴ Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society. <https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/rms/0900001680083746> [accessed 14 August 2018]

⁵ Tim Copeland, *European Democratic Citizenship, Heritage Education and Identity* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing, 2006).

⁶ Tariq Modood and Pnina Werbner eds., *The Politics of Multiculturalism in the New Europe: Racism, Identity and Community* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1997).

with an “*increasing recognition that minorities, including migrant minorities, had the right to maintain their own cultural heritages*”⁷.

One of the first assessment on this renewed approach to multicultural (or intercultural, as is labelled increasingly in Spain) education is James A. Banks⁸ five dimensions of multicultural education in which the concept of education is analysed from a holistic interrelated perspective. The five dimensions are: (1) content integration; (2) knowledge construction process; (3) prejudice reduction; (4) equity pedagogy; and (5) empowering school culture and social structure.

There is no doubt that heritage education can play a role in all five Banks’ dimensions, following the methodological and organizational guidelines offered by the above-mentioned Council of Europe recommendations, seminars and reports. That is, using inclusive heritage contents, active class-room methodologies and promotion of school projects centred in heritage conservation. However, is this enough to solve cultural contradictions that arise from a diversity of perceptions of the meaning of this heritage? How are we to overcome the existing gap between the school culture and that of the family and community of each child?

Research carried on in multicultural school contexts have stressed that a non-conflictive coexistence of school culture and family culture ensures not only the academic success of the pupils but also the assumption of the social and civic values transmitted by the school. For example, in her studies on minority groups in U.S. school communities, Margaret Gibson⁹ argued that this climate of mutual confidence between the cultural community and the school created what she called an “additive acculturation”, by which she means the acquisition of new cultural competences while maintaining the family/community identity¹⁰.

For example, often multicultural school policies are characterized by the creation of permanent or semi-permanent separate learning groups - based mostly on the degree of linguistic skills - without developing unbalancing strategies to create confidence in the student’s families. Consequently, families perceive school culture as having the primary aim of erasing minority cultural identities and/or devaluating them. Instead, it seems crucial to create a solid link between school, families and community by means of common projects. Sharing common aims not only foster the compromise and the implication among all school agents, but they also favour the feeling of belonging to a wider community - the school community - and the confidence in a better and shared future.

Why is heritage education specially appropriate for this kind of school projects? It is assumed that heritage elements operate as symbols of collective identities and promote a sense of belonging to all those who recognize them as referential. From this premise, many educational experiences have chosen to circumscribe the concept of heritage at the local scale of quotidian life. The abstract idea of an externally

⁷ Robert Stradling, *Multiperspectivity in History Teaching: A Guide for Teachers* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing, 2003), p. 11.

⁸ James Banks, “Multicultural Education: Characteristics and Goals,” in *Multicultural Education: Issues and Perspectives*, eds. James A. Banks and Charles A. McGee (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1989), pp. 2-26.

⁹ Margaret A. Gibson, “Promoting Additive Acculturation in Schools,” *Multicultural Education* 3.1 (1995): 11-54.

¹⁰ Margaret A. Gibson and Sílvia Carrasco, “The Education of Immigrant Youth: Some Lessons from the US and Spain,” *Theory into Practice* 48.4 (2009): 249-57.

established heritage shifts to the concrete and tangible experience of everyday landscapes. In this way, the educational action aims to ensure that this local heritage acquires an identifying value for the students beyond cultural background differences. In fact, different successful educational programmes carried out in Europe recently - as for example, the 'School Adopt a Monument' scheme¹¹ - have followed this path promoting common school projects for the conservation of specific local heritage elements and then disseminating their results to the wider, out-of-school, community audience.

Undoubtedly, these projects have obtained a significant impact at the local level and have put heritage in the forefront of the school-community relation. However, as we will see in the case of the Historic Schools of Barcelona, heritage education, specifically on this local scale, can go beyond the establishment of these essential school-community linkages, structuring heritage school projects on three main guidelines, in a similar sense as exposed by Tim Copeland¹²: (1) The creation or re-appropriation of heritage in terms of everyday life experiences; (2) the implementation of inclusive teaching/learning strategies based in the multiplicity of competences and skills that can be developed through heritage educational projects; and (3) the promotion of those cohesive civic values, presented as cultural rights and duties, which are embodied in this re-appropriated heritage.

