Globalisation and Images of the Other Challenges and New Perspectives for History Teaching in Europe?

The current trends and manifestations of the globalizing world are pertinent to schooling and education in a number of ways, either because they directly or indirectly influence what school (and university) education is all about or because knowledge of these issues and developments is increasingly necessary in order to provide the young with orientation and a deeper understanding of the world in which we all live.

What "counts as history"[2] and what is needed in order to teach young people in the present has changed dramatically in the face of the de-territorialization of important economic, social, cultural and political structures. While most teachers as well as scholars agree in theory that a focus on purely national history is too narrow in the face of a globalizing world, transnational (not to speak of global history), are still rather the exception than the rule in our classrooms. Why is that? Is the task too overwhelming in the face of the complexities of the current world? Is it lack of knowledge on behalf of teachers? Is it the tardiness of curriculum-development that favors the all too well known national approaches to history teaching? Or is it humbleness in the face of the magnitude of the task to deal creatively with the accelerated change that we have come to call globalization? In what follows, I will elaborate on frames of reference for history teaching in a globalized world.

While professional historians frequently relativize globalization and point to different waves of global trends since the sixteenth – and again: since the nineteenth – centuries, some developments and features that are decisively new, have only appeared in the last third of the 20th century. These developments and features constitute decisively new ways in which we experience the world. Manuel Castells in his three volume oeuvre on today's network society, in 1998 listed the following:

"I do believe that there is a new world emerging in this end of millennium.... Chips and computers are new; ubiquitous, mobile telecommunications are new; genetic engineering is new; electronically integrated, global financial markets working in real time are new; an inter-linked capitalist economy embracing the whole planet, and not only some of its segments, is new; a majority of the urban labor force in knowledge and information processing in advanced economies is new; a majority of urban population on the planet is new; the demise of the Soviet Empire, the fading away of communism, and the end of the Cold War are new; the rise of the Asian Pacific as an equal partner in the global economy is new; the widespread challenge to patriarchalism is new; the universal consciousness on ecological preservation is new; and the emergence of a network society, based on a space of flows, and on timeless time, is historically new."[3]

It is these developments that frame the current world and human experience. To provide orientation, they need to be understood. These developments can be described historically as well as systematically.

However, in order to navigate, we need a compass. This compass is the development of consciousness, by which I mean – referring to the definition of Gerald Hüther “the ability to become aware of our perceptions as well as our feelings,” to self-observe, and the ability of "building meta-levels on which internal processes are reflected and analyzed.”[4] Ultimately, what we need, is a world (or global) consciousness. I define "global (or world) consciousness" as the cognitive as well as the emotional abilities to grasp the new world contexts. Closely connected is the understanding of one's own place in the world (which, again, has cognitive as well as emotional aspects). The goal of the cognitive as well as the emotional learning processes is the ability to act in the face of...
the complex interrelations of the world, emphatically put: to become a citizen of the world instead of a puppet or even a victim of globalization. In order to navigate in a globalizing world, we thus need knowledge, emotion, introspection and action. (See also the UNESCO-report – “Delors-Report”: The Treasure Within by the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century from 1996: Learning rests on four pillars: Learning to know; learning to do, learning, to be, and learning to live together): The key is not an inconceivable amount of new knowledge about a globalizing world (obviously there can never be enough knowledge), but it is the combination of these four factors: knowledge, emotion, introspection and action. How do they relate?

**Teaching and Learning in a Globalizing World: Knowledge**

First, let me unfold ten points that frame contemporary experience and need to be understood not only in their functioning, but also in their historical development. These are: the “network society,” the multiple modernities of today’s world, education in the globalized network society, the changing world of work, changing life worlds, consequences of today’s predatory capitalism, the defunctionalization and delegitimation of politics, multiple consequences of migration, the social segregation and the need for coherent self images of host societies, and finally: contention over memories.