The setting: the Historic Schools of Barcelona

In the case of the so-called Historic Schools of the city of Barcelona, these three approaches to heritage education are intertwined: the fusion between historical heritage and lived experience, the active educational methodology and its conception as generator of shared cultural and civic values.

The Historic Schools of Barcelona are public schools were created in the years before the Spanish Civil War, in the period that spans the decades of the 20s and 30s, in a context of institutional regeneration and intellectual debate, but also of social conflict and deep political turbulence during the 2nd Spanish Republic (1931-1939)¹³. In Spain and Catalonia, institutional investment in the improvement of public education had already begun in the first decade of the 20th century. Specifically, in the city of Barcelona, where the population concentration was very high and the need for schooling was urgent, an ambitious plan of school construction began in 1917. Despite the interruption between 1924 and 1931 by the dictatorship of Miguel Primo de Rivera, the building program culminated in 1936 with the beginning of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), with the construction of a dozen of school buildings distributed throughout the working-class neighbourhoods of Barcelona. To structure this initiative, in 1922 an organization had been set up, the so-called School Board of Barcelona (*Patronat Escolar de Barcelona*), through which it was intended to promote municipal education policy to enhance schooling of children in popular neighbourhoods where public schools were practically non-existent¹⁴. This *Patronat Escolar de Barcelona*, a

¹¹ Mirella Stampa, "Schools Adopt Monuments," in *Proceedings of the Hague Forum 2004. Heritage and Education: An European Perspective* (The Hague: Europa Nostra, 2004), pp. 45-48.

¹² Tim Copeland, *European Democratic Citizenship, Heritage Education and Identity*.

¹³ Tim Rees, "Battleground of the Revolutionaries: The Republic and Civil War in Spain, 1931-39," in *Reinterpreting Revolution in Twentieth-Century Europe*, ed. Moira Donald and Tim Rees (London: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 113-39.

¹⁴ Cèlia Cañellas and Rosa Toran, *Política escolar de l'Ajuntament de Barcelona 1916-1936* (Barcelona: Barcanova, 1982).

consortium between the Barcelona City Council and the Spanish Ministry of Public Instruction, was led by the pedagogue Manuel Ainaud and the architect Josep Goday¹⁵.

This kind of close collaboration between pedagogues and architects was one of the most striking features of the so-called New Education which characterized the Western innovated pedagogical currents of the first third of the 20th century. New Education movements advocated for an active, holistic and secular pedagogy were inspired by educators such as John Dewey in the United States, Maria Montessori in Italy or Decroly in Belgium. These approaches intended not only to change pedagogical practice, but also the very school spaces themselves which should be adapted to the paidocentric educational principles that inspired them¹⁶. In Barcelona, this is clearly expressed both in the school architecture associated with the buildings of Josep Goday, as well as in the rationalist architectural models of Josep Mestres who designed in the 30s the Mutua Escolar Blanquerna building, now the Menéndez y Pelayo secondary school. In a frequently cited quote of the architect Goday, this architectural idea was summarized in that schools had to be "palaces" for childhood¹⁷. (Figures 1 & 2)

Nowadays most of these buildings are still functioning as public schools, preserving, not only the architectural elements but also part of their furniture, their archives, educational materials, pupils' notebooks and photographs from their foundational period. However, these schools currently face a new set of problems, very different from their initial years, but equally complex. On the one hand, their students are culturally diverse and, frequently, come from low-income backgrounds as a consequence of the migratory processes to Catalonia during the last 20 years¹⁸. On the other hand, these school buildings, with an exceptionally valuable tangible and intangible heritage, are in neighbourhoods with a high concentration of immigrants and are also located close to or in the centre of popular tourist areas of the city of Barcelona. This situation frequently leads to a blurred and often contradictory identity for their young inhabitants¹⁹. For this reason, the educational projects in these schools have the challenge, beyond developing the basic skills and transmitting the specific knowledge of primary or secondary education, of creating a feeling of attachment and identification to the living environment and, ultimately, to support the construction of a new cohesive neighbourhood identity anchored in a material landscape loaded with Barcelona's history. These schools demonstrate that it is precisely the active conservation of their material and immaterial pedagogical legacy, which makes them an example of a lived, meaningful and inclusive approach to historical heritage.

¹⁵ Salvador Domènech, "Una experiència històrica de transformació social des de l'administració pública: El Patronat Escolar de Barcelona," *Temps d'Educació* 17 (1997): 273-91

¹⁶ Celia Jenkins, "New Education and Its Emancipatory Interests (1920-1950)," *History of Education* 29.2 (2000): 139-51.

Agustín Escolano Benito, "The School in the City: School Architecture as Discourse and as Text," *Paedagogica Historica* 39.1 (2003): 53-64.

¹⁷ Albert Cubelles Bonet and Marc Cuixart Goday, eds. *Josep Goday i Casals. L'arquitectura escolar a Barcelona. De la Mancomunitat a la República* (Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2008).

¹⁸ In 2017, 18% of the population of Barcelona was of not Spanish nationality, but the distribution is uneven: between 30-45% in the districts in which most of the historic schools are located: Ciutat Vella and Sants-Montjuïc (Source: IDESCAT - www.idescat.cat)

¹⁹ Anna Ortíz, "Uso de los espacios públicos y construcción del sentido de pertenencia de sus habitantes en Barcelona," *Lugares e imaginarios en la metrópolis* 22 (2006): 67-83.

In addition, since 2010 a number of these historic schools have created a collaboration network (*Xarxa d'Escoles Històriques de Barcelona - XEHB*)²⁰ with the purpose of sharing educational methodologies, as well as promoting a common platform for the creation of cross-cutting actions. These are designed to encourage the local administration to maintain the buildings, their contents and their history. In its mission statement, XEHB vindicates the educational value of the tangible (historic buildings) and the intangible heritage (historical memory of the progressive pedagogy of the Spanish Republic) of the schools and views them as a tool for social cohesion and an a more inclusive public education.

With this objective in mind, school projects have been developed following two main guidelines: the first related to the projects' contents, aimed at the research and discovery of the schools' past; the second, is related to project methodology, so as to strengthen the link between the pupils and the school buildings along with their old artefacts and archival material. This methodological approach has been especially successful not only because it formally enhances the school-pupil relation, but because it has proved to be an invaluable source of information and reflection for the children. Once a school history has been established, based on the old material and archives, the project proceeds to make other discoveries about the neighbourhood, and these extend linkages beyond the school walls.

The strategy: from discovery to appropriation of the past

The common scheme of the educational projects of the Historic Schools of Barcelona in relation to their singular heritage lies in four aspects:

1. to discover the hidden aspects and to gain an in-depth knowledge of the building in which children spend an important part of their lives;
2. to make use of the preserved historical elements (old educational material, archival documents, notebooks and drawings of the first pupils of the school), as primary historical sources so as to carry out a guided research work and to develop skills related to historical research;
3. to generate, through these two processes, a feeling of identification of the current students with the personal and material past of the school;
4. to activate intergenerational and intercultural networks in the neighbourhoods using the school and school experiences as structural elements.

The first phase of this process is based on systematic observation of the school buildings. In this way, a dynamic vision of the lived spaces is generated: they shift from being considered neutral and meaningless spaces, to become principal actors of a story with a diverse and surprising personality. An example of the discovery of school secrets can be found in the Àngel Baixeras school and its geometric gymkhana. The main idea of this activity is to contemplate the architectural aspects of the school building from an artistic, creative perspective, looking for the geometric shapes hidden in the windows, the graffiti and engravings of the facade, the furniture, the wall paintings or the floor tiles. By means of this detailed observation and, while working on the subjects of mathematics and geometry, they are also discovering the sophisticated nature of their school architecture²¹. As already mentioned, following the New Education principles buildings should be palaces for boys and girls and this means that

²⁰ <https://sites.google.com/a/xtec.cat/xehbcn/inici22> [accessed 14 August 2018]

²¹ Escola Baixeras, "La nostra escola, el Baixeras. Text col·lectiu de l'alumnat de cinquè", CCCB Educació, January 1, 2010, <http://www.anycerda.org/centre/ceip-baixeras/treball/la-nostra-escola-el-baixeras> [accessed 15 October 2018]

architectural and pedagogical projects had to be united so that the task that had to be carried out would be fruitful.