1.**The “network society,”** new forms of communication through internet and email, a new mobility which manifests itself in international exchange programs and the opportunity to travel and to see the world, opens up immense opportunities for some. Among other things, it leads to an acceleration of work and life processes that previous generations would never have been able to fathom. However, one should not forget that the majority of the world’s population neither have access to computers (despite the fact that internet cafés are spreading to the furthest corners of the globe), nor do they have the necessary means to travel. The access to modern communication technologies is very uneven. The acceleration of communication, which new technologies make possible, comes with a price on social as well as individual lives. Email and the internet as accelerators for all kinds of communication and life as well as work processes deeply affect people in new ways.[5] Access to information has become highly diverse. It has increased as much as it has become less reliable. “Expert knowledge” has in a way become democratized (see the success of the online encyclopedia Wikipedia), but also has become very volatile.

2.**Multiple modernities.** Empirically, the globalization process produces a world of “multiple modernities”[6] and uneven, yet synchronized developments. Globalization enhances integration on the one hand and, on the other hand, proliferates difference. In the end there is “one world” indeed, but not a world where everybody has adjusted to the same (western) standards of modernity. “The peoples of the world are pulled into processes of global interaction and emerge re-segmented and transformed in their diversity.”[7]

3.**Education.** Globalization has affected education itself in multiple ways[8] as well as the work prospects of people who had or did not have access to education. While the world is growing together, it is at the same time fragmenting in new ways and along new seams. This needs to be understood, and young people (as well as teachers, who are supposed to guide the young into this world) need to have at least a basic understanding of these processes as well as of the fragility of peoples’ lives (including their own) in this globalizing world.

4.**Scarcity of work; unemployment; new composition of labor force; income gaps.** Technological developments have rendered work an ever-scarcer commodity. Whole regions are being de-industrialized. Companies outsource work and go where-ever labor is cheap. The industrialization of agriculture and unjust trading relations between “developed” and “underdeveloped” countries are responsible for hunger and misery for the poorest and the widening of the gap between rich and poor countries.[9] There are no longer “normal” working biographies, in which people were trained for a job which they would subsequently stay in for the rest of their working lives, as used to be the model of western welfare states. A good education no longer guarantees life-long
employment or sufficient income, and no longer does it even guarantee entrance to the labor market. It has become more difficult for young people to gain professional training as well as access to higher education. Even if they count themselves amongst the lucky ones who have received a good education and training and eventually find work, they might have to change jobs several times over their lifetimes and face extended phases of unemployment (Richard Sennett). The composition of the labor force in economically developed countries has changed dramatically. Women and minorities are numerically on the increase, while the traditional male breadwinner is in decline.[10] The productivity of work has increased to such a degree that it increasingly marginalizes human labor and renders people superfluous. Global as well as regional inequality provides cheap labor and undermines the structure of work in developed countries, while only partially aiding those regions of the world in which labor is cheap. A new underclass has developed in industrialized countries, and the unemployment rates of less developed countries are rampant. In fact, unemployment rates in Arab, African, Latin American and Asian countries defy imagination.

5. Life worlds. Globalization has dramatically changed and destroyed life-worlds that many in what used to be called the "first" and the "second" world have taken more or less for granted, creating dramatic forms of social inequality within communities as well as between countries and even continents. Besides destroying a world of work that many in the liberal societies of the West as well as in the former state-socialist societies thought would last forever, or at least for the lifetime of the current generation, these changing work-worlds have been seriously impacting family as well as political structures (migrant workers – male and female; female: housework; caretaking of children and the old; male: "guest"-workers in many branches).[11] Mobility is a must in today's world of work, but it all too often tears apart families and produces instability in family and other relationships.

6. Predatory Capitalism. With the globalization of financial markets and trade relations a kind of predatory capitalism has emerged, which poses serious threats to the monitoring capacities of political systems. Since the world financial crisis has erupted, this has become obvious, even to the notorious free market enthusiasts.[12] While capitalism has become internationalized and de-territorialized, political systems have not been able to keep up with these developments. Political systems for the most part remain anchored in nation states. These uneven developments seriously weaken and limit the capacity of national as well as international agents, preventing them from acting in a prudent manner. While profit is privatized, the losses are socialized and the burden is frequently placed on the taxpayer. Again: the recent developments provide ample evidence for this, while currently the hopes are unrealistically high that politicians will be able to create new rules for the global economy, and especially its financial institutions.

7. De-functionalization and delegitimation of politics. Because of the impending threats to move production sites to more profitable locations, companies have a firm grip on political institutions. The public sector is shrinking in many developed countries. Services and basic infrastructure are privatized and outsourced, becoming more vulnerable to the mechanisms of the "free" market and also to corruption. Under the dictate of supposed rentability and liberalization, what used to be public services are increasingly being outsourced. Railroads, institutions of education and even prisons are privatized. What Max Weber considered to be the main feature of modern states, its monopoly of legitimate force, is being undermined by the worldwide increase of private armies. It is not only in Iraq that mercenaries operate in shady waters. A necessary consequence to be observed everywhere is the de-legitimization of politics, which is increasing at a frightening pace. In many countries (and not only in disintegrating states in Africa!), the self-service mentality of political and economical elites is rampant.

8. Migration, displacement, racism. People are migrating in ever-increasing numbers, a process which can only be compared with the Völkerwanderung ("Barbarian Invasions") of the fourth and fifth centuries. For the first time in human history, more people live in cities than in the countryside, a trend which is accelerating. Conglomerates of megacities are on the increase. The multiple fates of many individuals and families are concealed behind the sheer numbers. It is this involuntary migration, expulsion, and

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flight which constitute the signs of our times. People are forced to migrate because their life circumstances no longer support them economically, or because of conflicts in or between countries. "Otherness" of one kind or other and poverty have become life-threatening for ever-increasing numbers of people. Racism, ethnicity, and religion provide the "rationale" for limitations of access, expulsion, persecution, and murder.

Displacement is rampant.[13] Manuel Castells has coined the term "fourth worldization" for the processes that privilege some and throw others into utter poverty, dependency, and ignorance. "Fourth worldization" is one of the many consequences of worldwide migration and a neo-liberal turbo-capitalism contributing to increasing social injustice. [14] "Fourth worldization" excludes entire regions and even continents, but also occurs within communities or between rural areas and cities. In this process, centers and peripheries drift apart and relentlessly attribute or withhold life-defining chances for people. This dynamism of ever-increasing gaps of wealth also unfolds in the most advanced metropoles of the industrialized parts of the world. The overlap of social disadvantages deriving from migrant backgrounds with those with a social class background leads to social segregation and the concentration of disadvantaged children in certain schools and neighborhoods. Social neglect as well as the absence of economic chances manifests itself not least in schooling.[15]

9.Social segregation and coherent self image of host societies. Ever more frequently, the middle classes are deserting public schools, leaving the new and old immigrant populations as well as their teachers to their fate. Among other things, these developments put teachers in a position where they must educate children of highly diverse backgrounds in societies that are less and less sure of their identities. The social integration of migrant populations poses tremendous problems for host societies. Increasingly, in modern migration societies, the host countries face multiple identity issues. The challenge for teachers in today’s multi-ethnic classrooms is to develop a coherent and comprehensible self-image of society, which is on the one hand sensitive to difference and embraces alterity, and which on the other hand promotes a vision of coherence and social integration. Developing and conveying a coherent and comprehensible self-image of society is difficult to achieve when traditions are no longer to be taken for granted, when parts of the long-established population feel under siege from migrants, and when significant groups of migrants feel socially, economically, politically and culturally excluded for the most part from their surroundings and consequently tend to segregate and to withdraw into their own communities.

10.Contentious memories. Holocaust, Gulag, Postcolonialism. Memories are constituents of human communities, and individuals as well as collectives gain a sense of identity through shared memory. In the present time of multiple displacement and upheaval, memories have become increasingly politicized and contentious. In the public spheres of nations, within subcultures, and also on a global level, competing memories fight for recognition. Identification processes through memory are carried out among other things in schools. The historian Charles Maier has analyzed the ways in which competing memories are played out in the present. The twentieth century was marked by wars and horrendous state-organized crimes in Europe and all over the world. The "moral narratives" of the twentieth century are essentially victim stories and signify the competition of two western trajectories into modernity: The project of ethnic purity, which ended in the Holocaust, and the project of equality, which ended in the Gulag[16]. After the world historical caesura of 1989, memories of 70 years of communist rule have begun to compete with Holocaust memories in their claim that their subject was the most horrific producer of human victims. The Holocaust as well as the Gulag memories, which have profoundly influenced public debate and consciousness in the last decades, has its own logic. These narratives continue to be there, and they need to be dealt with. However, the challenge of the present, according to Maier, lies increasingly in the significance of postcolonial memories, and those are here to stay for a long time. Postcolonial memories are magnified through worldwide migration processes and the coexistence of people with highly diverse backgrounds as well as social and economic standing. This poses tremendous challenges for schooling in the 21st century. History textbooks have hardly even begun to tackle the questions of European guilt, of the long-
lasting consequences of European imperialism, of uneven development deriving from world-wide imbalances, which have their roots in the past yet are as much transformed as they are reinforced through globalization processes. These are the ten points that I think are fundamental to understanding today’s globalizing world. Obviously, one could easily add additional ones, and one could be more differentiated on those that I have only briefly sketched. (Outline for a world history textbook of modern times?)