A second phase of the research on the history of the school involves moving from observation of the building to the direct handling of school materials that are still preserved in the schools. The model of progressive pedagogy of the beginnings of the 20th century advocated for active learning methodologies in which experimentation, hands-on and creative writing were a structural part of the educational proposal. As a result, in some of these schools, as the Angel Baixeras school itself, old instruments of school experimentation for the teaching of science, school magazines edited by the students and personal notebooks of each of the children have been preserved. These materials are introduced in the framework of the educational project on the history of the school as primary sources, but at the same time they involve a practice of identification and empathy towards the children of 80 years ago: they shared the same space and very similar school experiences²². In this way, systematic observation and research are fused with the emotional connection with the children (Figure 3).

In the school of La Farigola, in the Vallcarca neighbourhood, research activities on the school building are carried out by all the students, from 4 to 12 years. The discovery of the history of the building begins with the youngest ones searching in the courtyard for the foundation stone of the building laid in 1918. This process culminates with the students of the final courses (11-12 years) developing a systematic in-depth investigation on different topics related to the school, for example, the architectural history of the building, interviews with former students, collection of photographs as well as invitations to historians and architects to hold talks about their school. Every year the results of the research are incorporated in a blog about the history of the school²³ and in Wikipedia²⁴. Additionally, during every academic course, older students operate as experts who explain to their younger colleagues elements of the building or other objects of the Republican years.

In the case of the Menéndez y Pelayo secondary school, the celebration, in 2009, of its 75th anniversary provided the ideal setting for the creation of a historical classroom²⁵. The school is located in a rationalist building designed by the architect Jaume Mestres (member of GATEPAC²⁶) and built during the Republican years in order to host the Blanquerna School, also inspired by the New Education movements²⁷. This historical classroom includes school furniture as well as books, maps, school writing material,

²² Cèlia Cañellas, "L'escola Baixeras. Paradigma del patrimoni educatiu de Barcelona," *El Diari de l'Educació*, November 11, 2016, <http://diarieducacio.cat/lescola-baixeras-paradigma-del-patrimoni-educatiu-de-barcelona/> [accessed 15 October 2018]

²³ <http://lafarigoladevallcarca.blogspot.com/> [accessed 14 August 2018]

²⁴ https://ca.wikipedia.org/wiki/Grup_escolar_La_Farigola [accessed 14 August 2018]

Pau Rodríguez, "Quan la història passa per l'escola." *El Diari de l'Educació*, March 3, 2014, <http://diarieducacio.cat/quan-la-historia-passa-per-lescola/> [accessed 15 October 2018]

²⁵ Ara Mestres. "Una escola amb molta història". *Ara*, March 3, 2011, https://www.ara.cat/videos/especials/ARA_Mestres-aula_historica-IES_Menendez_y_Pelayo_3_438586138.html [accessed 15 October 2018]

²⁶ The GATEPAC (*Grupo de Arquitectos y Técnicos Españoles para el Progreso de la Arquitectura Contemporánea*/Group of Spanish Architects and Experts for the Progress of Contemporary Architecture) brought together, between 1930 and 1936, the followers of modern architecture and urbanism in Spain, under the flag of European Modernity, with Le Corbusier at its head (de las Rivas Sanz 2007).

²⁷ Josep Masabéu, *Alexandre Galí i la Mutua Escolar Blanquerna* (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 1988).

etc. This space offers an ideal starting point to investigate the school history, the neighbourhood where it is located and its history, from the 30s to the present day. The presence of the historical classroom allows students to become researchers of the history of the school and to ensure that, through their investigation, they become an active part of its historical trajectory.

The culmination of the process of re-discovery of the school history is to turn it into a springboard for community interaction. Most of the educational projects of the Historic Schools of Barcelona extend their activities and proposals beyond the limits of buildings to become central axes in the construction of personal landscapes and connect students with the social and cultural features of the neighbourhoods where they are located. Thus, for example, the Menéndez y Pelayo secondary school carries out observation work projects in the surrounding areas incorporating both the built-up elements directly related to the school and the people who inhabit and use them. They complement their research with oral sources based on interviews with alumni or other significant members of the neighbourhood, so that they create personal links with the older members of the community. Through these learning-service activities linked to the project, the students who have become by now experts, not only in the school history, but also in the history and characteristics of the neighbourhood, oversee guided visits to the school during the frequent events and open days organized by the local community²⁸ (Figure 4).