But there are still emotion, introspection and action, the other important spects for developing a world consciousness to be dealt with. My thoughts on these issues will necessarily, because of time constraints, be rather brief.

Teaching and Learning in a Globalizing World: Emotion

Research has meanwhile firmly established the connections between knowledge acquisition and emotion. The neuroscientist Antonio Damasio, in particular, (but others as well, like Gerald Hüther, Manfred Spitzer, Wolf Singer) has demonstrated that cognitive skills are of little use, if for some reason or other that part of the brain, where emotions are located, has been „turned off“ as a consequence of a tragic accident or some severe illness. We know about this also through Asberger’s patients, those patients, who have a milder form of autism and function reasonably well, except that they cannot pick up the emotional vibes, and thus miss context. Their intellectual abilities are well developed, but they lack anchoring. The psychiatrist and writer Oliver Sacks has written poignant stories about the loss of emotional abilities in his famous book about “The man who mistook his wife for his hat.” Knowledge systems everywhere have undergone dramatic developments (in the humanities and in the social sciences, we speak of the challenge of postmodernity; in life sciences, the advancement of (medical) imaging techniques, which allows researchers to actually look into the brain, a veritable revolution has taken place in our understanding of such issues as: Cause and effect of human action; how does memory function? What promotes, what impedes learning?). “We only learn what we already know” is the short formula that tries to signify not only an epistemological given, but a mechanism that neuroscientists have described as the ways in which the wiring of the brain functions: Learning builds on previous experiences. Experiences are always emotional experiences (that is why students remember that they had to sit still in school, they remember boredom or excitement, they remember whether they liked or disliked, respected or disrespected a teacher, but they rarely will remember the contents of lessons to be learned). It would go too far to elaborate on this further. All the human qualities that are important in human communities, like empathy, the ability to walk in somebody else’s shoes for a while, or sympathy, the ability to feel somebody’s misery and pain, or the spiritual virtue of mindfulness, are anchored in our emotional abilities. They are indispensable for learning, and the knowledge about these connections can be put to use for learning about the world in which we live, which we shape through our everyday actions, and which we try to preserve.

Paradigms of knowledge are under revision on all fronts, most pronounced in the life sciences and in physics.[17] We are in the middle of a veritable scientific revolution and a shift of paradigms. Well-established paradigms of sense-making, like the binary oppositions that have been common in Western thought and scholarship for the longest time and subsequently “naturalized” as polarities: inside and outside, good and bad, male and female, domination and submission, subject and object, also: self and other, are under attack from many sides, not the least from neuroscience. These well known opposites have constituted the fundament of the ways, in which knowledge about the world has been constructed, even of the ability to systematically conduct scholarship at all. The disembodied mind of the observer was the ideal. The instrumental view of the world, which we owe to the Newtonian scientific revolution, was based on the assumption that nature needs to comply with human intentions, and that human action follows
rational law. Scholarship, however, which rests on the division of subject and object, is not emotionless, it has only elevated one particular emotion – the determination to have no emotion, coded as “objectivity” – to a level of absoluteness that excludes all other emotions.[18] The price for this is the disconnectedness to the object of research commonly praised as scholarly objectivity. The division between the mind and that which is thought about has led (and continues to do so) humans to believe that they themselves are not part of that which they research, be this nature or history, but are called upon to rule over nature as over history and thus dominate the world and each other. This is an objectivist illusion. More and more people come to understand that what many call holistic approaches to understanding and being in this world, is a more promising way of understanding and living. (Buddhist concept of “Anatman”: the non-self and dissolution of boundaries instead of “identities”. Identity is a tricky concept: See Castells!)