In the case of the Àngel Baixeras school, located very close to the Roman wall of the Barcino, activities have been focussed on understanding the urban elements of the Roman city and their influence on the configuration of the Gothic Quarter. This work has been supported by the History Museum of Barcelona. Recently, a campaign was launched by the school community (children, teachers, families and neighbours) to demonstrate the compatibility of public uses of the urban space in heritage environments. The purpose of the campaign was to ask for the establishment of a school playground on the stretch of the Roman wall, originally intended to be fenced off for exclusive touristic use²⁹.

In parallel, as we have seen in the case of the Menéndez y Pelayo Institute, many of the schools in the network are working to dedicate a space inside the building to preserve and exhibit all the elements of the school heritage. While it is important to create optimal conditions for preserving the heritage, there is also a desire to visualize these spaces, either by converting them into virtual museums or into musealized spaces that can be visited in situ. The objective of these school museums goes beyond being showcases of the educational heritage of the schools, but rather to convert them into living, educational spaces. This allows the children to investigate

²⁸ Institut Menéndez y Pelayo, "Fem Memòria " (Paper presented at the *6es Jornades d'Intercanvi d'Experiències d'Aprenentatge Servei*, Barcelona, 2017).

²⁹ Carme Escalas, "Un patio escolar bajará de un tejado a un jardín público en El Gòtic." *El Periódico de Catalunya*, Mai 25, 2017, <https://www.elperiodico.com/es/ciutat-vella/20170522/patio-escolar-colegio-angel-baixeras-solar-6054132> [accessed 15 October 2018]

Ana Pastor, "Shaping Community Heritage Synergies between Roman Barcelona Spaces and the Gothic Neighborhood," in *Shared Knowledge, Shared Power. Engaging Local and Indigenous Heritage*, ed. Veysel Apaydi (Cham: Springer, 2018), pp. 61-86.

their past and learn from the history of their schools³⁰. One of the examples of this type of activity has been carried out in the school Collaso i Gil where a museography has been created by the pupils making use of QR codes. Following the methodology of 'flipped classroom'³¹ students have investigated the stories of old objects and photographs focusing on the first years of the school. Bibliographic and audio-visual resources had been used with the double aim of creating a product, in this case, QR codes, but also to produce material that will help them explain the school to their classmates, families and visitors. Objects and old photographs acquire a value that they had lacked until then, since they become part of a museum that tells the history of the school and, at the same time, that of its surroundings. In the case of the Collaso i Gil school, this part of the project is especially significant since it is in a neighbourhood of the city of Barcelona with very high percentage of immigrant students from different nationalities and cultural backgrounds. Thus, the school becomes the scenario of shared experiences. What unites the children is their school, the building they use and their common experiences. Clearly, opening it to the public expands this shared experience to the community.

Some concluding reflections: from historical heritage to lived heritage

Since schools are the primary universal contexts of formal education, they offer an ideal setting for developing agency-oriented heritage projects. This has been recognized by the European cultural policies and, indeed, a wide variety of initiatives have arisen in many European schools during the last two decades. However, European society, and specifically Catalonia, is experiencing fast and profound social changes that directly affect cultural issues such as heritage and identity. When working in and with schools, it is essential to be aware of these general and local socio-cultural problems. Schools become crossroads of macro and micro desires and policies, of communities and states, of personal and collective identities.

In the case of the Historic Schools of Barcelona, emphasis was placed on a school historical building approach in which pupils become active participants in the short, medium and long-term changes that have transformed their environment. The 'similarities' and 'differences' that characterize the material environment and its human use, allows children to reflect on the complementarity of these notions so as to better understand the changing relations between social and cultural context. The relationship of the students of these schools evolves from a first process of observation and discovery to a second phase of research on primary sources (material, textual and oral) and is crystallized in a feeling of belonging- the children belong to that school and are part of its history and thus the school becomes their reclaimed heritage. The extension of this perception to the community, both family and neighbourhood, occurs smoothly, since schools are part of the everyday contexts of interaction. This is what Askins³² refers to as 'crucial scenarios' in the interpersonal relationships of the different groups that make up a community. For the staff and students, the most important aspect of the educational project, is accessibility and visibility. These two aspects are related to the teachers' mission of service to the educational community

³⁰ Cristina Yanes, "Pedagogical Museums and the Safeguarding of an Intangible Educational Heritage: Didactic Practices and Possibilities," *Journal of Research in Teacher Education* 4 (2007): 67-80.