**Teaching and Learning in a Globalizing World: Introspection and Self-Positioning**

(This part will be thoroughly revised in the future!)

The actual development of globalization and the social and cultural revolution of the 1960s and 1970s that had quite an impact on western societies as well as simultaneous changes in other parts of the world have shattered many traditional beliefs and made questionable many social arrangements, like patriarchal family and social structures. Claims to universal principles, civil rights movements, feminism, and increasingly, claims stemming from colonial and post-colonial legacies continue to have a major impact on people’s life-worlds. However, the ways in which these developments manifest themselves are anything but predictable. Liberation from oppressive traditions, interconnectedness, an immensely accelerated pace of life, broadened horizons, and the possibility of cosmopolitanism for the select few, is one side of the story of the multiple modernities in which we live. The “postmodern condition,” on the other hand, has created enormous ambiguities. The condition in which “the center no longer holds,” forces people to continuously construct and create new identities, to adjust to a kind of “liquid modernity”, as Zygmunt Bauman has put it.[19] The postmodern condition has multiple social as well as personal consequences. As much as the fluidity of meaning and the search for new identities is liberating for many who were suppressed by tradition, by religion, or by rigid gender constructions, the postmodern condition is not easy to endure. On a personal level, the weight of achieving coherence in one’s life has been placed almost exclusively on the self, which can lead to severe exhaustion and a serious overburdening of individuals who have lost the self-evident truths and mental as well as intellectual securities, which unquestioned traditions used to provide and on which previous generations were able to rely.[20] Those who have ventured far enough in their own personal development and who have learned to live with the postmodern insecurities can experience freedom and disorientation simultaneously. On the other hand, those who are pushed aside, exploited, or enslaved by the globalizing world and who cannot easily embrace new promises and freedoms, or those who are simply overwhelmed or overstrained by the demands of the current world, including the demand to make sense of a world that is changing so rapidly, might be tempted to search for crutches that give them some resemblance of stability and orientation. They are easy prey for fundamentalisms of all kinds. The danger of fundamentalism is that people without guidance in making sense of what is happening to them, who have little or no education, who feel that they are being “thrown” into an over-complex, if not hostile, world that thoroughly overburdens them, thus living in constant fear of disintegration, start to dig in their heels.[21] If educators can help students to endure the complexity of this world and gain personal stability, they can contribute a great deal toward bringing young people into adulthood, who have a coherent view of the world as well as of their own place in it. Introspection and the personal strength to endure insecurity, together with the strengthening of self esteem and the ability to cooperate with others, together with a
willingness to broaden one’s horizon and to take in new information, is what will help to support young people to position themselves in the current world – and to make a difference. With this, I come to my last point: The ability to act.

**Teaching and Learning in a Globalizing World: Acting**

Globalization and the neo-liberal commitment toward economic growth continue to produce rampant inequalities, tremendous riches for some and horrendous poverty for the many. Climate change and the uncontrolled spread of murderous technology have led to dangerous environmental situations. Conflict over the proliferation and control of weapons of mass destruction has not eased but increased. The new instability of the global age has also led to a crisis in spiritual and value orientations. The new interest in religion and spirituality takes many in Europe who have experienced decades of secularization by surprise. Rampant experiences of fragmentation in the world cry out for new syntheses and sense-making.

According to William H. McNeill, the doyen of world history in the United States, humanity is at a crossroads, in a profound transition and seems to be living on the verge of a fundamentally new stage.[22] The “Club of Rome” stated in 1992 that we were in the middle of a “revolution of humankind.” While many scholars conduct their business as usual, some – especially physicists and evolutionary biologists, but also psychologists, philosophers and even some historians – assume that humankind is in the middle of an epochal caesura. In this situation, it is imperative that educators provide orientation.

The current condition of the world requires new points of reference and a consciousness that transcends the limitations not only of national or local reference frames, but also of paradigms of knowledge that no longer serve us well, ultimately being anchored in a mechanical nineteenth-century view of the world. In this context, let me remind you of the quote by Jerome Bruner, with which I started my presentation: At the heart of any social change, one frequently finds fundamental change in our conceptions of knowledge, thought, and learning. It would thus be rather short-sighted to just set on broadening of factual knowledge, and perhaps also intellectual concepts. The global condition requires an awareness of the changing world in which we live and our own place in it. It demands that we deal with time and space beyond just mastering this world, beyond domination and efficiency. It requires the cognitive as well as the emotional abilities to grapple with our own place in the world as well as with the emerging world society and the new context that embraces the globe. Achieving this requires not just more factual knowledge, but the broadening of our consciousness and the willingness to develop a new awareness as well as the ability and determination to act.

**To summarize:** Educators need to be aware of the empirical processes that have changed the face of the world and they need to be able to provide a basic understanding of these developments that make up and also trouble this world. However, giving orientation requires more than conveying new facts and alerting students to new contextual frames embarked up in recent years by teachers of world history and transnational developments as well as of geography and social studies. The emotional ability to cope is equally important, and this might even be the greater challenge for education. Developing this ability: not only providing a new body of knowledge reaching beyond the “tried and true” of past reference frames, but also assisting the development of “higher order thinking,” in other words: promoting and developing a new form of (world) consciousness is the challenge that educators are facing today.

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[3] Manuel Castells, End of Millenium. Vol III of The Network Society. The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), 336. He continues: “Yet this is not the point I want to make. My main statement is that it does not really matter if you believe that this world, or any of its features, is new or not. My analysis stands by itself. This is our world, the world of the Information Age. And this is my analysis of this world, which must be understood, used, judged, by itself, by its capacity, or incapacity, to identify and explain the phenomena that we observe and experience, regardless of its newness. After all, if nothing is new under the sun, why bother to try to investigate, think, write, and read about it?”

[4] Or as the neuroscientist Gerald Hüther has put it: “With consciousness we mean the ability, to become aware of our ‘being in this world.’ In order to develop consciousness, the brain needs to be able to self-observe. By building meta-levels on which internal processes are reflected and analyzed, the brain can develop the ability to become aware of its own perceptions and intentions, to grapple the ways it has become what it is as well as its role and position in the world.” Bedienungsanleitung für ein menschliches Gehirn (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, (2001) 2005), 115. (My translation.)


[12] Charles Maier has analyzed in a thoughtful article the most encompassing or fundamental sociopolitical trends of current world developments; namely, the emergence, ascendancy, and subsequent crisis of what he has called the “territoriality” of the modern world. He defines “territoriality” “simply as the “properties, including power, provided by the control of bordered political space, which until recently at least created the framework for national and often ethnic identity.” In many ways, territorial claims are “evaporating before our eyes.” As an organizing principle, territoriality was “a powerful geographic strategy to control people and things by controlling area.” Politics based on nation-states, however, will only work, according to Maier, when “identity space” and “decision space” are congruent. This congruency has been in a process of rapidly dissolving since the 1970s, thus undermining the territorial foundation of power. Charles Maier, “Consigning the Twentieth Century to History: Alternative Narratives for the Modern Era,” The American Historical Review 105 (2000), 807-831, here 807-809, and 816.

[13] Jean Ziegler, Special Rapporteur at the United Nations for the right to food has launched a passionate accusation against the industrialized countries, especially the European Union, which, he claims, is directly responsible for the increase of hunger migration from African countries to the shores of Europe due to its economic policies in the agricultural sector: “The hypocrisy of the commissioners in Brussels is abominable. They organize famine in Africa on the one hand, whilst criminalizing the famine refugees on the other.” Jean Ziegler, “Alle fünf Sekunden.”


[16] And, I would like to add: in the genocide in Rwanda and the Cambodian “killing fields”. The Holocaust as well as the Gulag produced narratives anchored in “territoriality.” While they continue to inform the negotiations of identity in Western countries, both narratives have essentially become history themselves in Maier’s view. They have the capacity to become powerful for western self-understanding, according to Maier, precisely because they have run their course, and people now can talk about and negotiate them and try to make sense of what happened. These narratives inspire debates about restitution, judicial trials and the proper form in which to commemorate locations of horror and victims of terror, which informs much of public debate in European countries and also in in other places in which state-organized crimes have been committed (such as Chile and Argentina).


[21] Fundamentalism does not only come in religious forms. It is not a traditional
phenomenon; it is eminently a sign of the contemporary world and a reaction to postmodernism as much as to global inequalities.

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