³¹ Fezile Ozdamli and Gulsum Asiksoy, "Flipped Classroom Approach," *World Journal on Educational Technology: Current Issues* 8.2 (2016): 98-105.

³² Kye Askins, "Being Together: Everyday Geographies and the Quiet Politics of Belonging," *ACME: An International E-journal for Critical Geographies* 14, no. 2 (2015): 461-69.

as well as to the students' new sense of belonging and self-esteem. This idea is well expressed by Wood and Waite³³,

Belonging is a dynamic emotional attachment that relates people to the material and social worlds that they inhabit and experience. It is about feeling 'at home' and 'secure', but it is equally about being recognized and understood.

Heritage re-appropriation has the potential to provide added values that are not perceived as conflictive thus generating mutual confidence among school, teachers and students. At the same time, it promotes the learning of critical intellectual skills and the acquisition of civic commitments for future personal identity. Certainly, heritage is an issue about meaning and new conceptualizations are needed to situate it in the forefront of discussion. A good example is to be found in the Historic Schools of Barcelona which display a multi-layered heritage by means of rigorously planned educational experiences. As Tim Copeland has pointed out, although heritage is often linked exclusively with past and conservation, in fact the collective meaning acquired by heritage elements has much more to do with expectations and the construction of futures. Perhaps this is the most valuable idea to be retained, in the context of the future of the relationship linking heritage and local communities.

Undoubtedly, the theory and the practice of multicultural and citizenship education involves more complex issues than are presented here. They are, in fact, probably one of the most crucial challenges faced by Western and non-Western societies in this 21st century. But as professionals involved in the theorization, research and management of cultural heritage and therefore concerned with its educational dimension, we think that it is necessary, for a sustainable cultural world, to base our proposals on heritage education. It is important to be aware not only of our own disciplinary concepts of culture and heritage, but also of the socio-educational research projects dealing with multicultural contexts and the promotion of democratic rights and duties. Interestingly, the case in this text is a clear example of how the elaboration and re-elaboration of the concept of heritage in the current Western multicultural societies escapes professional and expert discussions, to locate ourselves in what we could call bottom-up approaches as distinct from the circuits of academic publication. It is from this work of teachers, social services or cultural mediators where we can see the construction of inclusive, focused and democratic heritage concepts. This means using their theoretical and practical expertise from which we have much to learn.

We began this text discussing the Faro Convention and how it has modified the concept of cultural heritage in its relationship with people and communities. However, the educational projects that we have presented should not be understood as an application of these new guidelines and practices promoted by the Council of Europe, quite the contrary. In fact, experiences like those of the Historic Schools of Barcelona are the kind of ones that inspired the need to displace the definition of cultural heritage from what Laurajane Smith³⁴ called "authorized heritage discourse", to understand it as a dynamic and, above all, significant practice, built around shared experiences and common values.

School memories do not need and, in fact, do not have to be caged in academic texts or in unreachable showcases to be labelled as heritage. Their heritage value lies in its

³³ Nichola Wood and Louise Waite, "Scales of Belonging," *Emotion, Space and Society* 4.4 (2011): 201-02.

³⁴ Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage*. (London: Routledge, 2006).

capacity to propose childhood and learning as a meeting place and a common factor in our multicultural societies.

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FIGURES

Figure 1: Building of the Pere Vila primary school, architect Josep Goday. Source: Enfo(https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Grup_escolar_Pere_Vila,_pg._Lluís_Company_-_av._Vilanova.jpg), „Grup escolar Pere Vila, pg. Lluís Company - av. Vilanova“, <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/legalcode>)

Figure 2: Building of the Menendez Pelayo secondary school, architect Josep Mestres. Source: Pere López (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:IES_Menéndez_y_Pelayo.jpg), „IES Menéndez y Pelayo“, <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/legalcode>)

Figure 3: Children of Angel Baixeras primary school examining the school notebooks of the first pupils of the 30's. Source: courtesy of Mercè Garcés, Escola Àngel Baixeras.

Figure 4: Students of the Menéndez Pelayo secondary school during field research in the neighbourhood. Source: courtesy of Marta Ponti, Institut Menéndez y Pelayo.